THE

# INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

## A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, HISTORY, LITERATURE, LANGUAGES, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, FOLKLORE, &c., &c., &c.

EDITED BY

JAS. BURGESS, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.,

MEMBRE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE, FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEYOR AND REPORTER TO GOVERNMENT, WESTERN INDIA, AUTHOR OF "THE ROCK-TEMPLES OF ELEPHANTA," "THE TEMPLES OF ŚATRUÑJAYA," "VIEWS OF ARCHITECTURE AND SCENERY IN GUJARÂT AND RÂJPUTÂNÂ," &c.

VOL. V.—1876.

Swati Publications

Delhi

1984

Published by Swati Publications, 34, Central Market, Ashok Vihar, Delhi-110052 Ph. 7113395
and Printed by S.K. Mehra at Mehra Offset Press, Delhi.

# CONTENTS.

*Authors' names arranged alphabetically.*

## SELECTIONS AND MISCELLANEA.



## BOOK NOTICES.



## ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

---

# METRICAL TRANSLATION OF THE VAIRÂGYA ŚATAKAM, OR HUNDRED STANZAS ON ASCETICISM, BY BHARTṚIHARI.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

THE stanzas of Bhartṛihari on *Vairâgya* (*Le Renoncement*, as the word is translated by M. Regnaud) strike a note familiar to all students of Sanskṛit literature. The *Moha Mudgara* and other poems (many of which are referred to in the commentary of Mr. K. T. Telang) treat in much the same style the same topic of the vanity of all earthly enjoyments, and the duty of retiring into a forest and meditating on the Supreme Soul, or some favourite individualization of that all-pervading divinity. But it is perhaps scarcely an over-refinement to detect in these stanzas something more than this. It is hardly possible to read them without being struck by the reflection that the traditional account of Bhartṛihari explains the fact that so many of his bitterest taunts are directed against kings and their courtiers. Even if we had no tradition of the kind, we should be inclined to invent one for ourselves, and it is quite possible that the one we possess has been so invented. All we contend for is that many of these stanzas were written by one who, if not a king himself, had been brought into intimate relation with kings, and thoroughly understood the tricks of the trade. The account which is given in the *Vetâlapancha-vinśati* is—that Bhartṛihari had a fruit presented to him which conferred immortality. This he bestowed on his favourite wife, who gave it to her paramour, the head of the city police, and thus it eventually returned into the king's hands, who in a fit of disgust quitted his throne and retired into the forest. This story, whether true or not, is entirely in harmony with the spirit of the stanzas on asceticism, of which we are now attempting a metrical rendering. There is nothing to our notions very meritorious in a king who had felt the "sad satiety" of pleasure, and was as weary of the joys as of the cares of empire, exchanging them for grass and the fruits of the jungle. But similar retirements have taken place in European history, though perhaps of a less sincere character.

The *Vairâgya* of the Hindu ascetic differed little from that of the Greek cynic. Mr. Lewis tells us that "Diogenes ate little, and what he ate was of the coarsest. He tried to live upon raw meat and unboiled vegetables, but failed. His dress consisted solely of a cloak. When he asked Antisthenes for a shirt, he was told to fold his cloak in two; he did so, A wallet and a large stick completed his accoutrements. Seeing a little boy drinking water out of his scooped hand, he threw away his cup, declaring it superfluous. He slept under the marble porticoes or in his celebrated tub. Decency of any kind he studiously outraged." We shall find many expressions in the following stanzas strangely in harmony with this description of the habits of the dog-philosophers, and may perhaps be re-

minded of Socrates' remark to Antisthenes, "I see your vanity peering though the holes in your cloak." Even those who take no interest in the ideas of Greek moralists may find something familiar in these stanzas of Bhartṛihari. It would perhaps be going too far to accuse the author of *Welt-schmerz*, but he certainly has something in common with European poets and philosophers of the present day.

---

Eternal, Holy Spirit, free from bonds of space and time,
Whose essence is self-knowledge, thee I call to bless my rhyme.

*Against the desire of worldly things.*

Envy possesses those that know,
Great men are drunk with pride,
The vulgar no discernment show;
Who shall for bards provide?

---

I tremble at my merit gained in this revolving world,
Bitter shall be its aftertaste, when back to life I'm hurled,
Those carnal pleasures won by long-continued acts of right,
Lay heavy burdens on the soul and check its upward flight.*
I've boldly crossed the stormy brine, I've striven kings to please,
In grave-yards plied my midnight spells, nor cured that fell disease,
Earth's bowels have I searched for wealth, and melted stones with fire,
Thou see'st, no doit rewards my pains, then leave me now, Desire!
I've wandered over many lands, and reaped withal no fruit,
I've laid my pride of rank aside, and pressed my baffled suit,
At stranger boards, like shameless† crow, I've eaten bitter‡ bread,
But fierce Desire, that raging fire, still clamours to be fed.

Much have I borne rich hosts to please
Who love to taunt their guests,
I've laughed with spirit ill at ease,
And praised their vapid jests;
I've mastered wrath with strong control,
And bent the supple knee;
Then, hopeless hope, why rack the soul,
Proof against all but thee?

---

Morn after morn dispels the dark,
Bearing our lives away;
Absorbed in cares we fail to mark
How swift our years decay;
Some maddening draught hath drugged our souls,
In love with vital breath,
Which still the same sad chart unrolls,
Birth, eld, disease, and death.

---

What man of sense e'er craves the means of life,
To feed himself alone? His ragged wife,
With starving children clinging to her side,
And wistful looks, o'ercomes his selfish pride;
Sooner than see his babes with hunger pine,
He rushes forth prepared to fawn and whine.

---

The joys of life have ceased to please,
Honour and fame are fled,
The dear-loved friends of early youth
Are numbered with the dead,
Propped on a staff I limp along,
Dim mists obscure my sight,
But this frail flesh still dreads the doom
Of everlasting night!§

---

God satisfies the snake with air,
Grass to the cows is food and bed,
Man's nobler soul is clogged with care,
Struggling to gain his daily bread.

---

I've never sought release from births by honouring Śiva's feet,
Nor oped by merit huge the gate of Indra's heavenly seat,
Nor wandered with my youthful feres in Pleasure's giddy maze,
Then vain my mother's cares and woes, and profitless my days.

---

* It must be remembered that according to the Vedantic system the acquisition of Heaven or Svarga itself is nothing comparable to *moksha*.—K. T. Telang.

† Cf. Homer, *Odyssey* VII. 216:—
ου γὰρ τι στυγερῇ ἐπὶ γάστερι κύντερον ἄλλο.

‡ Cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, canto XVII:—
Tu proverai si come sa di sale
Lo pane altrui, e com' è duro calle
Lo scendere, e'l salir per l'altrui scale.

§ Cf. the verses of Mæcenas:—
Debilem facito manu,
Debilem pede, coxa;
Tuber adstrue gibberum
Lubricos quate dentes,
Vita dum superest, bene est.
Hanc mihi, vel acuta
Si sedeam cruce, sustine.
Seneca, *Ep.* 101.

I have not wasted life, but life hath wasted me,
I have not chosen pain, but pain hath been my lot,
Some men make Time their fool, but here Time's fool you see,
I've long been dead to joy, but passion dieth not.

---

Insults I've borne, but not with patient mind,
Pleasures forborne, to which my heart inclined;
Put up with hunger, nakedness, and cold,
Not for the love of God, but love of gold;
Thought much on wealth, but not on Śiva's feet,
And broke my slumbers not to pray, but cheat;
I've lived a hermit's life without his creed,
Made earth a hell, but gained no heavenly meed.

---

Wrinkles deform my face,
And hoary hairs my head,
Withered my youthful grace,
But avarice blooms instead.

---

The joys of sense will vanish soon, what do we gain thereby?
Those only store up merit who in all themselves deny;
When pleasures flee, they leave behind a never-ending smart,
But he who hurls them from him fills with heavenly peace his heart.

---

As knowledge grows, content expands, and fell desire abates;
But worldly joys, if long embraced, a baneful influence gain;
Thus Indra, like a mortal king, hopes, trembles, loves, and hates,
From having held through endless years an undisputed reign.

*Of worldly enjoyments.*

I'm forced to beg my loathsome daily mess,
My couch the earth, myself my only guard,
Of filthy patched unseemly clouts my dress,
And yet these worldly longings press me hard.

*Against the love of beauty.*

The moth unwitting rushes on the fire,
Through ignorance the fish devours the bait,
We men know well the foes that lie in wait,
Yet cannot shun the meshes of desire.

*Of evil men and oppressors.*

My drink is of the crystal brook, of fruits my banquet's spread,
My frame is swathed in strips of bark, the earth's my sumptuous bed,
Thus happier far, than forced to bear the upstart insolence
Of those the new strong wine of wealth hath robbed of every sense.

*Of vain-glory.*

By mighty sages' will this world first saw its natal day,
Others have conquered it, and thrown with scorn its wealth away,
Others rule fourteen higher worlds all happier than ours,
Why then should lords of some few towns thus vaunt their petty powers?

*Of indifference to worldly things.*

Thou art a king, I grant, but we are famed for boundless lore,
Thy wealth's renowned, our skill by bards proclaimed on every shore,
Between us no vast gulf is set: what though thou scorn our name,
Yet we, to all indifferent, heed not thy praise or blame.

This world still groans 'neath many hundred kings
All emulous to snatch their neighbour's share,
Each paltry gain some fresh enjoyment brings
To fools whose greed should fill them with despair.

This earth is but a lump of clay girt with a briny ditch,
Where hosts of squabbling kings contend, all striving to be rich,
One cannot blame these grovelling slaves for clinging to their store,
But out on those who stoop to beg at any royal door!

*The misery of a courtier's life.*

What can I do in princely courts,
Unskilled in vice, and idle sports,
Nor singer, actor, rogue, nor clown,
Nor bent on pulling others down?||

---

Of old time learning courted saintly bliss,
Then stooped to be the slave of base desire,
But now that kings 'gainst intellect conspire
Each day she plunges deeper in th' abyss.

|| Cf. Burke, vol. II. p. 106, l. 33 (Bohn's ed.): "Kings are naturally lovers of low company," &c.

# NOTES ON SOME PARTS OF THE AHMADNAGAR COLLECTORATE.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C.S.

Kopargâṁ lies sixty miles north of Ahmadnagar on the Malegâṁ road, on the north bank of the Gaṅgâ or Godâvarî river, and, though itself a small place, of no particular importance except as the head-quarters of a tâlukâ, it possesses some historic and legendary interest, and has in its neighbourhood some valuable remains.

Kopargâṁ itself was the favourite residence of the famous Raghunâth Rao Bhaṭ, commonly called Raghobâ Dâdâ, the brother of the Peshwâ Bâlâjî Bâjî Rao, and father of the last of the dynasty, Bâjî Rao II. The Mâmlatdâr's *kacheri* is now established in a palace built by or for him, which is, however, remarkable for nothing but a very pretty carved wooden ceiling in one of three rooms reserved for the accommodation of district officers on tour. The building itself, like most Marâṭhâ palaces, is constructed of the worst possible stone and brickwork, concealed by showy carpentry and cut-stone facings, and will probably have to be abandoned next year, when I hope the decoration referred to above will be preserved from the wreck, as one of the few samples of really good decorative art which remain to us from a period and dynasty of generally unmitigated barbarism.

Opposite this, in a grove of trees in an island of the Gaṅgâ, was formerly another palace, which has been pulled down and sold, as has also a third at Hinganî, three miles off, and need not be lamented. But at this last-named place still stands the tomb, or rather cenotaph, of Raghobâ himself, which is worthy of some remark. In an elbow of the Gaṅgâ, and surrounded on three sides by its bed, here dangerous and rocky, stands a fortified enclosure of cut stone, 65 paces long by 58 wide. I had no way of measuring the height of the walls, but they must be at least sixty feet high. There is only one gate; but the side towards the river is quite open, and it appears to me, from the way in which the corner towers are finished, that it was never intended to build it,—at any rate to the height of the other sides. In the centre is the cenotaph or *thaḍkâ*, a very small and rude erection of timber and brickwork upon a coarse stone plinth, with no inscription or ornament whatever,—unless a small marble *liṅga* may be so called. Yet the surroundings—the black massive walls of the *vâḍâ*, and the boiling current of the sacred river—make it no unfit place for the ashes of a man who, with all his follies and crimes, was certainly the first soldier (though not the greatest general) of his time and nation, and is still remembered as having "watered the Dekhanî horses in the Attak."

Near the site of the old palace in the island stands the temple of Kacheśvara,—a set of buildings of little beauty and no antiquity, but extremely sacred, and possessing a *Mâhâtmya* or chronicle of their own, which might yield some information to a scholar able to read it. The following legend is said to be contained in it, but it was told to me by word of mouth:—

"In former days the Gaṅgtharî (plain of the Gaṅgâ) was inhabited, like the rest of the Dekhan, by Daityas, whose great *gurû*, Śukra Achârya, resided in this island. The gods were not able to deal with them, and consulted Bṛihaspatî, who undertook their conversion, and despatched his son, named Kach, on the pious errand. Kach went to Śukra Âchârya* and enrolled himself as his *chelâ* or disciple. Now Śukra Âchârya had 'one fair daughter,' who was much taken with the good looks and good manners of the new comer. But the Daitya disciples were jealous of him, and suspected that he meant no good; so one day they slew him in the jungle, and came home and reported him missing. The lady, however, with her wits sharpened by love, was not long in conjecturing the truth; and she went to her father and induced him to repeat for the benefit of Kach a *mantra* which should restore him, if dead, to life again; and shortly after the dead man walked in and proceeded to prepare his supper. Three times the Daityas made away with Kach, in one way or another; but still the lady coaxed the words of power out of her fond parent, and still the objectionable intruder 'came to time.' Then they devised cunningly together, and having knocked Kach on the head yet once more, they burnt him to

* In the story of Wâman (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 243) Śukar or Śukra Âchârya appears as the chief priest of king Balî.

ashes, which they mixed with Śukra Āchārya's evening draught, and then told him what he had swallowed. The gurû's daughter, missing the object of her affections, returned to the charge with entreaties for his restoration to life. 'But,' said Śukra Āchârya, 'the man is in my belly; and if he comes to life there he'll certainly burst me, and you'll lose *me* in recovering *him*.' She, however, answered that she 'was bound to have both,' and required her father to teach her the necessary spell, by means of which, she said, she would revive him in his turn, if the resurrection of Kach should lead to such unpleasant consequences. The Âchârya said 'it was absurd; no woman could be admitted to the knowledge of such mysteries.' However, she gave him no peace till he consented. But as he was teaching her the mantra a new complication occurred: for Kach—who appears to have retained his presence of mind through the processes of slaughter, combustion, and deglutition—overheard the lesson from his place of confinement in the gurû's belly, and forthwith availed himself of the knowledge by repeating it himself. At once he emerged safe and sound from the interior of the Âchârya, who, however, as he had predicted, did not survive the operation. His daughter promptly made use of her newly acquired knowledge to restore him to life, and then proceeded to offer her hand to Kach. But he, being more scrupulous than grateful, replied that, inasmuch as he owed life to her, she was his mother; and further, being the daughter of his gurû, she was his spiritual sister; and under either view of their relationship the match was impossible. The lady rejoined, and words rose so high between them that Kach cursed her, and declared that for her unmaidenly forwardness, and for presuming to learn things forbidden to woman, she should never have a Brâhmaṇ husband at all, but must take up with some one of inferior race. Śukra Âchârya was converted to orthodoxy by his words (one doesn't quite see why), and he and all the Daityas became good Hindus. To this day he and Kach sit side by side in stone upon the island, and are the objects of much piety, and enjoy a good fat *devasthân inâm*.†" I asked what became of the daughter of the Daitya, but my informant did not know, "only there is a great stone that represents her."

It was at Kopargâṁ that Bâlâji Lakshmaṇ Sarsubedâr and Manohargir Gosâvî‡ inveigled 7000 Bhîlls into their power in the year 1804, and threw them, it is said, into wells,—which last detail I doubt, not finding, myself, enough wells about the place for a tenth part of the number; but there is a fine deep pool of the river convenient for the purpose. The place was occupied by Madras troops in 1818 and following years, and a few European tombs then erected remain near the ford.

About four miles down the river, at Kokamthân, there is a temple of Mahâdeva which must be very old, and is remarkable for the beauty of its internal carved stone-work, especially of a pendant in the central dome, representing a sort of large flower, or rather bunch of flowers, suspended by its stone stalk from the keystone of which it forms a part. The external decorations, though worn by weather and defaced with the plaster dear to churchwardens in all climates, are worth remarking: the principal pattern is one of wreathed snakes, which develope in some places into a foliage pattern; the transition is easily seen by looking at a sufficient number of examples. The combination of vegetable and animal forms in decoration is common enough in Indian art. There are many examples of it in the Ajaṇṭâ ceilings, and the *makara*, or monstrous head ending in foliage, is a favourite at Ambarnâth and elsewhere, and to this day popular in both houses and temples, in stone and wood; but I never saw this snake-plant pattern before.

The temple is of the form common in ancient Śaiva buildings in the Châlukya and derived styles,—a shrine and maṇḍap, each upon a plan originally square, but with so many projections added to each side that the figure eventually becomes a lozenge with porches at three corners of the maṇḍap, and the door of communication with the shrine at the fourth. In this temple the eastern side door is replaced by a sort of transept of quite different work from that of the rest of the building, being covered with square panels of stone carved in geometrical and other fanciful

† Grant of land for the service of a temple.

‡ Misspelt 'Mandhargir' in *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 189. See also Grant Duff's *Hist. of the Marâṭhâs*, vol. III. p. 240, and Mr. Loch's *Account of Ahmadnagar, Nâsik, and Khândesh*, p. 10.

patterns, very like the stone lattice-work of the windows in many modern temples. This transept is the shrine of a village goddess, who has, the villagers say, no name (which is probably untrue), and is powerful to cure the itch,—not an uncommon disease among her votaries. Their gestures in describing her virtues were equally appropriate and amusing.

There are several other temples in this village, apparently of great age, but of no beauty; one of Mahâdeva formerly stood upon a mound west of the village, which may possibly be a barrow, but I had no time to open it. There are still lying there a large liṅga and a Nandi, or bull, which the villagers neglect, "because," they say, "the divinity is gone out of them." This village has a much cherished custom, which is that upon the *Akshatritya*, or third day of the waxing half of the month Vaiśâkh, which fell in 1875 on the 8th of April, the little boys go out and engage the youngsters of the village of Saṁvatsar, across the Gaṅgâ, with slings and stones. If this be not observed, rain will not fall, they say, in the ensuing season; or if it does, it will fall under such a *nakshatra* as to engender multitudes of field rats, who eat up the crop, and this is called 'rats' rain' (*undirañchî pâṇî*). If, however, the stone fight be waged with due spirit, it is followed by plentiful '*mânjaryânchî pâṇî*,' *i.e.* rain falling at an astronomical conjuncture favourable to the development of *cats*, and a plentiful crop is safely harvested. Some busybody wrote and assailed this ancient and laudable practice in the native papers, and caused a reference from a paternal government, and much anxiety on the part of fussy policemen; but this year, at any rate, I have been able to secure the due observance of the Akshatritya from officious or official disturbance.

About six miles up the Gaṅgâ from Kopargâṁ, at Kumbhârî, there is another ancient and curious temple of Mahâdeva. The spire is gone, and the exterior, unlike that of the Kokamthân temple, is plain and massive; except at the porches the only external ornaments are niches for statues, which last have disappeared so long ago that the villagers deny that they ever existed. The stone, however, at the backs of the niches shows where they were plain enough. The spire also is utterly gone, but the interior is as rich as that of the Kokamthân temple, and evidently of the same school. One rather curious ornament characteristic of both is a concave quarter-sphere crossed by two intersecting ribs. The wreathed snake-plant also appears on the west porch. Other ornaments are the sun and a very long and narrow lozenge or lance-head. This last has been copied upon the gateway of the funereal *vâḍâ* at Hinganî, where there is a little sculpture unusually good for so modern a work,—in the Dekhan at least. In this temple, as at Kokamthân, a transept takes the place of the last porch. Here, however, it is uniform with the rest of the building, and evidently part of the original design. It is occupied by Lakshmî Devî. A *morî*, or pipe, in the east wall of the shrine, is said to be for the purpose of admitting the earliest rays of dawn to light up the liṅga. It looks more like a drain, but is at a higher level than the top of the liṅga, and was perhaps made for the purpose of bathing it with water, or, as has sometimes been done, with milk or other fluids.

There are a few remains of two other temples of the same class at Malegâṁ and Mahegâṁ, a couple of miles higher up the river, but in not one of them is there a single inscription, nor could I pick up any legend which might throw some light on the history of these buildings. The villagers have 'Hemâḍ Pant' at their tongues' end, of course. One gets rather tired of the name of him in Western India. However, at Kokamthân the *kulkarṇî* (village accountant) actually knew who the historical Hemâḍ Pant was; and it is just possible that where so much of the truth had lingered, there may be some in the belief that he had some connection with the school of architecture which evidently once flourished in the plains of the Gaṅgâ.

At Ranjaṅgâṁ Deshmukhâche, about ten miles south-west of Kopargâṁ, on the road to Saṅgamner, is an ancient *bârao*, or reservoir, which I conceive to be one alluded to by Drs. Gibson and Wilson in the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. pt. ii. p. 87, under the head of structural Buddhist remains coeval with the caves. There is nothing Buddhist about this, however, and no reason to suppose it coeval with any Buddhist cave.

The plan and structure are the same as those of modern works of the same sort, abundant in the district; and the only ornament consists

in a series of little niches about two feet high, which doubtless once held images.§ As I have above referred to the supposition of Drs. Wilson and Gibson that this and some other structural buildings may be Buddhist and coeval with caves, I may observe once for all that in several years' wanderings in the Western Dekhan and Koṅkan I have found only three relics which I would even conjecture to be of that character. The first is the Dickinson Stone, now in the possession of Government at Junnar, in the Puṇâ district.|| It has evidently formed part of the frieze of a large building, and has on one side five squatting figures in low relief,—representing, apparently, ascetics in the attitude of contemplation. What is curious about it is that the artist appears to have had some idea of caricature. The second is a stone in the ruins of a small temple just at the head of the Nânâ Ghâṭ, about fifty yards from the Dharmśâlâ cave,¶ which bears a suggestive resemblance to a *dahgoba.* The third is an old temple of Saṅgameśvara Mahâdeva near Pârner, in the district of Ahmadnagar, in the external decoration of which occurs something like a dahgoba.* The temples of Aṅkolê and Harichandrâgaḍh, which I have presently to describe, are both mentioned by Dr. Gibson in the paper referred to as belonging to this class of remains, and Dr. Wilson (who never saw them, I fancy) appears to endorse his opinion. What I have said above will save me from the necessity of frequent quotation.

Saṅgamner is a pretty and thriving town of 7,000 souls, upon the Prâvara river, (called by Grant Duff the Paira), an affluent of the Gaṅgâ. It is not remarkable for anything except the beauty of the wood-carving on some of the houses. There is a small but pretty domed tomb over a Muhammadan saint, who has some hazy connection with the emperor Âlamgîr. I procured indifferent copies of some inscriptions on it.† Near the Assistant Collector's bungalow are some of the finest tamarind trees in the Dekhan, and an old Muhammadan cemetery, one of the headstones in which is a pillar apparently taken from the door of some Hindu temple of the class of those already described. No other remains of this temple exist, but there are plenty of modern ones; and a Muhammadan shrine in a queer place,—the *hammam-khâna*, or hot-bath room, of the old town fort. At some period,—probably under the Marâṭhâs, whose constant immersion in metaphorical hot water is consistent with a great contempt for the use of that fluid in the concrete,—a *fakîr* turned this bathroom from a temple of cleanliness to one of godliness,—qualities which, however closely connected in our proverbial philosophy, are highly antipathetic in Saṅgamner. His memory is still kept up there by a green flag, and an ever-burning light, which is attended to by the *kacheri* peons as *ex-officio* ministrants, and allowed for out of the petty supply fund of the Mâmledâr's office.‡

A few years ago Saṅgamner was honoured by the presence of a curious person,—a sainted Mâmledâr. Indian readers, accustomed to look upon our native officials as very useful and industrious, but seldom particularly pious, will probably be surprised to hear that such a post was occupied by a man who might easily, had he chosen, have become the leader of a numerous sect, and occupied a place in religious history like that of Kabîr Pant or Svâmi Nârâyaṇa. This gentleman (he is still alive, though retired from the service) early distinguished himself by a great respect for human and animal suffering. Like the bishop of Blois—

"A pitiful man was he:—
He wept and he pined for the woes of mankind,
And of beasts in their degree;
He would rescue a rat from the claws of the cat,
And set the poor captive free;
Though his cassock was swarming with various vermin,
He'd not take the life of a flea."

§ If the reader will turn to No. XV. of the Ambarnâth plates in vol. III. of the *Antiquary*, he will find a drawing of a similar niche containing a shattered figure of Gaṇapati, the ornamentation of which is identical with that at Ranjaṅgâṁ.

|| Mentioned by me in *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 43, and by Mr. Burgess at p. 11 of his *Memorandum on Junnar*, addressed to the Government of Bombay on the 21st of November 1874.

¶ The cave is full of Pâlî inscriptions—vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 11, 12, and *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. pt. ii. p. 64.

* I shall have occasion to describe it more particularly in a later part of these notes.

† Published in *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 349.

‡ For the benefit of readers in Europe I should explain that a Mâmledâr (properly Mâmlatdâr) is the native official in charge of a tâlukâ or sub-division of a district. He has considerable power as head of the local revenue administration, and is generally a magistrate of the second class,—*i.e.* can inflict fine, whipping, and imprisonment up to the limit of six months.

I well remember the tragic indignation of a police officer who had bestowed much pains upon the education of a sucking pig, when he heard that the '*deva*,' as he was commonly called, had met the animal on the road, travelling to the common bourne of pigs upon a Mahâr's head, and had actually bribed the cooly to release the intended victim. It required all the intercession of the much-amused District Magistrate, who thought the 'deva's' influence worth retaining in the service of Government, to prevent the victimized owner of the pig from bringing the holy man to martyrdom in a criminal court. All Mahârâshṭra believes firmly that a deficiency in my friend's treasury, caused by his drawing on it for charitable purposes, was miraculously made up just before the arrival of an unsympathizing Collector to examine the balances; and when I lay upon the Puṇâ passes, in 1874, the answer of almost every traveller who passed up and was examined as to his business and destination was that he was going to fall at the feet of the 'deva' at Saṅgamner. Many of these pilgrims came from great distances, and by the most toilsome paths.

The old gentleman's visits to Puṇâ or any other large town were always the signal for the assemblage of a crowd of votaries, and for a general petition in all the offices for a day's leave to go and worship him; and once a railway accident was attributed to the crowd pressing to the carriage in which he was making a journey. He was, to do him justice, very modest and unassuming himself, and served out his time for pension without ever incurring serious censure. One remarkable point about the matter was the utter indifference with which the Hill Kolîs treated his divinity. They are nominally Hindus, and do occasionally visit the well-known *tîrthas*, but of the hundreds of pilgrims that I have seen passing through their hills to visit the 'deva' not one was a Kolî. The bear and tiger are still their favourite *living* divinities.

A few miles south of Saṅgamner the Puṇâ road ascends to a lofty plateau by a difficult pass, called Hanmant Nayak's Barî. Near the top, upon the ridge of a natural trap-dyke, is a stone pillar raised to commemorate the death of the eponymous Hanmaṇt Nayak himself, whose story, as told to me on the spot, was as follows:—

"Hanmaṇt Nayak was chief of all the Bhîlls in these parts, and made war upon the Moghuls. They came fighting and fighting from Puṇâ (about seventy miles), and the Bhîlls lay in that *nallâ*, and Hanmant Nayak bent his bow to shoot. Then a *sawâr* shot at him with a matchlock from this place, and hit him right in the breast-bone and slew him, but as he fell he loosed his shaft and killed that sawâr. And after the battle the Bhîlls brought him up here and buried him, and set up this stone. And all the Bhîlls love to be buried here. And once a year they come and slay cocks, and get exceeding drunk. And, further, if any man have a broken arm or leg, he makes him the likeness of it of *bel* wood (*Cratæva religiosa*) and offers it with a cock to Hanmant Nayak, and recovers of his injury." The tomb is covered with little wooden legs and arms, and close by are two or three other tombs of the same sort, square platforms surmounted by little obelisks, and others more modest. The distance from the tomb to the ambush in the nallâ is about 150 yards,—a good range for either bow or matchlock, if the story be true. A more educated authority told me that the action was fought in the time of Bâlâji Bâji Rao Peshwâ, and against his troops, not the Moghuls. The practice of offering up these wooden limbs is not peculiar to this place. I saw them on a tomb near Tâklî Dhokeśvara, in the Pârner Tâlukâ, a few days afterwards.

From Pârner to Aṅkoḷê is fourteen miles. On the road, at Thûgâṁ, are a few remains of another 'Hemâḍ Pantî' temple. Indeed they seem to have been common all along the Gaṅgâ and its affluents; much less so, however, in the country whose waters flow into the Bhimâ. Here, however, the Muhammadan occupation appears to have been more complete and systematic, and perhaps they destroyed what existed on their arrival. At Aṅkolê itself there is a very fine one. It is said to have been discovered about a hundred years ago by the plough of a Kunbî striking the *kalas*, or finial of the spire, which in this instance means the uppermost part of the remaining building, for spire and *kalas* have long been gone,—swept away probably by the same flood which buried the remainder of the building in the deep alluvium beside the Prâvara, which

still conceals probably a third of the exterior. The upper part of the central dome appears also to have suffered, and to have been rebuilt at a time when the restorers were unable to emulate the skill of the original decorators, but probably previous to the re-discovery mentioned above, as they used no mortar, though modern piety has 'pointed' their work with chunam, and covered the ruins of the spire with a coat of plaster, surmounted by three absurd little gilt pinnacles, which make the whole oddly resemble a huge wedding-cake.§ The plan is in some respects peculiar; we find the normal maṇḍap and shrine, set like two broken squares touching at angles, but it has a porch and door behind the liṅga-shrine,—a thing I never saw anywhere else,‖—and the two side porches of the maṇḍap appear never to have been used as entrances, nor even as shrines. They are supported on short pillars, and must have been partly open to the light, but are surrounded by a continuous parapet, which seems to have been surmounted by a dwarf wooden or stone railing about fifteen inches high, judging from the mortice holes in the stone-work, and the peculiar bases of the pillars which rest upon the parapet, and are quarter-shares of a truncated pyramid inverted, with only the outer sides ornamented. Unfortunately, the front porch has been restored, by some pious blockhead, in the Saracenic style of a handsome modern temple in the village, so that it is not available for purposes of comparison. More than that, the Vandal threw away the ruins of the old porch, on one of which was a long Sanskrit inscription, observed, but not copied, by Dr. Gibson twenty-five years ago. After long search I found that the fragment on which it was had been turned face up under a *nimb*-tree, and used as a seat by the idlers of the village, who had with their barbarous hinder parts obliterated the inscription (never very deep or clear cut) beyond all hope of transcription or estampage, though it is possible that a competent Sanskṛit scholar, with time and the stone itself before him, might decipher a few words. I believe Bhâu Dâji got a rubbing when it was in not quite so bad a state, and perhaps this has been read; if not, what might have furnished a key to the history of the now dumb ruins of this class in Ahmadnagar has probably been irrecoverably lost, for the stone is much too heavy to move, and scholars are as plenty in Aṅkolê as lawyers are said to be in heaven. Those of the town professed to be much puzzled over an inscription on the threshold of the shrine, which a little scrubbing revealed as modern Marâṭhî, and bad at that,—recording the name of a *kulkarṇî* who engraved it there in the hope of acquiring *post mortem* spiritual benefit from the feet of the worshippers, who must step or kneel upon it to adore the liṅga.

The carving of the temple resembles to a certain extent that of the Kokamṭhân and Kumbhârî temples, but is enlivened much more than either with small standing figures of various Hindu divinities. The *haṅsa*, or sacred goose, appears both on the rear porch and on the central pillars. Almost all the figures appear to have been wilfully defaced. The best parts are the four great architraves forming the first course of the central dome of the maṇḍap. Two of these are adorned with battle-pieces; the third with a representation of Vishṇu lying upon the folds of the great serpent. Right and left of him the "naked Nâgâ folk"—quaint figures, half-human half-snake¶—squat upon their curled tails, and outside of them common mortals. Opposite this is a spirited representation of the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons to obtain the *Amṛita*. The great Nâga's long body is curled in a round turn upon the top of the mountain Mandhâr,—shaped something like the finial of a temple spire. Three or four comparatively large figures represent the gods, who have just let go, one only retaining hold of the snake's head, against their turn comes to haul again; while a lot of little Asuras are running off with the tail with a stamp-and-go motion that reminds one irresistibly of sailors at a hawser—

"With a yeo-heave oh! and a rumbelow,
And a heave! my mariners all! oh!"

The great snake, through it all, with his head just sufficiently raised to look about him, maintains an air of the most solemn indifference. The architraves of the other domes are ornamented with a pattern of blade-like leaves,

§ A relief on a small ancient grave-stone south of the temple seems to represent a Drâvidian roof,—perhaps copied from this or some neighbouring building.

‖ Possibly this was originally the shrine, and that now occupied by the liṅga its ante-chamber; its pillars resemble those of the central dome, not those of the surviving lateral porches or transepts.

¶ Vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. plate facing p. 5, fig. 4.

set as it were in a double row, so that the points of the rear rank appear in the intervals between the shoulders of those in front. The rest of the nine interior domes, and of the lateral porches or transepts, is modern work; but the porch behind the shrine, though much injured, preserves its original ceiling, resembling those of the temples above described. Dr. Gibson mentions "Bacchus-looking figures" as forming the capitals of the pillars; but these are merely the four-handed figures which are found as brackets at Ambarnâth* and other places in the Koṅkan, though this is the first place where I have seen them above ghâṭ. A comparison with these pot-bellied monsters would, I fear, have been odious to the graceful Dionusos; but doubtless the doctor was thinking of Silenus. He also mentions some "mounds of earth round the town" as possibly containing other remains, but upon examination they turned out to be the spoil-heaps of modern quarries.

Twenty miles from Aṅkolê by the nearest road lies the mountain of Harichandrâgaḍh, the culminating point of the ridge which divides the drainage areas of the Bhimâ and the Gaṅgâ or Godâvarî; nor is it unworthy to crown the most important watershed of the Dekhan. The crest, occupied by a small fort, attains an elevation of 4700 feet above sea-level; and the scarps which overlook the Koṅkan on its north-western face are estimated by Colonel Sykes at three thousand feet of sheer descent. I should say less; but they are certainly the finest cliffs in the Northern Sahyâdri (probably one of the most precipitous ranges in the world), and the views are magnificent. The west wind striking with great force against these cliffs produces such an up-draught that branches of trees, or the like, thrown over, descend only a few feet, then, hesitating in mid-air, suddenly reascend, and fly far inland over the head of the astonished experimentalist. It is an article of belief with good Hindus that a man jumping over with proper faith in the local divinity would return in like manner safe and sound; but no one has tried the experiment in these days of infidelity. The top of the mountain is what, for want of a better name, I must call a plateau, though it presents inequalities sufficient in some countries to make a very respectable mountain and a valley or two. It is about four miles in diameter any way you take it, and about the centre there is a group of Brahmanical caves, as follows:—

No. 1. A dharmaśâlâ, with bench all round.

No. 2. "The house,"—a large cave, or rather group,—has a verandah, supported on stout square pillars ornamented only with a capital composed of "thin slab-like members" increasing in size upwards. This opens at one end into a long cell, with a small well or cistern beside it, and at the other into one somewhat similar but smaller. Behind the verandah is a large hall with three cells. Unfortunately it was occupied at the time of my visit by an English lady, which prevented my examining it very closely; but *en revanche* her kindness enables me to accompany these notes with a sketch of the façade. The hall is lighted only by one large door and two small embrasures or windows.

Nos. 3 and 4. A large double cave, occupied when I was there as a kitchen: divided by a partition, on which, in high relief, is a figure of Gaṇapatî, about life-size (assuming Gaṇapatî to be of human stature).

No. 5 is a large double cell.

No. 6 a dharmaśâlâ, with bench, inner room, and well.

No. 7 is similar, though not exactly on the same plan as No. 6, with which it communicates by a window in the thin partition left between them.

No. 8 is a double cell, with a bench, upon the front of which are carved a few figures and ornaments, including a sort of diamond-shaped flower found also on the temples described above.

No. 9 is the same, with a well.

These form one range in a low scarp looking north-east, and the numbers are from the east westwards. The last two or three are much ruined, a vein of soft red stone cropping out here.

A little below this row of caves is a large reservoir, along the southern side of which is a row of little niches or shrines, some still occupied by images. This is surrounded by small temples and *thaḍkîs* or cenotaphs, some of

* *Vide* Nos. VII., XI., XII., and XXIII. of Ambarnâth plates in *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. They only appear on the pillars of the central dome and rear porch. The others have 'fiddle-headed' brackets with the cobra's hood.




PRINCIPAL CAVE IN THE UPPER RANGE HARICHANDRAGADH.

From a sketch by Mrs. Boswell

which show a return to first principles in their resemblance to kistvaens, being constructed of three or four upright slabs with one laid over the top. This pattern is not uncommon either in this or the P u ṇ â district. They are generally about two feet high, sometimes very rough, sometimes built of slabs carefully hewn, and decorated by cutting the top slab into something like the roof of a temple. They are, of course, comparatively modern, but the exact date is never attainable; and they are not, I think, often constructed at the present day. Below the reservoir again is a small temple in a pit, half cave half building, consisting merely of a cell with a shrine at each side, one of which contains the socket of a departed liṅga. Below it again is a deep hollow or pit, seemingly formed by cutting away the rock at the head of a ravine, so as to leave a small level space, in the centre of which rises a structural temple with spire. It has a very ancient appearance, probably contributed to by the tremendous rainfall of these western highlands, but is also remarkable for its plan. There is no maṇḍap; the shrine is under the tall spire, which is of the 'Northern' form; and the liṅga within is worshipped from any one of four doors with porches. Another shrine, containing the image of some goddess, is half built, half hewn out, in the south-eastern corner of the hollow; the western side is occupied by caves used as dharmaśâlâs, two or three in number, as you like to count them, for they are much mixed up together. About fifty yards down the ravine is the best cave in the place,—a great cistern about forty feet square, the centre of which is occupied by a huge liṅga surrounded by four pillars (or the remains of them) something resembling in pattern those of the chief cave at Elephanta, but much more slender,—about one foot in diameter. There is a good relief on the left side of the cave,—three or four figures worshipping a liṅga, and a small chamber above the level of the water. The worshippers swim and wade round the great liṅga in the centre, splashing it with water.

The whole group except No. 2 and the Liṅga cave are remarkable for their want of symmetry or uniformity of design, and also for the large size of the cells, as compared with those of Buddhist caves. I am not sure whether No. 2 was intended for residence or worship, but suspect the latter. The Liṅga cave and principal structural temple are the only ones now used for religious purposes. There can be no doubt that the whole group is Brahmanical. There is nothing throughout them which can be taken for a Buddhist symbol; while Hindu ornaments and images abound. The dharmaśâlâ caves beside the temple, I fancy, were constructed along with or after it,—they are so completely subservient to it; indeed, it was probably built of the stone excavated from them and from the pit in which it stands. The decoration is in a style much resembling that of the temples already described, except that small figures of animals are sculptured outside the spire and walls, which is not the case with any of them. The pit is enclosed on the approachable side by a massive stone wall, outside of which, and on the pillars of the dharmaśâlâ and liṅga caves, are two or three very rude and fragmentary inscriptions, apparently in rather modern Marâṭhî characters; but I had not time to stamp or read them, nor could I get a copy taken. I fancy they are merely the work of visitors or idlers. I could hear of no other caves in the neighbourhood. The nearest,—those of the N â n â G h â ṭ, about fifteen miles due south as the crow flies, and thirty by the nearest way practicable to the *bipes implumis*,—are Buddhist, as also those of J u n n a r, at about the same distance south-east.†

In the same range, however, are two other groups of Hindu caves. The first, those of D h o k e ś v a r a, are on the east side of one of two rugged hills that rise from a stony plateau about two miles from the village of T â k l î, a well-known camping-ground on the road from Saṅgamner to Pârner, twelve miles from the latter town, and sixty from Harichandrâgaḍh.

There are two caves, approached by a flight of steps leading to a built-up masonry terrace; whether coeval with the caves or not I cannot say, but think not. The largest is a big temple, twenty yards deep by fifteen wide, the front open, and supported by two massive square pillars and two pilasters. A little inside of these, another row supports a massive quasi-joist or architrave running right across the

† Two small caves are mentioned in the reports for the Bombay Gazetteer as existing in the mountain of Mahâkali, near Ekdare, in this tâlukâ.

temple; and within these again is the shrine, hollowed out of a great rectangular block left standing from floor to roof of the cave. Behind this again is a dark passage or *pradakshina*. The chief object of worship is a mean little liṅga in the central shrine, but there is another to the right of it (as you enter) faced by a large Nandî, or bull, carved *in sitû*. On the same side, but nearer the entrance, in a sort of chapel or niche, is a four-armed figure grasping several weapons; one a live cobra; another, looking like the head of a mallet, perhaps represents the *damru* or drum; the others are indistinguishable by reason of age, oil, and red lead plentifully bestowed by the worshippers, who honour this gentleman under the name of Kâl Bhairava, though I fancy he started in life under another title. Of several cobras about him, some seem to have been cut at a comparatively recent period. Opposite him are a row of eight ladies called the Ashṭa Mâtra,—Yoginîs I suppose; one has the head of a pig or horse—probably a *kinnara*. Besides these there are giant *dwarpâls*, animals of all sorts on a smaller scale, and a multitude of other figures, some cut *in sitû*, others on detached or even imported stones,—in fact the cave is a regular gallery of Hindu sculpture "from the earliest times to the present day," and the collection is still increasing. The other cave is a triple cell a little higher up the rock, the inner division separated from the outer by a low partition wall without a doorway, so that one must stride or scramble over this to get in. It is approached by a risky stair in the rock, south of the big cave. There is no inscription except a modern Marâṭhî one on a small *thadkî* outside the chief cave. I heard of a cave at Virole, seven miles from Pârner, and the identity of the name with that by which the Marâṭhâs know Elura tempted me to hope great things; but it is a mere hole in a rock by a modern though very sacred Hindu temple. There are, however, real caves at Waḍgâṁdaryâ, four miles from the large village of Kânhûr and twelve from Pârner, but I had not time to examine‡ them.

Most of the places referred to in the foregoing notes are in the Kopargâṁ, Saṅgamner, and Aṅkolê tâlukâs, drained by affluents of the Godâvarî. The caves of Dhokeśvara and Waḍgâṁ only are in the Pârner tâlukâ, which lies partly in the wide open valley of the Ghor river, and partly in the hills which form its northern boundary, and belong to the great dividing ridge of the Dekhan. The tâlukâ is tolerably rich in remains, but none are of the ornate character of those already noticed.

At the junction of two small streams near the town of Pârner itself is a temple of Mahâdeva Tryambakeśvara (called also, from the site, Saṅgameśvara), of considerable age and interest. The ground-plan is the normal double broken diamond or square, but not quite so elaborate as at Ambarnâth; for while there we have four superior re-entering angles between porch and porch on each side, and the salient angles also have each a double notch, here there are only three superior re-entering angles, and one small one next the porch. The roof is supported by four pillars standing in the centre of the floor, supporting, with the help of the walls and surviving pilasters, nine small rough domes. As far as can be made out, this was the original arrangement, but the whole building has been destroyed (tradition says by the first Muhammadan invaders), and rebuilt from a height of about nine feet from the ground, as can be seen by the use of mortar in the upper part (the lower being of dry stone-work remarkable for the size of the blocks), and by the inverted position of the decorations. The three porches are all in ruins,—the front one least so. Its door strongly resembles the inner door of temple No. II. Belgaum (figured in plate V. of the *Archæological Report of Western India* for 1874), but has not the pierced panels at the sides. The pillars, however, rather resemble those of temple No. I. Belgaum (*ibid.* plate II.). Perhaps the most curious feature of the temple is a decoration repeated on almost every stone of the exterior, with slight variations,—that, namely, which I have alluded to above (p. 7) as suggesting a derivation from Buddhist forms. The face of each of the large stones forming the walls is chiselled out to a depth of about one-fourth of an inch, a band one inch wide being left at its original place to serve as a border or frame. Within this is left in the same manner the figure in question. In some instances only the surface between it and

‡ On a subsequent visit I found them to be natural caves, rather spoiled by bad modern masonry, and of no architectural interest, though the natural beauty of the little glen in which they are makes it well worth going to see.

the bordering band is chiselled out, and then it resembles the exterior of a *dahgoba* in low flat relief, with 'ears' at the spring of the dome on each side. On other stones the surface is again cut away inside, leaving a very fair representation of the *chaitya*, or some similar arch. In every case the top of the device is carried up to, and joins, the border, so that one cannot tell how the object represented was finished above. The original roof of the temple is entirely gone; no image remains but the liṅga in its pit-like shrine, and a broken bull in a pit lined with modern rubble masonry, over whom the villagers have piled, in the form of a rude dome open at the top, some fragments either of his former pavilion or of the ruined porches. One of these, now called a liṅga, seems to represent a bunch of grapes turned point upwards, and may have been a finial of the roof. Another is a piece of a cornice, and corresponds with one or two others lying about, and with some built upside down into the wall by the Junnar Gate of the town, half a mile off.

A large *bârao*, or reservoir, at the other side of the town also shows the *chaitya*-like decoration; and a shrine at one side of it has pillars like those of the temple. It now belongs to a mean-looking mosque. Probably it was formerly part of the surroundings of another temple, for the number of columns and cornices lying about the town, or built into various structures (some themselves of respectable age), is greater than could have been furnished by the porches of Tryambakeśvara.

A wretched little modern temple in the centre of the town has several,—some corresponding to those of the surviving temple, others much plainer, more slender, tapering, and showing in section the broken square.

In front of this temple, under a *pipal*-tree, several fragments of sculpture are heaped together. One is a gargoyle in the shape of a monster's head, and must have belonged to a large building, as it is three feet long by two deep from poll to chin. Beside it is a great stone *rânjana*, or vase, of a form familiar to modern Dekhanî potters,—that of an egg truncated at both ends. It is 4 feet 6 inches high, and the same in maximum diameter, and formed of two pieces, the upper fitted over the lower. This vessel is said to have been found in a Brâhmaṇ's stackyard, and brought to its present place by a former Mâmlatdâr. It is very rough, and its simple decorations do not correspond with any of the other remains, and it might have been made at any period by the stone-cutters who hew out oil-presses. But it probably had sacred uses, for no domestic purpose could be assigned to it; and I found the lower half of a similar vessel among the ruins of a small temple (apparently of the same style as Tryambakeśvara) four miles off on the Kánhûr road.§ The few remains of another temple of the same class lie under a tamarind-tree halfway on the road to S u p e, in the opposite direction; and at P a l s h i, twenty miles to the northward, some stones built into, and lying in front of, a small rude temple between the town-gate and the river, show the same scanty ornaments (especially the peculiar dome or arch) as the temple and reservoir at P â r n e r.

The only evidence supplied by these ruins themselves as to the external form of the roofs is that given by the few pieces of cornice remaining about P â r n e r; but some clue is afforded by the *gokhles*, or niches, in a large reservoir at N i g h o j, twelve miles west by south of Pârner. These appear to represent the exterior of a temple of Drâviḍian style, with cornices which resemble those at Pârner. It is permissible to suppose that the architect imitated in them some larger building, a conjecture which is strengthened by the form of the reservoir. Its surface-plan is the ground-plan of a maṇḍap,—the regular broken square; three large staircases replace the porches; and the pier of the *moṭ* (leathern irrigation-bucket) occupies the position of the shrine. In short it is a maṇḍap turned upside down. The construction is highly archaic. Each course of the large blocks of hewn stone is set a little back from the next below, and firmly imbedded in a hollow cut for it. There is no mortar anywhere, and the use of a few iron clamps in the steps is probably a piece of modern repairs.|| There are no decorations except the niches mentioned above, from

§ Something like the upper half of such a vessel appears in the foreground of plate IX. of the *Archæological Report on West. India* for 1874.

|| A better example of this sort of work is to be found in a reservoir at B e l h e, in the J u n n a r tâlukâ of the Puṇâ district, but in the same valley as N i g h o j, and only twelve miles distant from it. This *bârao* is larger than that of Nighoj, and differs in surface-plan, being rectangular; but the structure of the masonry in receding courses, each firmly imbedded in its inferior, is the same, and can be better seen here, as the sloping site necessitates an exterior as well as interior exposure of the walls on

which the images have disappeared, and been replaced by round stones painted red. But on one stone of the *moṭ*-pier are scratched two quatrefoils, as if marked out to be cut deeper; on another two more, and something like a short broad sword or dagger. The villagers say that this represents the shears of a tailor, who in days gone by built the well in fulfilment of a vow to Malai Devî, to whom it is still sacred.

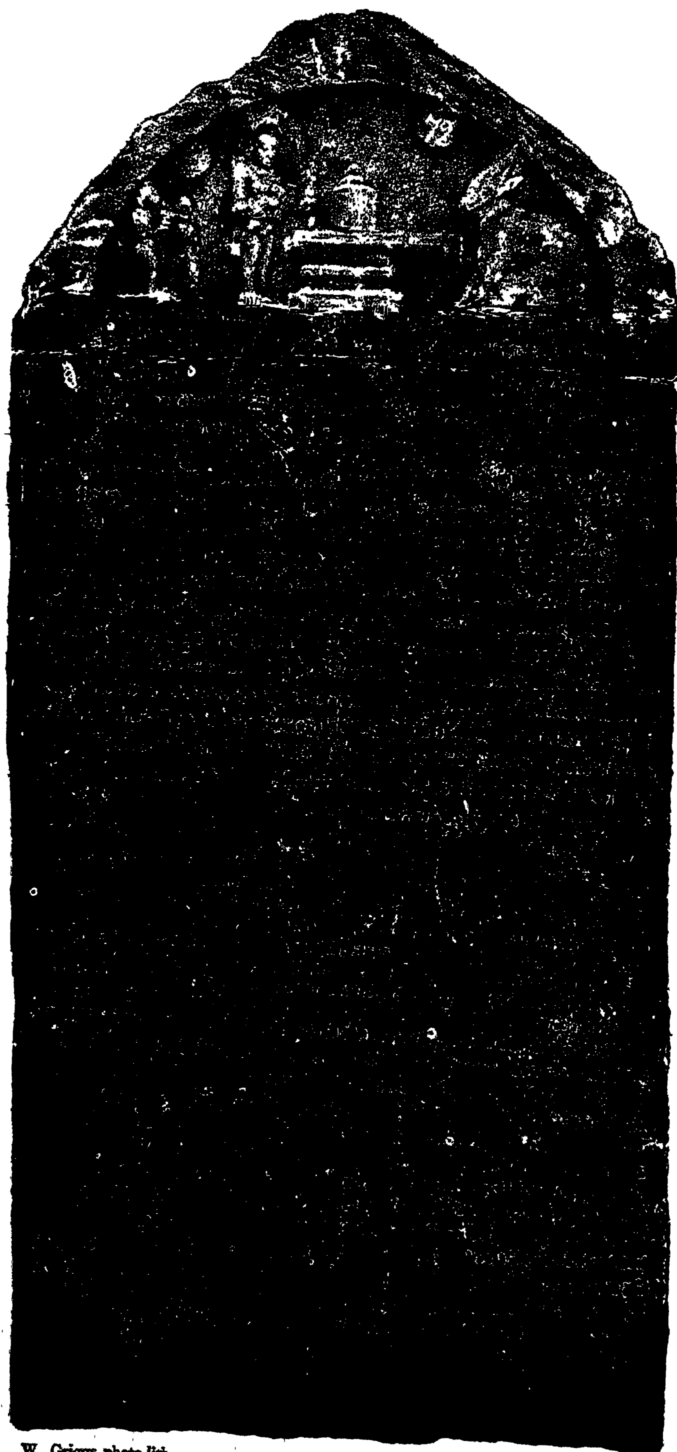
There are no other remains in Nighoj, but several of the villages around contain fragments of ancient sculpture, the most noticeable being, perhaps, a great seven-headed Nâga on a grave-stone at Mouje Chincholi, with his tail tied in a true-love knot, and some pillars and a small cornice in the Pârner style, built into and lying about two small temples at Shirapur, five miles up the Kukri river. The place has, however, a natural lion in the falls of the Kukri, called Kuṇḍ Mâwali, where the river, falling about thirty feet over a sheet of trap, has in course of time cut for itself a narrow and deep channel through the rock, of a kind well known to the geologists of the trap area, but marked beyond any that ever I saw by the elaborate potholes and honeycombs worn by the stream. This place is sacred, of course; and so are the fish which lurk in the deep pools, and are said to attain the size of a man! There are one or two small modern temples, which are objects of pilgrimage in the month Chaitra.

Pârner, which seems to have been always a place of importance, is not altogether without Muhammadan remains. There are built into the bastions of the Junnar Gate, inscriptions "of Sangram Khân Gorî, Faujdâr of Pârner,"¶ and of his sons, Abdul Karîm Khân, who was Faujdâr in 1009,—of what era he does not say; and Yamân Khân, 1008 or 1088, it is not clear which, but I prefer the latter reading, in spite of the enormous longevity which it would assign to him. He was the last of his house, I suppose, who ruled in Pârner, for an inscription on the Nagar Gate bastion is in the name of Karîm Khân, Faujdâr for the emperor Âlamgîr, and bears date 1091. All these inscriptions are in Marâṭhî characters, but over the last, in the same bastion, is one in Persian or Arabic, of which I could only get a very indifferent stamp; and a small ruined mosque under a tree opposite has two, one *in sitû*, and one transferred to the tomb of a *fakîr* just before it, within living memory. I could make nothing at all of them. A small mosque at Rânjangâṁ Masjidichî, in the east of the tâlukâ, is much thought of by 'the faithful' as having been built by the emperor Âlamgîr. It has a date over the door, which I had not time to copy, and only remember now that it did not contradict the tradition. A small tomb on the hill of Dasâbâî near Pârner, is said to be that of Chând Bibî, the fighting princess of Nagar, who seems to have "bestowed on every airt a limb," for this is the fourth place of sepulture I have heard assigned to her. This story, at any rate, may be put aside as improbable and unconfirmed by any respectable evidence. Hindu women offer glass bangles to a jasmine bush which covers the tomb. Considering how little the Muhammadans of Nagar built on their own account, it is astonishing how much they influenced the architecture of their Hindu neighbours, whose later religious edifices are almost all servile copies of Muhammadan designs, and sometimes only to be distinguished from mosques and tombs by the hideous occupants of the interior. The only good modern temples in the part of Ahmadnagar to which these notes refer are that of Śrî Raṅga at Ankole, which furnished a model to the misguided restorer mentioned above (p. 9), and two at the village of Palshi-Mâṇḍave (the same village which contains a few ancient remains). One of these, the temple of Viṭhobâ, is really a very handsome building, with a fine domed maṇḍap supported entirely on pillars, though these are rather stiff in outline, and the internal dome is disfigured with ugly painted figures. The *vimâṇa* is graceful, and shows some fine stone-cutting. The small modern temple in the town of Pârner, already once mentioned, has one curious piece of the Hindu art of our day,—a clay representation of Chandikâ Devî killing the buffalo-devil, executed with

three sides. It strongly resembles the plinth of the temple at Konnur figured in plate IX. of the *Archæological Report*, 1874. The temple-like niches (*gokales*) are more elaborate than at Nighoj; their little pilasters are decorated with monstrous faces (*kirttimukh*, *grâsda*), and with birds,—whether *haṁsa*-geese or peafowl the red paint of modern devotion makes it difficult to say. The *quasi*-roofs show also, below the urn-like finial (*kalas*), the ornament called *amla śila*,—here so much flattened as to resemble a cog-wheel more than anything else.

¶ Only the name is intelligible, though the rest of the inscription is legible enough. I submitted the stamp to both Persian and Sanskrit scholars without getting any interpretation.

STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KADAMBA FAMILY AT BALAGAMVE.



W. Griggs photo-lith

considerable spirit by a living artist, a *paṭîl* of the village of Renawaḍî, who "learnt to do these things in Bombay,"—I hope not at the School of Art. It is gorgeously coloured and gilt, and so much thought of that the cupboard-like shrine is kept under padlock. At Supe, on the Punâ-Nagar road, some black and white marble gods, included by a former jâghirdâr in the plunder of some Central Indian raid, are equally venerated and admired, with about as much reason.

---

## SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S.

*(Continued from vol. IV. p. 334.)*

### No. IX.

This is another Kâdamba inscription, from plate No. 72 of Major Dixon's collection. The original, in the Old Canarese characters and language, is on a stone-tablet 4′ 6″ high by 2′ broad at Baḷagâṁve. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a *liṅga* and priest; on its right, a second standing figure, probably of a worshipper, above which is the moon; and on its left, a cow and calf, with the sun above them.

The inscription belongs to the time of the Châlukya king Jayasiṁhadêva,* whose local representative in charge of the Banavâse Twelve-thousand, the Sântaḷi or Sântaḷige Thousand, and the Hayve Five-hundred, was the Great Chieftain Kundama, the son of Iṟivabeḍaṅgadêva. It records repairs and grants made to the temple of the god Nandikêśvaradêva of the original local shrine, and grants made to the god Chaturmukhadêva, which was connected with the preceding, in the Śaka year 941 (A.D. 1019-20), being the Siddhârthi *saṁvatsara*.

*Transcription.*

[1] †ಶ್ರೀಪತಿ ಚಕ್ರಧಾರಿ ಗರುಡಾಸನನಂಬುರುಹಾಕ್ಷನದ್ರಿಜಾತಾಪತಿ ಶೂಳಧಾರಿ ವ್ರಿ(ವೃ)ಷಭಾಸನನಭ್ಯಧಿಕೇಕ್ಷಣಂ ವಜ(ಚಃ)ಶ್ರೀ[2]ಪತಿ ಪಾಶಧಾರಿ ಕಳಹಂಸಗನಷ್ಟಮಿತಾಕ್ಷನಿ(?)ರ್ದವಂ ತ್ರೈಪುರುಷತ್ರಿಳೋಕಜನಪೂಜಿತರೀಗೆವು-ಗಿಷ್ಟಸಿದ್ಧಿ(ದ್ಧಿ)ಯ ॥ ● ॥ [3]ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾಶ್ರಯ ಶ್ರೀಪ್ರಿ(ಪೃ)ಥ್ವೀವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಳ[4]ತಿಳಕಂ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಾಭರಣಂ ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾಮೋದಂ ಮಾರ್ಪ್ಪಡಿಭೀಮಂ ರಾಯಗಜಕೇಸರಿ ಗಂಡರೊಳ್ ಗಂಡ(ಡಂ) ಗಂಡಬಂಗಾಱಂ ಚೋಳೋಗ್ರಕಾಳಾ[5]ನಳಂ ಚೋಳಚಂಡನಾ(ನೋ)-ಪೇಕ್ಷವಿದಗ್ಧರಾಯಪವಿತ್ರಚೂಡಾಮಣಿ ಅರಿರಾಯತಲೆಯ ಕರವತ್ತಂ ಅರಿರಾಯಸೆಳೆದಂ [6]ರಾಯಪ್ರತಾಪಾದಿತ್ಯಂ ತೇಜೋಮಾರ್ತ್ತಂಡಂ ಶೌರ್ಯ್ಯನಾರಾಯಣಂ ರಾಯಮುಂನೀರಬಡವಾನಳಂ ಚಾವಾಣಸಹಸ್ರಬಾ[7]ಹು ರಾಯ-ಜಗಝಂಪೆ ಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿವಿದ್ಯಾಧರಂ ಕೋದಂಡರಾಮಂ ಶ್ರೀಮಚ್ಚಳುಕ್ಯವಂಶೋದ್ಭವಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಯೈ(ತ್ರೈ)ಲಪದೇವರ ವಿಜ-ಯ[8]ರಾಜ್ಯಮುತ್ತರೋತ್ತರಾಭಿವ್ರಿ(ವೃ)ದ್ಧಿ(ದ್ಧಿ)ಪ್ರವರ್ದ್ಧ(ರ್ದ್ಧ)ಮಾನಮಾಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕ್ಕತಾರಂ ಬರಂ ಸಲುತ್ತಮಿರೆ ॥ ಧರೆಯಂ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಾನ್ವಯದರಸುಗ[9]ಳೇಕೊ(ಕೋ)ನಷಷ್ಟಿಸಿಂಹಾಸನಮಾಳ್ದರಯೋಧ್ಯಾಪುರವರದೊಳ್ ಪರಮೋತ್ಸ-ವದಿಂದಮಿರ್ದ್ದ ತದ್ವಂಶಭವಂ ॥ ಜಯವನಿತೇಶಂ ಸತ್ಯಾ[10]ಶ್ರಯಧೇ(ದೇ)ವಂ ಬ್ರಂ(ಬ್ರ)ಹ್ಮಕುಳಮನೊಳ್ಪಿನ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಳವೆನೆ ಸಕಳಧರಿತ್ರಿಯನಾಳ್ದಂ ಸಾರ್ಬ್ಬ(ರ್ವ್ವ)ಭೌಮವಿಸರೆಸೆವಿನೆ[11]ಗಂ ॥ ಆ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಳ-ದೊಳಿಳಾಸುದತೀಶಂ ಪ್ರತಾಪಿ ನೂರ್ಮ್ಮಡಿತೈಲಂ ವಾಸದವಿಭವಂ ರಿ[ಪು] ಸಂತ್ರಾಸಿಯೆ ಶೋಭಾ[12]ಸಿ ಸಕ-ಳಧಾತ್ರಿಯನಾಳ್ದಂ ॥ ರಟ್ಟರ ಕೈಗೆವಿರ್ದ್ದೆ(ರ್ದೆ)ಳೆಯುಂ ಪಟ್ಟಮುಮಂ ರಟ್ಟರಾಜ್ಯದರಸುಗಳಂಮುಂ ಬಿಟ್ಟು ತಪಿದೊಟ್ಟಿ ರಟ್ಟ[13]ಘರಟ್ಟಂ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯರಾಜ್ಯಪಟ್ಟಮನಾತಂ ॥ ಆ ಜಯಸಿಂಘನ್ರಿ(ನೃ)ಪಾಳಂ ಭೋಜನ್ರಿ(ನೃ)ಪಾಂಭೋಜ-ರಾಜನಿನನಿಭತೇಜಂ ರಾಜೇಂದ್ರಚೋ[14]ಳಗಜಮ್ರಿ(ಮೃ)ಗರಾಜಂ ರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜನೆನಿಪ್ಪುದು ಪಿರಿದೋ(?) ॥ ಪಸರಿಸಿ ಪೞ್ಗೆಗೊಂದಳಸಿ ನಿಂದ ತಮಸ್ತಮಮಂ ತೆರಳ್ಚಿ ಬಂದೊಸೆದಿ[15]ವನೇಱುವಂತುದಯಪರ್ಬ್ಬ(ರ್ವ್ವ)ತಮಂ ಕಲಿ-ಕಾಲದೇಳ್ಗೆಯಂ ದೆಸೆಗಿಡೆ ತೂಳ್ದಿ ತಾಳ್ದಿ ಕ್ರಿ(ಕೃ)ತಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿಯನೊಳ್ಪಿನ ತಿಳ್ಪುಗಳ್ [16]ಜಗಕ್ಕೆಸೆದಿರೆ ಸಿಂಘ-

---

* Śaka 940 ? to 962 ?; Sir W. Elliot.

† The lines of this inscription being too long for the page, the commencement of each line has been marked by a numeral in brackets.—ED.

ವಿಷ್ಟರಮನೇಱಿದನಾ ಜಯಸಿಂಘವಲ್ಲಭ ॥ ಮಾಳವಮೇೞುಮಂ ಪುಡುಕೆ ಗಟ್ಟಿಸಿ ಪ(?ದ)ತ್ತೊ‡[17]ಱೆಯಟ್ಟಿ ಚೇರನುಂ
ಚೋೞನುಮಂ ಸಮುದ್ರದೊಳಗದ್ದಿರ್ದುದದ್ದಿರ್ದಂ(ದು)ದಂದು ತೇಜದುಬ್ಬೇಱುಸಮುಂ(ಮು)ದ್ರಮುಂಗಳಿಯೆ ಪ[18]-
ರ್ಬ್ಬಿರ್ ಪೊದಳ್ದುದು ದಿಗ್ಜಯಂ ದಿಶಾಪಾಳರನಳ್ಕಿಸಿ(ಸು)ತ್ತಿದಿರಲಿಂಪಪರಾಜ್ಜ್ಯಯಸಿಂಘದೇವನ ॥ ತತ್ಪಾದಪದ್ಮೋ-
[19]ಪಜೀವಿ [ । ] ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಧಿಗತಪಂಚಮಹಾಶಬ್ದಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಂ(ಳೇ)ಶ್ವರಂ ಬನವಾಸಿ(ಸೀ)ಪುರವರಾಧೀಶ್ವರಂ
ಚಾಮುಂಡಾಲಬ್ಧವರಪ್ರ[20]ಸಾದಂ ವೈರಿಘಟಾಕೇಸರಿ ಸುಜನಕ್ಕೆವಾರನಾರೋಹಕತ್ರಿನೇತ್ರಂ ಮದದಾನೇಧವಳಂ ಬ್ಯಾ-
ಳಗಜಮಲ್ಲಂ ಮತ್ತಮಾತಂ[21]ಗಭೀಮಂ ಶರಣಾಗತವಜ್ರಪಂಜರಂ ರಿಪುಕುಂಜರಾಂಕುಶ ಅರಿಬಳತಿಮಿರಮಾರ್ತ್ತಂಡ
ನುಡಿದಂತೆ ಗಂಡ ಸ(ಸಂ)ಗ್ರಾಮರಾಮನ[22]ಭಿಮಾನಮೇರು ಜಗದೇಕವೀರಂ ವೀರವಿದ್ಯಾಧರಂ ಕಟಕದಗೋವ-
ನಚಳಿತಧೈ[ರ್ಯ್ಯಂ] ಸುಭಟಾರಿದರ್ಪ್ಪದಳನಂ ವೈರಿಘರ[23]ಟ್ಟಂ ಮಂಡಳಿಕಲಲಾಟಪಟ್ಟಂ ಸತ್ತಿಗನಚಟ್ಟಂ ಶ್ರೀ-
ಮದಿಱಿವಬೆಡಂಗದೇವರ ಮಗಂ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಕುಂದಮರಸರ್ ಬನ[24]ವಾಸೆಪಂನಿರ್ಚ್ಛಾಸಿರಮುಮಂ
ಸಾನ್ತಳಿಸಾಸಿರಮುಮಂ ಹಯ್ವೆಯಯ್ನೂಱುಮನುಭಯಸಾಂ(ಸಾ)ಮ್ಯದಿಂ(ದಿಂ) ಪಶ್ಚಿಮಸಮು[25]ದ್ರಪರ್ಯ್ಯಂತಂ ಬರಂ
ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾವಿನೋದದಿಂ ಬಲಿಪುರದ ನೆಲೆವೀಡಿನೊಳ್ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯ್ಯುತ್ತಮಿರ್ದ್ದು ಶಕವರ್ಷ ೯೪೧ನೆಯ ಸಿದ್ಧಾ-
[26]ರ್ತ್ಥಿಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಪುಷ್ಯ ಶುದ್ಧ ಬಿದಿಗೆ ಆದಿತ್ತ್ಯ(ತ್ಯ)ವಾರದಂದಿನುತ್ತರಾಯಣಸಂಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯ ಪರ್ಬ್ಬ(ರ್ವ್ವ)-
ನಿಮಿತ್ತದಿಂ ಮೂಲಸ್ಥಾನನಂದಿ[27]ಕೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ ದೇವಾಲ್ಯ(*sc.* ಲಯ)ಮಂ ಜೀರ್ಣ್ಣೋದ್ಧಾರಂ ಮಾಡಿಯಾ ದೇವರ
ನಿವೇದ್ಯಕ್ಕಂ ಖಂಡಸ್ಫ(ಸ್ಫು)ಟಿತಜೀರ್ಣ್ಣೋದ್ಧಾರಕ್ಕಂ ಮುಂನ ನಡವ ತಳ[28]ವೃತ್ತಿಯಾ ಪುರದ ನೈರಿತ್ಯದ
ಸರಡೆಯಕೋಣಬಯಲ ಗದ್ದೆ(ದ್ದೆ) ರ(?ತ)ತ್ನವಿಯಘಳೆಯೊಳ್ § ಮತ್ತರುಮನೆರಡುಮನಾ [29]ಗದ್ದೆಯ ತೆಂಕಣ
ಹಳ್ಳದಿ(ದಿಂ) ತೆಂಕಲ್ ಹಕ್ಕಲ್ ಮತ್ತರೊಂದುಮನಾ ಹೊಲಕ್ಕೆ ಸೀಮೆ ಪಡುವಲ್ ಹಳ್ಳವೇ ಮೆರೆಯಾ
ಗ[30]ದ್ದೆಯ ಬಡಗಣ ಹಳ್ಳದಿಂ ಬಡಗಲ್ ಹಕ್ಕಲ್ ಮತ್ತರೊ(ರೊಂ)ದುಮನದಕ್ಕೆ ಸೀಮೆ ಬಡಗಲ್ ಕರಿ-
ಯಕೆಱೆಯ ಬಡಗಣ [31]ಕೋಡಿಯೇ ಮೇರೆ ಮೂಡಣ ಸೀಮೆ ಬಳ್ಳಿಯಹೊಲದ ಕೆಳಗಣ ಕೊಳಂ ಮೇರೆ
ಮತ್ತವಾ ದೇವರ ಭೂಮಿ ಬಳ್ಳಿಯ[32]ಬಯಲೊಳಗಣ ಬಳ್ಳಿ ಎರಡಱ ಗದ್ದೆ ಮತ್ತರೆರಡು ಆ ದೇವರ
ಬಡಗಣ ದೆಸೆಯ ಹೂದೋಂಟ ಕಂಮ ಮೂವತ್ತು ಮತ್ತ[33]ವಾ ದೇವರ ತೆಂಕದೆಸೆಯಿಂ ಮೂಡಲ್
ನಿಮಿರ್ದ್ದ ಕೇರಿಯೆರಡು ಮತ್ತವಾ ಕೇರಿಯ ಮೂಡದೆಸೆಯಲ್ ತೆಂಕ ನಿಮಿರ್ದ್ದ [34]ಕೇರಿಯೆರಡು ಮತ್ತ-
ವರಕೆಱೆಯ ಕೆಳಗಣಡಕೇಬೋಂಟ ಮತ್ತರೊಂದು ಮತ್ತವಾ ಕೆಱೆಯ ಬಡಗಣ ಕೋಡಿ[35]ಯ ಪದಿದಳ-
ಗೆಱೆಯ ತೆಂಕಣ ಹೂದೋಂಟ ಕಂಮವಯ್ವತ್ತು [ ॥ ] ಮತ್ತವಲ್ಲಿಂ ಮೂಡಲಾ ದೇವರ ಪ್ರತಿಬ[36]ಧ್ಧ(ದ್ಧ)
ಚತುರ್ಮ್ಮು(ಚತುರ್ಮ್ಮು)ಖದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಮುಂನ ನಡವ ತಳವೃತ್ತಿಯರಕೆಱೆಯ ಪೊದ್ದೆ ಮೂಡಲ್ ಮತ್ತರೊಂದು
ಕಂಮವಯ್ವತ್ತುಮ[37]ನಾ ದೇವರ ಸುತ್ತಣ ಹೂದೋಂಟ ಕಂಮ ನಾಲ್ವತ್ತುಮನಾ ದೇವರ ತೆಂಕಣ
ಭಾಗದ ಕೇರಿ ಎರಡುಮನದಕ್ಕೆ ಸೀಮೆ ಪಡುವಲುಂ ಬ[38]ಡಗಲುಂ ನಿಡುಗೊಳಂಗಳೇ ಮೇರೆಯಾ ದೇವ-
ರಿ(ರಿಂ) ತೆಂಕಲ್ಂ(ಲುಂ) ಮೂಡಲುಂ ರಾಜವೀಥಿಯೇ ಮೇರೆಯಾ ದೇವರಿಂ ಪಡುವಲ್ ನಿಮಿರ್ದ್ದ [39]ಕೇ-
ರಿಯೆರಡುಮನದಕ್ಕೆ ಸೀಮೆ ಪಡುವಲುಂ ಬಡಗಲುಂ ವಾಯುಬ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ)ದ ಕೋಣಿಂ ಮೂಡ ನಿಮಿರ್ದ್ದ ಬಳ್ಳಿ-
ಗೊಳನೇ ಮೇರೆಯ[40]ಲ್ಲಿಂ ಪಡುವಲ್ ಬಾದುಂಬೆಯನಿಂ ಬಡಗಲ್ ಹೂದೋಂಟ ಕಂಮ ನಾಲ್ವತ್ತುಮನಾ
ದೇವರ ಪೂಜೆ ¶ ಪುನಸ್ಕಾರಕ್ಕಂ ನಿತ್ಯನಿವೇದ್ಯಕ್ಕಂ [41]ವ(ಅ)ಲ್ಲಿಯ ಖ(ಖಂ)ಡಸ್ಫುಟಿತಜೀರ್ಣ್ಣೋಧ್ಧಾ(ದ್ಧಾ)ರ-
ಕ್ಕವೆಂದು ಕೊಟ್ಟರ್ [ ॥ ] ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಯಮನಿಯಮಾಸನಪ್ರಾಣಾಯಾಮಪ್ರತ್ಯಾಹಾ[42]ರಧಾರಣಾಮೋ(ಮೌ)ನಾನುಷ್ಠಾ-
(ಷ್ಠಾ)ನಜಪಸಮಾಧಿಶೀಳಸಂಪಂನರಪ್ಪ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಮೂಲಿಗಶಿವಶಿ(ಶ)ಕ್ತಿಪಂಡಿತದೇವರ ಕಾಲಂ*

‡ The consonant is distinctly legible, but it is hard to say whether the vowel is '*e*' or '*o*'.

§ '*Ghale*' is either a clerical error for, or another form of, '*gale*', *a staff*; see No. I, line 16, vol. IV. page 180.

¶ Either ಪೂಜೆಯ, the Canarese genitive, should be read, or we must correct the text and read ಪೂಜಾಪುನಸ್ಕಾರಕ್ಕಂ as a compound.

* The inscription ends here abruptly. The first word of the next line, if continued, must be ಕಳ್ಚಿ or ಕಳ್ಚಿ. The tablet itself does not terminate here; but the remaining portion of it, equal to five or six lines of writing, is quite blank, and no traces are discernible, in the photograph, of the inscription having ever been finished.

*Translation.*

May the three Spirits†, who are worshipped by the people of the three worlds‡, give us success in our desires,——the lord of Śrî, who carries the discus, whose seat is Garuḍa§, and whose eye is like the lotus; the lord of the mountain-born, who carries the trident, whose seat is the bull, and who has one eye more than the usual number ||, and the lord of the goddess¶ of speech, who carries the noose**, who rides upon a Kalahaṁsa †† bird, and who has eight eyes! ‡‡

Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tailapadêva §§, who was born in the glorious family of the Châḷukyas,—the asylum of the universe; the favourite of the world; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the most venerable; the glory of the family of Satyâśraya; the ornament of the Châḷukyas; he who had the fragrance of jasmine; he who was terrible if any one opposed him; he who was a very lion towards the elephants which were the (hostile) kings; he who was a hero among heroes; the router of heroes; he who was a fierce blast of death to Chôḷa; he who was a pure crest-jewel among kings who despised the wrath of Chôḷa; he who squeezed with violence the heads of hostile kings; he who castigated hostile kings; a very sun in respect of his kingly splendour; a very sun in respect of his radiance; a very Nârâyaṇa |||| in respect of his valour; a very submarine fire to the oceans which were the (hostile) kings; a very Thousand-armed ¶¶ to Chauvâṇa; he who was victorious among kings; he who was a demigod in respect of his renown; he who was a very Râmâ with the bow,—was flourishing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

The kings of the Châḷukya family governed the earth, which consisted of fifty-nine thrones*, with the greatest happiness at the excellent city of Ayôdhyâpura; and Satyâśrayat†,—who was born in that race, and who was the lord of the lovely woman Victory,—ruled the whole world, so that he acquired the title of a universal emperor, and the family of Brahma ‡ was called the excellent Satyâśrayakuḷa.

In that same Satyâśrayakuḷa, the valorous Nûrmaḍitaila §, the lord of the lovely woman the Earth, armed with a sword which was his splendour, governed the whole world, distressing his enemies, but possessed of prowess that afforded a refuge (to those who applied to him for protection). Having slain in numbers the Raṭṭa kings, and having acquired the earth which had fallen into the hands of the Raṭṭas, together with their crown, he himself, a very handmill to the Raṭṭas, became the diadem of the Châḷukya sway.

That famous king Jayasiṅgha||,—a moon to the lotus which was king Bhôja; glorious as the sun; a very lion to the elephant which was Chôḷa, the greatest of kings,—was esteemed the supreme king of kings. Like the sun which climbs the mountain of dawn, when it has spread its rays abroad after chasing away the thick darkness, so that same Jayasiṅghavallabha, having diffused over all the regions the prosperity of the Kali ¶ age, and having enjoyed the good fortune that he achieved, ascended the throne in such way that an excellent purity shone over the whole world. Having searched out and beset and pursued and ground down and put to flight the confederacy of Mâḷava, the expansion of his glory, conquering the regions, again and again immersed Chêra and Chôḷa in the ocean, and then, spreading so that the seven oceans were left behind it, it rose up, causing fear to those (gods) who are the guardians of the points of the compass; who are they who can withstand Jayasiṅghadêva?

He who subsisted, (as if he were a bee,) on

† Vishṇu, the preserver, Śiva, the destroyer, and Brahma, the creator, whose leading characteristics are given in order in this verse.

‡ Heaven, and earth, and the infernal regions.

§ The man-bird, the chief of the feathered race, the servant and vehicle of Vishṇu.

|| The third eye being in his forehead.

¶ Sarasvatî.

** Properly the noose is the weapon of the god Varuṇa, and Brahma carries the '*kamaṇḍalu*,' or earthen or wooden water-pot used by ascetics and religious students.

†† A kind of duck or goose.

‡‡ In consequence of his having four faces.

§§ Śaka 895 to 919,—Sir W. Elliot.

|||| Vishṇu.

¶¶ Either Śiva, or the Purâṇic hero Kârtavîryârjuna.

* *i.e.*, 'which was divided into fifty-nine countries.'

† The eldest son and successor of Tailapadêva; Śaka 919 to 930?,—Sir W. Elliot.

‡ The Châḷukyas derive their origin from the god Brahma.

§ This must be another name of Vikramâditya I or Vibhu-Vikrama, the eldest son of Satyâśraya; Śaka 930? to 940?,—Sir W. Elliot.

|| Jayasiṁhadêva, or Jagadêkamalla, the third and youngest son of Satyâśraya; Śaka 940? to 962? —Sir W. Elliot.

¶ The present and last of the four ages of the world.

the lotuses which were his feet, *viz.* the fortunate Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara king Kundama, the son of the fortunate Irivabeḍaṅgadêva, —the Great Chieftain who attained the five *Mahâśabdas;* the supreme lord of the city of Banavâsîpura, which was the best of cities; he who acquired the excellent favour of (the goddess) Châmuṇḍâ*; he who was a very lion towards the troops of elephants which were his foes; he who had the applause of good people; he who was a very Trinêtra† to those who attain eminence; he who was as beautiful as an elephant in rut; he who was as mighty as a deadly serpent or an elephant; he who was as terrible as an elephant mad with passion; he who was a cage of thunderbolts to (protect) those who came to him for refuge; he who was an elephant-goad for the elephants which were his enemies; he who was as the sun to (disperse) the darkness of the array of his foes; he who was true to his promises; he who was a very Râma in battle; he who was a very Mêru‡ in haughtiness; the bravest man in the world; he who was a demigod among brave men; (he who had the name of) Kaṭakadagôva§; he whose resolution was not to be shaken; he who subdued the pride of brave warriors and enemies; he who was a handmill to his foes; he who was the diadem of chieftains; (he who had the name of) Sattiganachaṭṭa,—while impartially governing, with the recreation of pleasing conversations, at the capital of Balipura, the Banavâse Twelve-thousand, the Sântaḷi‖ Thousand, and the Hayve Five-hundred, up to the borders of the western ocean,—on the occasion of the festival of the sun's commencement of his progress to the north on Sunday the second day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the Siddhârthi *saṁvatsara,* which was the year of the Śaka era 941,—repaired the temple of the god Nandikêśvaradêva ¶ of the original shrine, (and gave), to be continued for the future, for the oblation of that god and for the purpose of repairing whatever might become broken or torn or worn-out through age, a plot of ground consisting of five *mattars* of rice-land, by (the measure of) the staff called Ratsaviyaghaḷe*, in the rice-land called Saraḍeyakôṇabayal, and one *mattar* of corn-land to the south of the rivulet which is to the south of that same rice-land; and the boundary of this field is,—On the south, the rivulet itself is the boundary. To the north of the rivulet, which is to the north of that same rice-land, there is one *mattar* of corn-land, the boundaries of which are:—On the north the weir to the north of the tank called Kariyakeṟe; the east boundary is the pond which is below the field called Baḷḷiyahola. And the land of that same god is two *mattars* out of the two *baḷḷis* † which are included in the rice-land called Baḷḷiyabayal. The flower-garden, to the north of (the temple of) that same god, consists of thirty *kammas.* ‡ And two streets were laid out to the south of (the temple of) that same god, and two streets to the south, on the east of those same streets. And (there was given) a betelnut-garden of one *mattar* below the tank called Arakeṟe; and a flower-garden of fifty *kammas* to the south of the tank called Aḷageṟe, which was dug out below the northern weir of the same tank.

And to the east of that place (they gave), to be continued for the future, to the god Chaturmukhadêva §, which was connected with that same god, a plot of ground consisting of one *mattar* and fifty *kammas* to the east of and near to the tank called Arakeṟe; and a flower-garden of forty *mattars* lying round (the temple of) that same god; and two streets to the south of that same god. The boundaries of this are:—On the west and the north, the large tanks themselves are the boundary; and on the south and the east of the god, the king's highway is the boundary. The boundary of two streets that were laid out to the west of (the temple of) that same god is:—On the west and north the boundary is the tank called Baḷḷigoḷa, which was made to the east of the north-west quarter. To the west from there (they gave)

* A form of Durgâ or Pârvatî.

† 'The three-eyed' Śiva, as the destroyer of Tripura.

‡ The golden mountain in the centre of Jambûdvîpa or the inhabited world.

§ See No. 1 of the Banawâsi inscriptions at page 206.

‖ Or Sântaḷige; see note ‖ at vol. IV. page 210, col. 2.

¶ Śiva,—'the lord of the bull Nandika or Nandî', of whom Basava, the founder of the Liṅgâyat religion, is supposed to have been an incarnation.

* See note § to line 28 of the text.

† '*Baḷḷi,*'—the meaning of this word as a land-measure is not known.

‡ '*Kamma,*'—an ancient land-measure the value of which is not now known.

§ 'The four-faced,'—Brahma.

a flower-garden of forty *kammas* to the north of (the place called) Bâdumbe.

(These things) they gave, saying that they were for the repeated worship of that god, for the perpetual oblation, and for the purpose of repairing whatever might become broken or torn or worn-out through age there.

Hail! Having washed the feet of the holy Mûliga-Śivaśaktipaṇḍitadêva, who was endowed with the characteristics (of the performance of) the greater and minor religious observances, sitting in the postures of devotees, holding the breath, withdrawal of the senses from external objects, immovable abstraction of the mind, silence, the muttering of prayers, and profound meditation . . . . . . . . . ||

No. X.

This is another Vijayanagara inscription of the time of Achyutarâya, from Plate No. 22 of Mr. Hope's collection. The original, a fragment, is a stone-tablet at the temple of Banaśaṁkarî, which is about three miles to the south-east of Bâdâmi¶ in the Bâdâmi Tâlukâ of the Kalâdgi District. The inscription is in the Canarese character and language. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a *liṅga;* on its right, the sun, and on its left, the moon.

The inscription records that in the year of the Śâlivâhanaśaka 1455 (A. D. 1533-4), being the Nandana *saṁvatsara**, at the command of Chinnappanâyaka, who was the general of Achyutarâya, Chikka-Chinnappanâyaka repaired the fort of Bâdâvi and the temple of the goddess Śri-Banada-Mahammâyi and other shrines which were in the same fort.

The forts of Bâdâvi, or in its modern form Bâdâmi, are of some renown in these parts. The town lies at the mouth of a ravine, and is guarded in front by what was formerly a tolerably strong fort of its own, and at the back by a tank of considerable size. On the hill overhanging the north side of the town there is the Bâvan-baṇḍê-kôṭi, or 'Fort of the fifty-two large rocks', and on the hill overhanging the south side of the town there is the Raṇamaṇḍala-kôṭi, or 'Fort of the field of battle'. I failed to ascertain the origin of these names. In the *émeute* of the blind Brâhmaṇ Narasiṅgrao and his Arabs in 1841, the fort of the town was taken with tolerable ease by the military force sent out from Belgaum; but the other two, and especially the Bâvan-baṇḍê-kôṭi, gave considerable trouble. All three were then more or less dismantled and rendered useless.

No shrine at Bâdâmi itself seems to be now known by the name of Banada-Mahammâyi; the goddess is, of course, the same as Banâ-Śaṁkarî, of the temple at which is the tablet containing the present inscription.

*Transcription.*

[1] ಶುಭಮಸ್ತು [||] ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ [।] ತ್ರೈ-

[2] ಲೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಶಂಭವೇ ।(||) ಅಂತರಾಯತಿಮಿರೋ-

[3] ಪಶಾಂತಯೇ ಶಾಂತಪಾವನಮಚಿಂತ್ಯವೈಭವಂ ತಂ ನರಂ ವಪುಷಿ ಕುಜರಂ

[4] ಮುಖೇ ಮನ್ಮಹೇ ತಮಪಿ ತುಂದಿಲಂ ಮಹಃ ।(||) ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಜಯಾಭ್ಯುದಯಶಾಲಿವಾಹನಶಕವ-

[5] ರ್ಷ ೧೪೫೫ನೆಯ ನಂದನಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಜೇ(ಜ್ಯೇ)ಷ್ಠ ಶು(ಶುದ್ಧ) ೫ ಗುರುವಾರದಲೂ ಸಕಲಸಾಮಂತಚಕ್ರಮಕು-

[6] ಟಮಣಿಮರೀಚಿಮಂಜರೀವಿರಾಜಿತಚರಣಕಮಲ ರಾಜೇಂದ್ರಶೇಖರ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ

[7] ರಾಜಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಶ್ರೀವೀರಪ್ರತಾಪ ಅಚ್ಯುತರಾಯಮಹಾರಾಯರೂ ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾ-

[8] ವಿನೋದದಿಂ ಪೃ(ಪೃ)ಥ್ವೀರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯಉ(ವು)ತ್ತಂ ಯಿರಲು ಮಹಾರಾಜರದಿಂದಲೂ ಬಾದಾವಿಯ

[9] ದುರ್ಗಲೂ(ವೂ) ಶ್ರೀಬನದಮಹಂಮಾಯಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ದೇವತಾಸ್ತಾ(ಸ್ಥಾ)ನಗಳೂ ಖಿಲವಾಗಿಯಿರಲಾ-

[10] ಗಿ ಅಚ್ಯುತರಾಯಮಹಾರಾಯರ ಸೇನಾಧಿಪತಿ ಚಿಂನಪನಾಯಕರೂ ಬಾದಾವಿಯ ದು-

[11] ರ್ಗವನೂ ಅ(ಆ) ದುರ್ಗದೊಳಗಾದ ಶ್ರೀಬನದಮಹಂಮಾಯಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನಗಳನೂ

|| See note * to line 42 of the text.

¶ *Not* Badâmi, with the first '*a*' short, as laid down in the Government list for the orthography of vernacular names.

* See note § to the translation.

[12] ಜೀನೋ್ರ್ಣ(ಣೋ್ರ್ಣ)ದ್ಧಾರವಾಗಿ ಪುನ(ನಃ)ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠೆಯ ಮಾಡ ಹೇಳಿ ತಂಮ ಕುಮಾರ ಚಿಕ್ಕಚಿಂನಪನಾಯಕರನೂ

[13] ಕಳುಹಲಾಗಿ ಅ(ಆ) ಚಿಕ್ಕಚಿನಪ್ಪನಾಯಕರೂ ತಂಮ ಸ್ವಾಮಿಯ ನಿರೂಪದಿಂದಲೂ ಬಾದಾವಿ-

[14] ಯ ದುರ್ಗದ ಕೋಟೆಯನೂ ಯಿಕ್ಕಿಸಿ ಅಚ್ಯುತರಾಯಮಹಾರಾಯರಿಗೂ ತಂಮ ಸ್ವಾಮಿ

[15] ಚಿಂನಪ್ಪನಾಯಗರಿಗೂ ಅ(ಆ)ಯುರಾರೋಗ್ಯಅಯಿ(ಗ್ಯೈ for ಗ್ಯಅಯಿ)ಶ್ವರ್ಯಾಭಿಉ್ರ(ವೃ, *i. e.* ವೃ)ದ್ಧಿಯಾಗ ಬೇಕೂ ಯೆಂ-

[16] ದು ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಾಯಿ ಚತುರ್ದಶಭುವನಾಧೀಶ್ವರಿಉ(ಯು) ದಂಡರಾಕ್ಷಸಕುಲಸಂಹಾ-

[17] ರ(?)ಭಂ(?)ಗಧೈರ್ಯಕೋಳಾಹಾ(ಹ)ಳೆ ಶ್ರೀವನಪುರಪತಿ ಶ್ರೀಬನದಮಹಂಮಾಯಿ ಮೊಧಲಾದ

[18] ಸಮಸ್ತದೇವತಾಸ್ಥಾನಗಳನೂ ಜೀನೋ್ರ್ಣ(ಣೋ್ರ್ಣ)ದ್ಧಾರವಾಗಿ ಪುನ(ನಃ)ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠೆಯನೂ ಮಾಡಿ ಆ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಾನ-

[19] ಗಳನೂ(?) ಅಚ್ಯುತರಾಯಮಹಾ[ರಾಯ]ರಿಗೆ ಪುಂ(ಪು)ಣ್ಯಾ............................ಅಚ್ಯುತ-

[20] ರಾಯಮಹಾರಾಯರ ಸೇ[ನಾಧಿಪತಿ] † ...........

*Translation.*

May it be auspicious! Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! In order to dispel the darkness of obstacles, I meditate on him‡ who is tranquil and pure, who is possessed of inconceivable glory, who is in body a man but in face an elephant, and who is a very corpulent glory!

Hail! On Monday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha of the Nandana *saṁvatsara,* which was the year of the victorious and glorious Śâlivâhanaśaka 1455§, while the brave and puissant great king Achyutarâya,—whose lotuses, which are his feet, are adorned by the clusters of blossoms, which are the jewels in the diadems of all chieftains; the most eminent among kings; the glorious supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord of kings,—was governing the earth with the recreation of pleasing conversations:—

The fort of Bâdâvi and the shrines of the goddess Śrî-Banada-Mahammâyi|| and other gods having fallen into ruin even under the great king,¶ — Chinnapanâyaka, the general of the great king Achyutarâya, having given orders to repair and reëstablish the fort of Bâdâvi and the shrines within it of Śrî-Banada-Mahammâyi and other gods, sent (for that purpose) his son** Chikka-Chinnapanâyaka:—††

And that same Chikka-Chinnappanayaka at the command of his master restored the fort of Bâdâvi, and, with the object that the great king Achyutarâya and his master Chinnappanâyaka might obtain an increase of life and health and riches, repaired and reëstablished the shrines of all the gods commencing with Śrî-Banada-Mahammâyi, who is the holy Mahâmâye; who is the mistress of the fourteen worlds; who is courageous in utterly destroying the race of the demons ........‡‡; and who is the mistress of the city of Śrî-Vanapura§§, ........ .... those same shrines to the great king Achyutarâya........holy..........

The general of the great king Achyutarâya.........||||

† The remainder of the inscription is lost, the tablet being broken here.

‡ Gaṇapati. With the exception of reading '*kim api*' for '*tam api*', this verse occurs word for word in Mallinâtha's introductions to his commentaries on the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Kumârasambhava.*

§ According to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology,* the Nandana *saṁvatsara* is Śaka 1454, and Śaka 1455 is the Vijaya *saṁvatsara.*

|| *sc.* 'Mahammâyi, (*i.e.* Mahâmâyi, or more properly Mahâmâye,) of the forest'. 'Mahâmâyâ', the Great Illusion, is Durgâ, Śaṁkarî, or Pârvatî, as the personification of the illusory nature of worldly objects. Banada-Mahammâyi is evidently the same goddess as Bana-Śaṁkarî, 'Śaṁkarî of the forest'.

¶ '*Mahârâjikadindalû*',—but the meaning to be given to this word is somewhat doubtful

** '*Kumâra*';—perhaps 'deputy', though a free translation, would be more in accordance with the meaning.

†† *i.e.,* 'Chinnappanâyaka the younger'.

‡‡ The meaning to be given to the word '*daṇḍa*', before '*râkshasa*', is not apparent.

§§ 'The city of the forest'; all this part of the country formed in ancient times part of the great forest called Daṇḍakâraṇya.

|||| See note † to line 20 of the text.

# ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(*Continued from vol. IV. page 305.*)

## IX.—*Folk-lore—Omens, Spells and Charms, Popular Beliefs and Superstitions.*

Occasion is here taken to collect such instances as would fall under the above heading as came to my notice in the Madras provinces and on the western coast. Most of these are commonly known, and prevail widely over India. The list might doubtless be greatly increased were inquirers to record the odds and ends of popular notions that chance to come before them.

Omens (*śakuna*) form quite a wide and important subject, and are the twenty-fourth on the list of the sixty-four Hindu sciences.* The following are some of the *evil omens*, on encountering any of which, Hindus about to start on a journey or begin any undertaking will often desist:—Seeing, on issuing from the house, a crow on the left hand (*sinistra cornix*) or a Brâhmaṇi kite on the right. Seeing or meeting a monkey, a sick man, an oil-man, a leper, a snake, a hare (as formerly in Scotland), a Brâhmaṇ widow, a Brâhmaṇ alone, a mendicant, a man with dishevelled hair, a quarrel, buttermilk, any *empty* vessel, a smoky fire, a bundle of sticks. It may be noted how many of these objects are just the things likely to be encountered on coming out early in the morning.

Amongst *good omens* are a virgin, a cow, the sound of a drum, the sound of a horn, milk, curds, fruit, flowers, a clear-blazing fire, two Brâhmaṇs, a horse, an elephant, a bullock, two fishes, two vessels full of water, spirituous liquors, cookêd food, meat, a dancing-girl, hearing kind words, a parrot.

The little familiar house-lizard (*bălli*) that runs up walls often utters a chirping cry; this proceeding from the east wall of a house is very lucky, but from any of the other three walls extremely bad, and sufficient to break off any enterprise. Readers of Aristophanes will remember how the meditations of Socrates, as he lay with mouth open, pondering on the paths and changes of the moon, were disturbed by a *balli* from the roof. Sneezing is a serious affair all over the East, as well as in Europe, ancient and modern. In Southern India sneezing once is a good sign, twice a bad sign; more than twice is not regarded. Gaping, as amongst the old Jews, is held to be a moment when Bhûtas and evil spirits effect an entrance into the body: hence most Brâhmaṇs on gaping snap their fingers as a preventive.

In dangerous sickness the hair is sometimes cut off and offered to a deity, as in old Greece. Childless women often go to anthills, where snakes dwell, and place offerings of milk with prayers and invocations, hoping thereby to remove their barrenness, which they believe to be due to an injury done to a snake in a former life. Besides barrenness the following evils are ascribed to offences done in a former life, by which malignant spirits gain power over mortals:—The death of children whilst the parents are alive, brotherly hatred, conjugal discord, undutifulness of children, being reduced to beggary, moodiness of temper, impiety and neglect of ceremonies, bad luck in trade or farming, constant ill-health, loss of employment.

Amongst charms and spells the following are considered good against Bhûtas or evil demons, whose worship is so widely spread:—The tooth or claw of a tiger worn on the neck or near the loins, wearing an iron ring set with pearls (iron and steel have everywhere and at all times since the days of Ulysses (*Odyss.* XI.) been powerful against ghosts and bad spirits), a lime placed in the turban, a figure of Hanuman graven on any ornament. When any mischief has been set on foot, repeating the name Govindâ! Govindâ! is held materially to assist its progress: once before me a man was convicted of arson against whom suspicion was first aroused by being overheard repeating Govindâ! Govindâ! whilst watching from a distance a fire that he had kindled. I know not the origin of this belief.

The old classical† and mediæval superstition that the death of an enemy may be effected by making a waxen image of him and causing it to melt gradually before a fire with certain ceremonies, still flourishes in India,—indeed is

* Much curious matter may be found in Professor Kern's translation of the *Bṛihat-Sanhitâ* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* N. S. vols. V. to VII.

† Theocritus, *Pharmaceutria*; Virgil, *Bucol.* VIII.

hardly extinct in Europe. This is the manner prescribed:—"Make an image with wax in the form of your enemy, take it in your right hand at night and hold your chain of beads in your left hand, then burn the image with due rites, and it shall slay your enemy in a fortnight." Another strong spell for evil is to take a human bone from a burial-ground and recite over it a thousand times the powerful Malayâla *mantra*, namely, "*Om! Hram! Hram!* Swine-faced goddess, seize him, seize him as a victim! drink; drink his blood! eat, eat his flesh! O image of imminent death, Bhagavati of Malayâla, *glaum! glaum! Om!*" The bone thrown into an enemy's house will cause his ruin. Again, if a paste be formed of human bones, the above spell recited over it a hundred times, and the paste then mixed with food or drink, it will cause death in a week. This recalls the famous *Unguentum Mirificum*, or Wondrous Ointment, of which Sir Kenelm Digby relates several surprising instances; the moss of a dead man's skull and man's fat were the principal ingredients: but it was used to heal, not to kill. Necromancy, as practised by mediæval magicians and sorcerers, respecting which Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy* and Solomon's *Key to Magic* may be consulted, is familiar to the Hindus, and the rites used by them much the same. Here is a specimen:—Let a sorcerer obtain the corpse of a maiden, and on a Sunday night place it at the foot of a Bhûta-haunted tree on an altar, and repeat a hundred times, "*Om! Hrim! Hrom!* O goddess of Malayâla, who possessest us in a moment! come! come!" The corpse will then be inspired by a demon and rise up, and if the demon be appeased with flesh and arrak, will answer all questions put. This is called the Virgin Spell, and came from Malayâla. Be it noted that Malabar is the land *par excellence* of sorcery and magic; the most powerful Bhûtas and demons reside there. As in mediæval belief, they can be bought, carried about, and transferred from one sorcerer to another. The following story, truly mediæval in its wildness, is copied from a Madras newspaper of the present year:—"Some Bhûtas have human mistresses and concubines, and even outrage the modesty of their occasional fair worshippers. At Bodinaikanûr, near Palanei, in the Madura district, a certain Chetti bought of a magician a Malabar demon, for ninety rupees, it is said; but ere a day had passed since the transfer, the undutiful spirit fell in love with its master's wife, and succeeded in its nefarious purpose. A pious Hindu assures me that the woman still lives, leading a very unhappy life with the demon, the husband being long dead and gone." The notion of demoniac intercourse with mortal women is of extreme and general antiquity, ranging from *Genesis* (vi. 2) and the reputed prædiluvian *Book of Enoch* to Merlin and Mother Shipton: see *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 283 for an account of the stones sold at the Dharmasthâla Temple in South Kanara, the residence of seven most dreaded and malignant Bhûtas; these stones carry the powers of the Bhûtas with them, and can be used by their purchasers against enemies with dire effect. One of the native notions respecting *pâṇḍu kulîs* or kistvaens—is that men of old times constructed them for the purpose of hiding treasure: hence it is that antiquaries find so many have been already ransacked. It is also believed that spells were placed over them as a guard, the strongest being to bury a man alive in the cairn, and bid his ghost protect the deposit against any but the proprietor; the ghost would conceal the treasure from all strangers, or only be compelled to disclose it by a human sacrifice being offered. Compare this with Bertram Risingham's account of the practice of the old Buccaneers:—

Seek some charnel when at full
The moon gilds skeleton and skull,
There dig and tomb your precious heap,
And bid the dead the treasure keep,—
Sure guardians they; if fitting spell
Their service to the task compel.
Lacks there such charnel? Kill a slave
Or prisoner on the treasure-grave,
And bid his discontented ghost
Stalk nightly on his lonely post.

*Rokeby*, Canto II. 18.

Some speculative physicists make a point of sleeping north and south, that the magnetic currents may course freely through their systems; but Hindu mothers do not allow their children to sleep with heads northwards, the reason assigned being that after Śiva had cut off Ganeśa's head, it was determined to replace it with the head of the first animal found sleeping with its head to the north, which happened to be an elephant. Again, Hindu mothers prevent their children from smelling a lime or lemon;

because Parikshit, the grandson of Arjuna, having been forewarned that he should die of a snake-bite, retreated to a barren island, hoping no serpent would cross the water; but one, having assumed the form of a very fragrant lemon, swam over, and, on Parikshit's smelling it, bit his nose, of which he died.

Hindus have some curious notions of natural repulsions or anti-sympathies (*virôtam*) existing between certain animals: such are said to exist between a peacock and a chameleon, a mouse and a scorpion, besides others which I do not remember. There is also a belief that when a bear seizes a man it tickles him to death without biting or violence; it is popularly believed, too, of bears that they gain an additional pair of kidneys each year of their life; and on opening a bear I have certainly seen appearances that seemed to bear out the notion. The hyæna is also believed to beat to death, or strangle, with its tail, people whom it seizes. A tiger's whiskers chopped up small are held to be a most potent poison:‡ hence when one is killed the whiskers are often immediately singed off, to prevent possible mischief.

The origin of the word 'Fairy' is doubtful. Some have plausibly derived it from the Persian *Peri* (پری *Pari*); and Keightley, still more probably, from the Italian *Fata*, through the old French Faée, Fée, Féerie,—English Fay, Faëry, Fairy. Dr. Caldwell in his *Comparative Grammar* has suggested the Tamiḻ *Pêy*—'devil or goblin,'—the objects of the devil-worship so characteristic of Tinnevelli. The primary meaning would be some supernatural being, with infinite gradations between the beautiful creations of Persian and European fancy and the ugly malignant demons worshipped by South Indian Shânârs. Mr. Fergusson (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 79) thinks that "all dwarfs and magicians—all the Fairy Mythology of East and West—belong to the Turanian races, which underlie the Âryan races, and crop up at times through them, but are really antagonistic to the genius of the latter." Considering how intimately the Fairy mythology is blended with the popular beliefs and romance systems of most of the European nations which are held to be of Âryan descent, the position that such mythology is alien to Âryan genius seems debatable. If it were specially characteristic of a Turanian race, we ought to find it well developed amongst the Drâviḍian peoples, who are typically Turanian; but—which discredits the Tamiḻ origin of 'fairy'—I have never been able to find that those peoples know of any diminutive beings corresponding to the Elves and Fairies of English and Irish legends, the little underground people, the Duergar§ or Dwarfs of Scandinavia, or the Trolls, Elle people, and Elves of Germany. In the Madras districts, though green circles are not uncommon on grass after rain, no little beings dance round them by moonlight or creep into flower-cups; no Trolls or Dwarfs haunt rocks and caves and have wondrous places within the hills: trees are frequented by hideous Bhûtas,—not, as in Denmark, by delicate Elves. Sometimes I have thought I had fallen upon a trace. The *Pâṇḍu kûlis* or kistvaens are in many places believed to have been built by a dwarf race a cubit high, who could nevertheless lift the huge stones with facility. I have heard, too, of a large mound near Chingalpat, not far from Madras, surrounded by kistvaens, and inhabited by a bearded race of Pâṇḍayar three feet high, ruled by a king who lives in the top of the mound: this seems very like a Norwegian folk-story of the hill-dwarfs. Śiva, apparently a non-Âryan god, has a train of dwarfs, amongst them the three-legged Bhringi who dances nimbly; and Vishṇu once appeared as a dwarf, Vâmana. Dwarfs are sculptured profusely on Śaiva, Vaishṇava, and Jaina temples. The great Muni of the south, Agastya, seems also to have been a dwarf, and dwelt on a mountain. Some think him to have been the prototype of Tom Thumb, Jack the Giant-killer, and Hop-o'-my-Thumb. Still I could not find any organized popular belief in races and communities of beings resembling the European. Such, however, may exist,—the primitive forest

‡ "Which, like the courser's hair, hath got but life,
And not the serpent's poison."—*Shakespere.*

§ The *Edda* says that the Duergar became animated in the clay below in the earth, like maggots in flesh: they were very wise and strong, skilful in all metal-work and smithcraft, small of stature and long-armed. Analogies have been sought for them in the Devas and Devatas of Indra's Paradise, called Devergar in the South; also in Durga, an aboriginal deity, and in one aspect mistress of mountain caves and underground places. Akin to the Duergar also may be the Yakshas,—like them the warders of hidden hoards, and the servants of Kuvera, the god of riches and treasures in the earth,—himself, moreover, of deformed and dwarf-like appearance, and the maker of self-moving chariots, as the Duergar were of wonderful things and weapons.

tribes of Gonds, Kôlhs, &c. would be no unlikely field; and it would be particularly interesting to ascertain whether cognate legends are current amongst the nations beyond India, Kabul, Afghanistan, &c.||

It is necessary to distinguish between the little beings of the popular creeds—the cunning Duergar and night-tripping Elves or popular Fairies, and the Fays and Fairies of romance, the full-sized fairy knights and ladies of Middle-Age romance and the "Faërie Queene," such as were in Milton's mind when he wrote

"Of Faëry damsels met in forests wide
By knights of Logres or of Lyones,
Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellinore,"

are utterly different in appearance and attributes to the pygmy

"Faëry elves
Whose midnight revels by a forest side
Or fountain some belated peasant sees."

This confusion is chiefly owing to Shakspere, since whose time the name and attributes of the real Fays and Fairies of romance have been transferred to the still more poetical and exquisite little beings of village popular imagination. But the fairy ladies of the romances of chivalry—of 'Haon de Bordeaux,' 'Perceforest,' and 'Parthenopex' — approach much nearer the lovely Peris of Persian story and the amiable Jinni ladies of the Arabian Tales; and, allowing for difference of scene and associations, the Apsaras of Sanskrit mythology seem to be of the same lineage, and so do the Vanachârîs or forest-nymphs, and Khanadachâras of the *Mahâbhârata*.

Still more nearly allied must be the beings described in the following extract from an account of Indian village superstition printed in a Madras newspaper of the present year by a native contributor :—

"The spirits of the air are so numerous and of such different classes, that I cannot expect, in the compass of a single article, to treat of them with anything like fulness. Foremost in their aërial ranks, and somewhat detached from all the rest, stand those good-natured celestial vestals which frequent cool shades and limpid streams, which while away the live-long night in innocent frolic and joyous dance, doing no ill to man or beast. To help the sick, to succour women in travail, to guide the benighted traveller who has lost his way, to shower blessings and flowers alike on happily married couples,—in fact, to do anything that is good or graceful,—is the delightsome vocation of the village *kannimâr* or virgins, as they are felicitously styled in ordinary country parlance. With the blooming grace of perpetual maidenhood, they are patrons of the village lassie afflicted with the 'tender passion,' and watch with a motherly interest the progress of steadfast honourable loves; while, on the other hand, there is nothing which they hate so intensely with their righteous hatred as the violation of matrimonial vows or the infringement of maidenly honour. Rude statues of potters' work representing these fair champions of virtue and youthful rewarders of conjugal fidelity may be seen invariably under some pleasant shade by the side of a rippling rivulet, or the placid surface of the village tank. When the sun is at its greatest height, and man and beast seek some friendly shelter to indulge in their midday *siesta*, languid and enervated by the burning heat, these fair celestials, screened from profane mortal sight, quietly perform their ablutions in the tank or brook close by, divesting themselves of their flowing ethereal robes. Their appearance to mortals in bodily form always portends something extremely good or evil; but as they are naturally inclined to acts of kindness and mercy, such interviews prove, in the majority of cases, harbingers of prosperity and conjugal felicity. Instances are not wanting of these sylvan beauties, through forgetfulness to bind the wood with their magic spell, allowing themselves to be surprised by the strolling cowherd ere they have risen from their midday bath. Every year, as the husbandman sows his grain after the precursory showers of the rainy season, he vows to set apart so much a *kalam* (twelve *markals*) as a thank-offering if the out-turn should prove as abundant as he prayed for. True to a farthing, the sale-proceeds of the virgins' share is religiously laid by, to be made use of a month or two after the harvest, when the ryot, now at leisure, thinks of redeeming his vow at the shrine of the celestial fair one. At the appointed time, generally at night, the whole village wends in solemn procession to the sacred grove, with banners flying and drums beating, and with all the paraphernalia of Eastern worship. Rice is boiled, sheep are slain, amateur theatricals improvised, and the light hearts of the multitude rendered still lighter by potions of arrak, the country-prepared and country-bottled brandy, the 'black house' as it is fondly termed by these rustic votaries of Bacchus."

Nothing else so poetical exists in Hindu folk-lore. I was never so fortunate as to hear anything of the belief and beings so pleasingly

|| See Dr. Leitner's paper on Dard Legends and Beliefs, *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 84-92.

described. The contributor does not mention what region he writes of, but the name *kannimár* indicates a Tamil district; neither does he say anything of their size, but they would appear to be of ordinary human stature. They are seen in the daytime, and, like the nymphs of Greece, love streams and baths, but, like the nymphs and the fairies, may not be rashly looked upon.¶ Very notable, too, is their beneficent disposition, so different to that of the demons and Bhûtas, who absorb so large a portion of Indian village worship. In them Âryan and Turanian attributes are strangely mingled, and their origin would seem rather assignable to the poetic instincts latent in all races that have risen above mere savagery, and to the desire of explaining natural or extraordinary appearances. The *kannimár* seem much to resemble the Fairy ladies of romance, and further accounts of them would be very acceptable, especially if the ingenious contributor or others could collect and give some of the stories and instances alluded to, taken down from actual recital of the villagers: such stories would be the best information, and most interesting to mythologists.

¶ "He has seen a nymph" was the ancient explanation of sudden insanity.

"They are fairies; he that speaks to them shall die,
I'll wink and couch: no man their work must eye,"

exclaims Falstaff.

The *Mahâbhârata* relates that the Râja Yayâti, whilst hunting, surprised Sarmishtâ, the daughter of the Daitya Râja or demon-king, and her nymphs, while bathing; but no good came of it.

## CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

### KARHÂḌA BRÂHMAṆS.

Mr. Nairne, at page 135 of his book *The Konkan*, states that the Râjâpur Tâlukâ is the native district of the Karhâḍa Brâhmaṇs. It may be so with regard to the Ratnâgiri Zillâ, but the real district from which these Brâhmaṇs, scattered over different parts of India, originally came is different. The *Sahyâdri Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purâṇa* supplies very clear information on this point. It states that the country named Kârâshṭra (काराष्ट्र) was the original place of residence of this section of Brâhmaṇs. This country, the *Purâṇa* says, extended forty *kos* between the Vedâvatî (most probably the Vârnâ river) on the south, and the Koyanâ on the north. It appears that the country was known under the name of its chief town, which is the present Karhâḍ, at the junction of the Koyanâ with the Krishṇâ in the Satârâ district. This account makes it clear that the name Karhâḍa applied to a division of Brâhmaṇs is derived from the name of their original country, in the same manner as the names Deśastha and Koṅkanastha are derived from the countries of Deśa or Mahârâshṭra and Koṅkan.

ŚRÎKRISHNA ŚÂSTRI TALEKAR.

*Queries.*

1. Is Ṭhâkur a pure Sanskṛit, *i.e.* Vedic word?

2. It has been said that this is a *Kolarian*, and not a Sanskṛit term. Is this assertion capable of proof?

3. At present it is used in two principal senses:—*1st*, an idol; *2nd*, a lord or landholder. Which of these two is probably the *primary* meaning of the word?

Any information whatever respecting these questions will be most thankfully received, and the more so as we want to adopt *one* and the *proper* title for the Supreme Being in our several Missions.

At present three words are used by the Sântâl missionaries when speaking of God:—

1, Chando; 2, Ṭhâkur; 3, Parmeśvara.

F. T. COLE.

*Taljhari, near Râjmahâl, November 23rd, 1875.*

### GAUḌIYA DEŚA OF THE ANCIENTS.

It is generally supposed nowadays that Gauḍiya Deśa was the same as Bengal, because Gauḍa was the ancient capital of this province. But the ancient name of Bengal was Banga, and not Gauḍa, as the following śloka from the *Skânda Purâṇa* will clearly show:—

सारस्वताः कान्यकुब्जा गौडमैथिलचोत्कलाः
पञ्च गौडा इति ख्याता विन्ध्यस्योत्तरवासिनः

It is therefore evident from the Pauranic accounts that the place which went by the name of Gauḍa is not Bengal, but a country north of the Vindhya hills, and the people thereof were called Pancha Gauḍa.

RÂM DÂS SEN.

*Berhampur, 26th November 1875.*

### MALABAR CHRISTIANS.

*To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.*

SIR,—Mr. Collins has again (vol. IV. p. 306) returned to the discussion of some matters which he connects with the so-called Syrians of the Malabar Coast. The real point at issue is the credibility or not of the legend which makes the Apostle St. Thomas visit India, which is understood to mean

the Malabar Coast. Mr. Collins first accepted it as credible and trustworthy; he now says: "My object is not primarily to contend that St. Thomas came to India—though I have something more to say about that too—but that the early" [? earliest] Christian sects" [I suppose "in India" is to be supplied] "were orthodox, and not Gnostic or Manichæans," &c. Mr. Collins's "something more" is an assertion that it is quite possible that an Apostle with "the gift of tongues" could have gone to India, and he quotes several passages (already well known) to show that there were Christians in India in the fourth century and afterwards. I am not prepared to discuss what the Apostles might have done; I only ask for evidence as to what they did. Still less can I enter upon a question of the orthodoxy of sects that may have existed in India, but of the existence of whom Mr. Collins does not appear to me to give any proof: for I can hardly accept as such their discovery in the eighth century in consequence of a dream, whatever opinion I might wish to have of Mr. Collins's translation from a Malabar-Syrian fable. He does not appear to see that the existence in Malabar of Christians (whom Cosmas recognized as such) in the sixth century proves nothing as regards the first, second, or third century. Again he says: "Dr. Burnell revives an objection which has been used only too recklessly by Dr. Barton amongst others. . . . . that India was in the early centuries A.D. the name of nearly the whole East, including China. . . . According to this argument, Megasthenes, for instance, though he called his book *Indica*, may have visited Fuh-chau. The same argument may be used as successfully against Al Nadîm's account," &c.

Now if there is any recklessness it is surely on Mr. Collins's part, who has managed to compare the meaning of a Greek name of the fourth century B.C. with the same name as used 500 or 600 years later by Romans, Greeks, and Syrians, as if geographical discovery had made no progress during this period. If Mr. Collins will look at the beginning of Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde* he will find the origin of the name India, and if he will look out the word in a Latin Dictionary with references he will see how with the progress of discovery the meaning changed, and how far he is in the wrong. If this will not do, I can only refer him to any history of geographical discovery (*e. g.* the Abbé Vivien de St. Martin's); and, as regards the use of the term 'India' at different periods, to pp. 313, 416, and 417 ff. of vol. II. of the second edition of Col. Yule's magnificent *Marco Polo*. Nor is there any ambiguity about the Arab term *Hind*—it means South India.

Mr. Collins says: "The epithet Manichæan . . . . was a term that had got to be used indiscriminately for any Christians who were not at the feet of the great Bishop of Rome." All I can say is that I should like to see it proved that Muhammadan Arabs of the ninth century did so, or indeed that there is any foundation for the assertion that this was the case in Europe.

Mr. Collins still adheres to the assertion that Pahlavî is an Aramaic language* and was used at Edessa. About one word in three in Pahlavî is Chaldæan, and there is no evidence that it was the language of Edessa.

Passing over minor matters, I shall only refer to Mr. Collins's note on page 314. He says: "If the name Mâ n i g r â m a m be spelt more correctly with the dental than the cerebral *n* (Dr. Burnell spells it with the latter), then in the purest and *most primitive* Tamil it would describe a village ceded as a *free gift* by royalty," &c. Now Mr. Collins should first have ascertained that the Syrian grants have the word M ă ṇ i k k i r â m a m (*i.e.* Măṇigrâmam) as plainly written as possible, and more than once, and that there can be no doubt about the word. Secondly he should know that there is no such word as *Mânigrâmam* in Tamil of any period; † there is a Sanskrit-Tamil word *mâniyam* (abridged from the Sanskrit phrase, common in the later South Indian grants—*Sarvamânya*, which means free of all taxes), but *mâni* is not to be found.

As regards Mr. Whitehouse's *Manigramakar*, I cannot find the slightest proof given by him (or even a hint of his authority) for the extraordinary statements he makes. Anyhow, they have nothing to do with the present matter.

A. BURNELL.

*Tanjore*, 19*th October* 1875.

[We must close this discussion for the present.—ED.]

FUNERAL CEREMONY AT BOMBAY.

*To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."*

SIR,—When I commenced travelling in India, I was prepared to expect much perplexing variety in the religious and social usages of the different castes, but the actual reality far outdoes my anticipations. One great use of the *Indian Antiquary* is that it enables scholars and antiquarians living in different parts of India to exchange ideas with each other, and to profit by each other's knowledge and experiences.

* Prof. Max Müller is, of course, correct as regards the few Sassanian inscriptions and coins, but these constitute a very insignificant part of the Pahlavî documents that are in existence. If Mr. Collins will look at the inscription I have printed, he may see that the greater part is Persian.

† How can Mr. Collins suppose that *grâma* is a Tamil word?

I lately paid a visit to the Hindu burning-ground on the shore of Back Bay at Bombay, and witnessed a curious funeral ceremony there. The body of a man about forty years of age had been burnt the day before. On the morning of my visit about twenty-four men, his relations, gathered round the ashes to perform what appeared to be a kind of *śráddha.* They offered no objection to my standing close to them, nor even to my asking them questions. The ceremony commenced by one of their number examining the ashes, and carefully separating any portions of the bones that had not been calcined by the flames on the previous day. These he collected in his hands and carried outside the burning-ground, with the intention, I was told, of throwing them into the sea near at hand. This being done, the whole party gathered round the ashes of the pyre in a semicircle, and one of the twenty-four men sprinkled them with water. Then some cowdung was carefully spread in the centre of the ashes so as to form a flat circular cake of rather more than a foot in diameter, around which a stream of cow's urine was poured from a metal vessel. Next, one of the men brought a plantain-leaf and laid it on the circle of cowdung so as to form a kind of dish or plate. Around the edge of the leaf were placed five round balls, probably of rice-flour, rather smaller than cricket-balls, mixed with some brown substance. I presume these balls are what in the regular *śráddha* ceremonies are called *piṇḍas.* Sprigs of the *tulsi*-plant and fresh leaves of the *betel,* with a few flowers, were inserted in each ball, and a coloured cotton cord loosely suspended between them. Next, one of the relations covered the five *piṇḍas* with the red powder called *gulál.* Then five flat wheaten cakes were placed on the plantain-leaf inside the circle of the five *piṇḍas,* and boiled rice was piled up on the cakes, surmounted by a small piece of ghee mixed with brown sugar. The ceremony being so far completed, the deceased man's nephew, or sister's son, took an earthenware vase, filled it with water and held it on his right shoulder. Starting from the north side, he commenced circumambulating the five *piṇḍas* and the five wheaten cakes, with his left shoulder towards them, while one of the relatives with a sharp stone made a hole in the jar, whence the water spouted out in a stream as he walked round. On completing the first round and coming back to the north, a second incision was made with the same stone, whence a second stream poured out simultaneously with the first. At the end of the fifth round, when five streams of water had been made to spout out from five holes round the five *piṇḍas,* the earthenware vase was dashed to the ground on the north side, and the remaining water spilt over the ashes. Next, one of the relatives took a small metal vessel containing milk, and, with a betel-leaf for a ladle, sprinkled some drops over the rice piled on the wheaten cakes. After which, taking some water from a small *loṭá*—or rather making another relative pour it into his hand—he first sprinkled it in a circle round the *piṇḍas* and then over the cakes. Finally, bending down and raising his hands to his head, he performed a sort of *pûjá* to the *piṇḍas.* This was repeated by all twenty-four men in turn. After the completion of the ceremony, the balls and cakes were left to be eaten by crows.

Will you permit me to ask whether similar funeral rites have been witnessed by any of your correspondents? The men were said to have come from some neighbouring Marâṭhî district. To what caste do these usages belong? and why should there be five *piṇḍas* and five flat cakes?

MONIER WILLIAMS,
Boden Professor of Sanskṛit.

*Belvedere, Calcutta, Dec.* 26, 1875.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE.

The instance described was probably performed by Ghâṭis: it is not quite in accordance with either the Brâhmaṇ or Marâṭhî customs. The water-jar is carried round the pyre by the nearest relative or heir, and the holes made by the repeater of the *mantras* with a stone—the *áshmá*—picked up where the body is rested, halfway between the deceased's house and the burning-ground. The *piṇḍas* are at first four—for the deceased, and the *pitṛis* of father, grandfather, and great-grandfather; they are then made into a single mass, as the deceased has joined the *pitṛis.* This is then divided into *three*—for the deceased as the *father* of the performer, and his grandfather and great-grandfather; but additional *piṇḍas* are sometimes added for guru, uncles, &c.—ED.

SANSKṚIT MSS.

*Extract from Dr. G. Bühler's preliminary Report on the results of the search for Sanskṛit MSS. in Kaśmîr.*

Bâbû Nîlâmbar, Chief Justice to H. H. the Mahârâja, had had prepared before my arrival a list of about seven hundred Sanskṛit works known to exist in Kaśmîr, which was forwarded to me by Major Henderson. I at once went over it with the compiler, and selected some seventy works for copying. At the same time the principal Paṇḍits of Śrînagar came to visit me, by order of the Mahârâja, and brought me the lists of their books.

As at first it seemed doubtful whether I should be able to acquire an old MS. of the *Rájataranginî,* and

as I knew that it would not be of much use to get a fresh Devanâgari transcript made, I borrowed an excellent annotated old copy of the work, which had been transcribed by one Gaṇakâk Paṇḍit from the *codex archetypus* belonging to Keśavrâm Paṇḍit, and began to collate it with the printed edition. This work of collation occupied me for four to five hours a day until September 29th, when the 8,000 ślokas were finished. Several particularly important passages were also collated with Keśavrâm's copy. I found that the published editions contain a very large number of mistakes, most of which seriously affect the meaning of the text, the form of the names, &c. To give one example only, the name of the oldest Kaśmîrian dynasty is not, as usually read, Gonarda, but Gonanda.

In order to clear up the numerous geographical and other questions connected with the *Râjataranginî*, I had frequent meetings with some of the Paṇḍits best acquainted with the antiquities of Kaśmîr, and I made several excursions to ancient sites in the western half of the Valley. These inquiries resulted in the identification of a considerable number of the sacred and historical places mentioned in the *Râjataranginî*, *e.g.* of the Pradyumnapîṭha with the Hariparvat or Śârikâparvata in Śrînagar, of the Mahâpadma with the Wollur lake, of Jayavana with the village of Zevan, of Shaḍarhadvana with the village of Hârvan, of Jayâpîḍa's Dvâravatî with the village of Bahirkûṭ near Sumbal,* of Chakradhara with the Chakdhar hill or mound, &c.

They also led to the discovery of the real nature of the Kaśmîrian era which has been used by Kalhaṇa in the last three books of his chronicle, and is still in use among the Brâhmaṇs of Kaśmîr. Its true name, derived from the supposed secular procession of Ursa major, is the era of the Saptarshis. It began on Chaitra Sudi 1st of the 26th year of the Kaliyuga, or March-April 3076 B.C. In using it the Kaśmîrians usually leave out the hundreds, though there are instances in which they have been added. The year 24, stated by Kalhaṇa to be equal to Śaka 1070, is really the year 4224† of the Saptarshi era. With this key it will become possible to fix the chronology of the later Kaśmîrian kings with perfect accuracy. I may add that General Cunningham's dates very closely agree with those obtained by reducing Kalhaṇa's Saptarshi years to years of the Christian era.

Very soon after the beginning of my search, a great many ancient MSS. were offered to me for sale, out of which I selected upwards of 160, more than forty of which are written on birch bark. As I also increased the number of MSS. to be copied to more than one hundred, the total of books which I finally took with me from Kaśmîr is considerably over 270.

All the old MSS., with two or three exceptions only, are written in Śâradâ ‡ characters. This alphabet, and not the Devanâgarî, is commonly used in Kaśmîr, and must be of great antiquity, as it occurs also on the coins of the 9th century.§ Like all Indian alphabets, it has been derived from the old Pâlî alphabet of the Aśoka inscriptions. It preserves, however, more ancient forms than any other modern alphabet which I have seen. MSS. written in Śâradâ characters are mostly pretty correct. But nearly all old Kaśmîrian MSS. are more or less mutilated. Very frequently the end and the beginning are missing, or at least single lines, words, or letters. The cause of this state of things is chiefly that the birch bark, which before Akbar's time was the only material used for writing on, is exceedingly fragile. As soon as birch-bark MSS. reach any considerable age or are used frequently, they begin to split and to tear in all directions, and the surface of the pages begins to slough. Of course letters, words, and even whole lines are lost or become illegible. The destruction of the first and last pages is owing to the custom of having the MSS. bound in rough country leather, without inserting blank leaves for protection.

Modern MSS. are mostly complete, but in many cases, where few copies only of a book existed, it is very probable that the lacunæ have been filled up at random. One Paṇḍit confessed to me that he had *restored* more than twenty-four pages of the *Vishnudharmottara*. Another Paṇḍit asked me if the copies to be prepared for myself were to be made complete or not. I do not believe, however, that this course has been adopted for those works which are to be found in a great number of copies. There it is likely, and I have heard it asserted as a fact, that complete copies are obtained by comparing a number of mutilated MSS.

As to the contents of the acquired books, Poetry, Poetics, Grammar, and Śaiva Philosophy are best represented, as these subjects have been since time immemorial the specialities of the Kaśmîrians. But there are also curious and rare works from all branches of Hindu learning.

In Poetry the historical works take the first place. I am happy to state that I have been able to secure a complete set of the four known *Râja-*

* Not Andarkûṭ, as conjectured by General Cunningham, whose mention of the site in his *Geography*, however, led me to visit the place.

† *i.e.* 3076 + 78 + 1070 = 4224.

‡ *Śâradâ* or *Sâradâ* is a name of Sarasvatî, and *Śâradâksharânî* may be translated by 'characters sacred to Sarasvatî.' Similarly Kaśmîr is sometimes called Śâradâdeśa, 'the country of Sarasvatî.'

§ Toramâṇa's coins show characters nearly identical with those of the Gupta inscriptions.

*taranginis*, written in the Śâradâ character, and about fifty to sixty years old. As already stated, the present editions are not trustworthy,—least so in the 7th and 8th books,— because they have been based on Devanâgarî MSS. I am confident that with the help of my collation and of the new Śâradâ MS. it will be possible to produce a readable and reliable text. There are also two works of the late Sâhibrâm Paṇḍit, both entitled *Rájatarangiṇísaṁgraha* which explain difficult passages in Kalhaṇa's chronicle, and a third bearing the same title, which treats Jonarâja's *Tarangiṇí* in detail. A collection of *Máhátmyas* describing many famous Kaśmîr *tírthas* will further assist in elucidating the *Rájataranginí*. Among the sources from which Kalhaṇa compiled his work, I have obtained the *Nílamatapuráṇa* in five copies, four written in Śâradâ characters, and one in Devanâgarî. Just before I left Kaśmîr three copies of Kshemendra's *Rájávalí*, a work which Kalhaṇa criticizes very sharply, were discovered. Two of these have been promised, and are probably already on their way to Lâhor. I think there is still a hope that some more of the old chronicles will turn up. One Paṇḍit certainly assured me that he had news of the existence of Śankuka's *Bhuvanábhyudaya.* Besides, a great many old birch-bark volumes are in the hands of Brâhmaṇs, who, themselves unacquainted with Sanskṛit, had learned ancestors. The learned Paṇḍits find it hard to make such men give up their books, but in course of time they will no doubt succeed in extracting all that is valuable, since they have become fully alive to the importance of searching the *'gartas.'*

Of other historical books I have acquired three copies of Bâṇa's *Harshacharita* and an imperfect copy of its commentary, the *Saṁketa.* The latter is, however, not of much use, as its compiler, Śaṁkara, knew little of Sanskṛit and less of history. There is, finally, a curious work on the history of the great Chahuvâna prince P ṛ i t h v î r â j a, entitled *Pṛithvírájavijaya,* with a commentary by J o n a r â j a, the author of the second *Rájataranginí.* The MS. is a very old and very dilapidated birch-bark volume, and in so bad a condition that I fear it will not be possible to decipher the whole of its contents. It contains portions of the twelve Sargas. The name of its author is not given in the colophons of the Sargas, but it would seem that the work belongs, like the *Harshacharita,* the *Gauḍavadha* (of Vâkpati), and the *Vikramánkakávya,* to a *protégé* of the hero. It will be interesting to compare its contents with Chand Bardâi's great Hindî *Rásáo.*

Besides these historical works there are eight larger new Kâvyas :—

1. The *Haravijaya* of Ratnâkara,
2. The *Daśávatáracharita* of Kshemendra,
3. The *Rámáyaṇamanjarí* of Kshemendra,
4. The *Samayamátṛiká* of Kshemendra,
5. The *Śrîkaṇṭhacharita* of Mankha,
6. The *Rávanárjuníya ?* (incomplete),
7. The *Stutikusumánjalí,*
8. The *Haracharitachintámaṇi,*

and some smaller productions. The oldest of these poems is the first, which dates from the beginning of the 9th century; next come the works of K s h e m e n d r a, who wrote in the first half of the 11th; and last M a n k h a's, who flourished in the beginning of the 12th century.

Bâbû Nîlâmbar has already forwarded copies of the *Haravijaya* to Paṇḍit Îśvarachandra Vidyâsâgara in Calcutta, and an edition of the book may be expected. In order to make the collection as useful as possible, I have secured for nearly all these poems both Devanâgarî and Śâradâ copies, and, in the case of Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, and 7, commentaries.

Among the known but rare poetical works are copies of Kshemendra's *Bharátamanjarí* and of the *Yudhishṭhiravijaya,* whose author the Kaśmîrian MSS. state to be V â s u d e v a. There is also a commentary on the latter work. An old copy of Bilhaṇa's *Panchâśiká* definitively settles the question as to the authorship of the little poem, and explains the origin of the literary anecdotes current regarding it. Several ancient birch-bark MSS. of Somadeva's *Kathásaritságara*—which the Kaśmîrians usually call *Vṛihatkathá*—will, I trust, enable us to correct the errors of the Devanâgarî MSS. on which the published edition is based.

A large *Subháshitávalí,* or collection of elegant extracts, by Ś r î v a r a, the author of the third *Rájataranginí* (second half of the 15th century), is important for the literary history of Kaśmîr.

In Poetics or Alaṁkâra there are, besides the well-known *Kávyaprakâśa*—of which, however, the Kaśmîrian MSS. differ from those used in Hindustân—and its commentary the *Ânandí*—

1. The *Alaṁkárasarvasva,* see *Oxf. Cat.* p. 210,
2. The *Alaṁkáravimarśiní,* see *ibid.,*
3. The *Dhvanigáthápanjiká* of Ratnâkara,
4. The *Dhvanyálochana* of Abhinavagupta with the *Uddyota,*
5. The *Alaṁkáraśekhara,*
6. The *Alaṁkáraratnákara,*
7. The *Chandráloka* of Jayadeva, with a commentary,
8. The *Kávyálaṁkára,* attributed to Rudraṭa,
9. The *Abhidhávṛittimátṛiká* of Mukula,

and a few minor works.

If No. 8 really belonged to R u d r a ṭ a—a statement which I very much doubt—it would be the oldest work in the collection. For Rudraṭa or Rudrabhaṭṭa, like Udbhaṭa, was one of the Paṇḍits

of Jayâpîḍa; next in age come Ratnâkara and Mukula, which latter was the son of the famous Śaiva philosopher Kallaṭa and lived under Avantivarman (9th cent. *Râj.* v. 66).

For Grammar I have obtained the *Paribhâshâs*, attributed to Vyâḍi and to Chandra, and a small fragment of Chandra's grammar treating of the letters. The first work has also a commentary. Vyâḍi and Chandra are two of the old grammarians, and the recovery of small portions even of their writings would be of great importance for the history of grammar. But I am not as yet prepared to decide on the genuineness of my acquisitions.

Three incomplete Śâradâ paper MSS. of Patanjali's *Mahâbhâshya* have been bought, and just at the time of my departure a slightly mutilated birch-bark MS. of the same work turned up, which the ignorant owner and his friends had worshipped as a MS. of the *Kathâsaritsâgara.* This MS. also will eventually be added to the collection. Dr. Kielhorn considers it a matter of great importance to have genuine Kaśmîrian copies of the *Mahâbhâshya,* in order to decide the question if the work has been really recast by the Kaśmîrian Paṇḍits, as has been alleged on the strength of statements made in the *Râjataranginî.* It is to be hoped that these MSS. will help to settle the question.

A small portion of a MS. of Kaiyaṭa's *Pradîpa,* written in Śâradâ characters, has also been obtained.

Among other new or rare works connected with Pâṇini's system, I may mention Bhartṛihari's *Vâkyapadîya;* an excellent birch-bark MS. of the *Kâśikâvṛitti;* copies of portions of Sthavira Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyâsa*—Jinendrabuddhi was an inhabitant of Bârmûla or Vârâhamûla; of Kshîra's *Dhâtutaranginî;* of the same author's *Avyayavṛitti;* of Harshadeva's and an anonymous *Lingânuśâsanavṛitti;* of Mâṇikyadeva's *Uṇâdivṛitti,* called the *Daśapâdî;* and of the *Rûpâvatâra.* A complete birch-bark MS. of the *Nyâsa* has been promised.

The grammar now chiefly studied in Kaśmîr is, however, not Pâṇini's, but the *Kalâpa* or *Kâtantra.* Kaśmîr furnishes, therefore, a number of commentaries on the *Kâtantra,* which have been compiled by Kaśmîrian Paṇḍits, and are rarely if ever met with out of the Valley. The works falling under this head, which I have secured, are:

1. *Laghuvṛitti,* by Chhuchhukabhaṭṭa,
2. *Kâtantrakaumudî,*
3. *Bâlabodhinî,*
4. *Bâlabodhinînyâsa,*
5. *Śishyahitânyâsa.*

The number of MSS. containing works on Śaiva philosophy and the rites of the Śaivas amounts to more than forty. Among them are the famous *Spandasûtras,* with a variety of commentaries, and the huge works of Abhinavagupta and Kshemarâja, such as the *Tantrâloka* with its *ṭîkâ* and the *Pratyabhijñâvimarśinî.*

The oldest Śaiva authors are Vasugupta, who is said to have received the *Spandasûtras* from Śiva, and Avadhûta, who, according to *Râj.* I. 112, lived under Jaloka, the son of Aśoka. Next come Kallaṭa (9th century), Abhinavagupta (10th century), and Kshemarâja (10th and 11th centuries).

There are also a few important additions to Vedic literature, though the chief prize, the old birch-bark MS. of the *Paippalâdaśâkhâ* of the *Atharvaveda,* did not fall to my share, as H. H. the Mahârâja had bought and forwarded it to Sir W. Muir before my arrival.

The most important Vedic MS. of my collection is a complete birch-bark MS. of the *Ṛigveda Saṁhitâ,* written in Śâradâ characters. It professedly contains the *Śâkalâ śâkhâ,* but its accentuation differs from that of all known MSS. While the latter mark the *anudâtta* and *svarita* by horizontal and vertical lines, this MS. marks the *udâtta* alone by a vertical line placed above the accentuated syllable. The volume contains also other pieces referring to the *Ṛigveda.*

Next comes a modern copy of the greater portion of the first *grantha* of the *Kâṭhaka,* which belongs to the *Charakaśâkhâ* of the Black Yajurveda. The *Kâṭhaka* has hitherto been known through a single MS. belonging to the Berlin library. The newly acquired fragment shows also traces of accentuation.

To the same redaction of the Veda belong also two Angas or supplementary works which have now been first recovered. The more important of the two is the *Kâṭhaka Gṛihyasûtra,* or 'handbook of domestic ceremonies according to the Kâṭhaka school,' which is attributed to the Ṛishi Laugâkshi. It is accompanied by a commentary of Devapâla, and is universally used by the Kaśmîrian Paṇḍits. From this fact it would seem that, though the Kaśmirian Brâhmaṇs usually call themselves Chaturvedîs, 'students of the four Vedas,' and declare that they belong to no particular Vedic school, they were originally followers of the *Kâṭhakaśâkhâ.* My collection contains several Śâradâ copies of the *Devapâla,* as the whole book is usually called, one of which (incomplete) is written on birch bark.

The other Anga is the *Chârâyaṇîyâ Śikshâ,*—also, so far as I know, a novelty.

The *Paippalâdaśâkhâ* of the *Atharvaveda* has been secured in a modern transcript made according to the old birch-bark MS. mentioned above. A second birch-bark MS. was not to be heard of.

Several Prayogas or handbooks used by the Kaśmîrian Bhaṭṭas have also been acquired.

Among acquisitions referring to other *Śâstras* deserve to be mentioned a commentary on the *Bhagavadgîtâ* by Abhinavagupta; the *Nyâyakandalî*; the *Nyâyakalikâ*; two birch-bark MSS. of Aparârka's commentary on Yâjñavalkya; Brahmagupta's *Karaṇa* with Varuṇabhaṭṭa's and Pṛithûdakasvâmin's commentaries; and *Kośas* by Mankha and Kshemendra deserve to be mentioned.

I have finally to call attention to some works in the Kaśmîrî language which will have a special interest for students of the Indian Prakrits. The oldest amongst these is the 'song of Lallâ,' *Lallâvâkyâni*. It contains stanzas on the Śaiva creed, and is attributed to a poetess named L a l l â. The poem is accompanied by a full Sanskṛit commentary.

Another work, the *Bâṇâsuravadha*, is of considerable extent. It was composed in the time of Zainu'l Âbidîn (1417—1467 A. D.) who, according to the statements of the Paṇḍits, caused many Sanskṛit and Persian works to be translated into Kaśmîrî.

I have also secured a modern poem treating of the loves of N â g â r j u n a and H i y a m â l â. Nâgârjuna, the great snake-king, who is enumerated among the rulers of Kaśmîr, and the Barbarossa of Kaśmîr,—L a l i t â d i t y a, are to the present day the favourite heroes of the bards.

These acquisitions are so much more interesting as Kaśmîrî was supposed to be destitute of an ancient literature. But it appears now that it was a written language quite as early as any of the Indian Prakrits.

## BOOK NOTICES.

THE TANJORE MARATHA PRINCIPALITY: the Land of the Chola, the Eden of the South. By WM. HICKEY. Madras, 1875.

The greater part of this work is purely political, but Mr. Hickey does not consider himself bound by unities of place or subject. Immediately after the statistics of population of the interesting tâlukâs of Kumbakonam and Negapatam, he gives us an essay upon "statue-sculptured idolatry," which is illustrated by a description of the caves of Elephanta. These our author considers to be "probably the most ancient temple raised by human ingenuity in perpetuation of religious truth," "tallying strangely with the symbolism of Egypt," and connected, as far as we can comprehend his not very lucid argument, with Freemasonry! The great Trimurti is to him "the High Altar"; and various figures in relief are identified with "the I Am of the Holy Writ," and with Him "described as Jehovah by penmen of inspiration." One group of what Mr. Hickey calls "sculptury" "portrays," in his opinion, "the Mosaic account of the Fall," and another suggests to his mind the Last Judgment. This farrago of nonsense is a fair sample of his archæological attainments. In modern history, by dint of extracts (not always in inverted commas) from standard authors, he gets on rather better, though he will find it rather difficult to prove his assertion that "while the Mahârâja Râjârâm of Kolhâpûr was but a collateral and adopted descendant of the great Śivâji, the Princess of Tanjore is his direct lineal surviving descendant, and has a claim not only to Tanjore, but also to the kingdoms of Satâra and Kolhâpûr, *de facto de jure*" (sic)! A claim *de facto* to kingdoms two of which have disappeared for a generation, while the third is in the adverse occupation of a very lively and healthy young prince, is a novelty in political law, but not much more extraordinary than the greater part of this writer's eloquence.

LES STANCES EROTIQUES, MORALES ET RELIGEUSES DE BHARTRIHARI, traduites du Sanscrit par Paul Regnaud, Membre de la Société Asiatique. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Editeur. 1875.)

This is apparently the first of a series of Indian classics for French readers. The object of the series is sufficiently indicated by the motto *Humani nihil alienum* which the translator has inscribed on his title-page. As the *Academy* observes, the number of students of Sanskṛit literature, considered as one of the most interesting pages in the intellectual history of the world, is increasing every day, and M. Paul Regnaud no doubt hopes to do for this class among his countrymen what the late Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson so successfully accomplished for English readers.

He seems to us to have acted wisely in selecting Bhartṛihari's *Stanzas on Love, Morality, and Religion* as the first volume of his series. The writings of that Indian Solomon contain many shrewd reflections which are quite as applicable to European as to Asiatic humanity; and, if a foreigner may be permitted to make the remark, they retain in the prose version of M. Regnaud much of the neatness and epigrammatic point which characterizes them in their Sanskrit dress.

M. Regnaud is no bigoted Indianist. His remarks on the value of Sanskṛit studies seem to us to be so eminently just, that we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of quoting them:—

"The importance, from the point of view of linguistic science, of philosophy, and even of history in its inorganic state, of the great Indian literary monuments, especially of those of the Vedic period, is no longer doubted by scholars; but though when regarded in this light they rival the most precious records which classical antiquity has bequeathed to us, we cannot affirm the same with regard to their literary value.

There can be no doubt that in this respect they cannot be compared with the masterpieces of Greece and Rome. Not only is it true that the special character of Indian civilization is opposed to the development of eloquence and history, whether of the picturesque or philosophic type; not only is it the case that no Demosthenes, Thucydides, Cicero, Livy, or Tacitus has arisen on the banks of the Ganges; but even in those provinces of literature which have been cultivated equally in the East and West the advantage has always remained on the side of the Western nations, and Vâlmikî is as clearly inferior to Homer as Kâlidâsa to Virgil. In spite of all this I cannot help boldly declaring my opinion (as a detailed discussion of the point would take up too much time) that the classical Sanskrit literature deserves the careful study of Europeans more than any other that the East has produced. Sanskṛit literature is rich, varied, and original; it is the expression of the intellectual life of a people of the same origin as the natives of Europe; it embraces in its development a long course of centuries, and it reveals to us a form of human civilization which otherwise would be unknown to us. I may add that besides these various characteristics, which cannot but make the Sanskṛit classics interesting to what it is the fashion to call the general public, they have sufficient elegances—I might even say beauties—to please the taste of *dilettanti*, sufficient striking peculiarities and unsolved problems to stimulate the appetite of the curious, and sufficient resemblances or contrasts to Western literature to occupy critics. I purposely put out of sight *savants*, philosophers, and professed literary students, to whom all the products of the human intellect are in themselves interesting and instructive."

This sober estimate of the literary value of Sanskṛit compositions seems to us more calculated to put Sanskṛit studies upon their true footing than all the hysterical rhapsodies of professed Indianists. At the same time there can be no doubt that M. Regnaud would by no means sympathize with the "studied neglect" which it is now fashionable for Englishmen to exhibit with regard to the sacred language of the majority of the inhabitants of India.

Equal good sense characterizes M. Regnaud's remarks with regard to the date of Bhartṛihari. There can be no doubt that many of the stanzas must be subsequent to the great development of modern Vedantism in the times of Śaṅkara Âchârya. Of course they may be interpolations.

We learn from M. Regnaud an interesting fact with regard to our poet:—

"A Protestant pastor, by name Abraham Roger, who came to India in 1640, brought back the materials of a work which he published in 1651, under the title of *A History of the Religion of the Brâhmaṇs*, and in which were contained two hundred proverbs of the sage Bhartṛihari, translated into Dutch from the version of the Brâhmaṇ Padmanâba. These were the stanzas on *Nîti*, which Roger translated "The Reasonable Conduct of Men," and those on *Vairâgya*, which he rendered by "The Road which leads to Heaven." The Brâhmaṇ Padmanâba was prevented by a feeling of delicacy from explaining the *Śringâra-Śatakam* to Roger. The pastor's work was subsequently translated into French under the title of *Theâtre de l'Idolatrie, ou la porte ouverte pour parvenir à la connaissance du Paganisme caché*, &c. Amsterdam, 1670."

M. Regnaud disclaims any intention of sacrificing exactness to elegance. As far as we have examined his translation it seems to us particularly faithful, and we have no doubt that it will be of great use to the student. He does not appear to have seen the edition lately published in the Bombay Sanskṛit Series by Kâśinâth Trimbak Telang. He tells us in the preface that he has followed the text of Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*, the arrangement of which is altogether different. Some of the stanzas which appear in the Bombay edition under the head of '*Nîti*' are placed under the head of '*L'Amour*,' and *vice versâ*.

In some instances M. Regnaud seems to us to have abandoned literal accuracy. *Bhujalatâ* is a troublesome expression to translate into any Western language, but it seems to us that *les tiges de liane* (*Le Renoncement*, st. 93) is an unnecessary concession to European prejudices. Stanza 61 of *Le Renoncement*, corresponding to 29 of Mr. K. T. Telang's edition, seems to us to be wrongly translated. The true explanation is given by the Bombay editor in an extract from Râmarshi.

Finally we think that M. Regnaud would have done well to imitate the Bombay editor and "the Brâhmaṇ Padmanâba" in omitting the *Śringâra Śatakam* altogether, or to have published only a selection from it. Indeed there are stanzas in all M. Regnaud's *Centuries* which are a little offensive to *la pruderie anglaise*.

M. Regnaud has acknowledged the principle for which we contend, by leaving out some objectionable expressions; but we think the pruning-knife might have been applied a little more liberally.

The next translation to be issued is apparently that of the *Mṛichchhakaṭikâ*, the most interesting of all the Sanskṛit dramas to a student of social history, and we shall look forward with impatience to its publication.

# A CHRONICLE OF TORAGAL.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

I HAVE had by me for a considerable time the paper from which the following translation is made; having kept it in the expectation of sooner or later meeting with the inscription from which the concluding portion is taken. In this, however, I have not yet succeeded, and it seems useless to keep back the paper any longer with that object.

The original document, from which my copy was made, belongs to the family-records of the astrologers of Beḷgaum, and of Munôḷi in the Parasgaḍ Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District. I believe that a branch of the same family holds the same office at Toragal.

The original record, being in the modern Canarese dialect, has no special interest of its own. It is, therefore, unnecessary to publish the text; the translation alone will suffice.

I have not at hand the necessary books wherewith to verify the historical references. The chronicle, accordingly, must be taken for what it may be found on examination to be worth. Probably it is not to be accepted as entirely true and accurate. But papers of this kind are not often to be met with, and, when found, they are at least of interest in showing how far history can be correctly dealt with by the natives of this country.

*Translation of the Chronicle.*

Reverence to Śrî-Gaṇêśa! May there be prosperity! The succession of the great astrologers of the Bhâradvâjagôtra; the details of the astrologers of Hûli.

After that in former times Mudgala*-Nârasiṁha and Veṅkaṭêśa, who were the heads of the family† of astrologers of the village of Kaṇakâluruḍige on the banks of the Gôdâvarî, had come to these parts, on the occasion of a great famine they came to this district; and, having obtained an audience of the universal emperor Vîrabukka and of king Jayaśêkhara, and having undergone an examination as to their knowledge, they obtained the office of astrologers‡ within the boundaries of Toragal § and the office of village-priests || of Beḷagâṁve. The original representatives¶ of the family were:—Mudgalabhaṭṭa; Śrîdharaśarmâ; his son, Bhâskarabhaṭṭa; his son, Gôvindabhaṭṭa of Hûli *; Śrîdharaśarmâ; Gaṇapatijôyisa; Viṭhṭhalajôyisa; Vṛiddhaśaṁkarabhaṭṭa, the younger brother of Viṭhṭhalajôyisa: these two were sons of one husband by different wives, and, as to their shares, the office of the boundaries of Toragal belonged to Viṭhṭhalajôyisa, and the office of village-priest† to Vṛiddhaśaṁkarabhaṭṭa; Viṭhṭhalajôyisa's sons, Śaṁkarabhaṭṭa and Nârâyaṇabhaṭṭa; Veṅkaṭâdrijôyisa of Toragal; Purushôttamabhaṭṭa; Dêvaṇajôyisa; Banadibhaṭṭa; Timmaṇabhaṭṭa; Śaṁkarabhaṭṭa; his son, Mudibhaṭṭa; and his son, Narasiṁhabhaṭṭa.

Hail! In the Kshaya *saṁvatsara*, which was the year of the Śâlivâhanaśaka 1008, king Jayaśêkhara, who belonged to a noble Kshatriya family, gave to Śrîdharaśarmâ and Sahasraśarmâ, with libations of water, the office of astrologers in the boundaries of Toragal.

After that king died, the names of the kings who succeeded him are:—The king Vîrabukka‡, the universal emperor: Mâdhavâmatya-Vidyâraṇya was his minister;—the years of king Narasiṅga are 593§; the years of king Harihara are 560; the years of king Prabhuḍadêva are 310||; the years of king Narasiṅga are 470; the years of king Vîranarasiṅga are 440; the years of king Râmadêva are 390;—the years of king Krishṇa are 340; the years of king Achyuta are 275; the years of king Sadâśiva are 222;

* Mudgal, the chief town of the district of the same name in the territories of the Nizâm of Haidarâbâd, is about ten miles to the east of the eastern border of the Hungund Tâlukâ of the Kalâdgi District.

† *Kuladêvaru.*

‡ *Jyôtisha-vṛitti.*

§ Toragal is the chief town of the Native State of the same name, about fifty miles east by north of Belgaum. The old form of the name was Toragale, and under the Yâdava kings of Dêvagiri Toragale was the chief town of the district known as the Toragale Six-thousand.

|| *Grâmapurôhita-vṛitti.*

¶ *Mûlapurusharu.*

* About twelve miles south by west of Toragal.

† *Grâmôpâdhyâya-vṛitti.*

‡ According to copper-plate inscriptions, Vîrabukkarâya, or the brave king Bukka, of Vijayanagara, succeeded his elder brother Harihara I, whose predecessor was their father Saṅgama of the Yâdavakula. I have not anywhere else as yet met with the name of Jayaśêkhara. If his date is correctly given here and below as Śaka 1008, many kings intervened between him and Vîrabukkaraya, whose date is about Śaka 1290.

§ Calculated, evidently, backwards from the time when this document was written. It would seem to have been drawn up in the end of the last century.

|| Probably we should read 510 instead of 310.

the years of king R â m a are 167. In the year Raktâkshi, in the month Mâgha, on Friday the fifth day of the bright fortnight, at noon, R â m a r â j a was slain in battle.

After that, on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra of the Krôdhana *saṁvatsara*, which was the year of the Śâlivâhanaśaka 1487, the king of the city of P â ṇ ḍ ô n a g a r a laid siege to T o r a g a l.

On Tuesday the third day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśâkha of the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara*, which was the year of the Śâlivâhanaśaka 1478¶, under the constellation Rôhiṇî, at sunrise, A l l i - A d a l - Ś â h, having given a promise of safety to the younger brother of the kept-mistress of N â g a r â j a, (and having so enticed him) from the sally-port of H û l i, treacherously took him captive.

Then follow the names of the kings of V i j â p u r a. The duration of the reign of A l l i - A d a l - Ś â h was 26 years, 7 months, and 25 days; he ruled for three years after he took T o r a g a l. After that, the duration of the reign of I b h a r â m - A d a l - Ś â h was 47 years, 4 months, and 17 days, (beginning on) Friday the tenth day of the dark fortnight of the month Chaitra of the Vikrama *saṁvatsara*. The duration of the reign of Sultân M a h a m a d - Ś â h was 27 years, 2 months, and 12 days, (beginning on) Wednesday the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhâdrapada of the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*. The duration of the reign of A d a l - Ś â h was —years, 1 month, and 1 day, (beginning on) Tuesday the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month *Kârttika* of the Durmukha *saṁvatsara*. The duration of the reign of Sultân Ś i k h ê n d r a - Ś â h was 13 years, —— months, and 21 days, (beginning on) Wednesday the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Mârgaśîrsha of the Paridhâvi *saṁvatsara*. A d a l - Ś â h perished on Monday the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Âśvija of the Kshaya *saṁvatsara*. The Tâmrarâjya* commenced then.

The names of those who held the post of Havaldâr of T o r a g a l after the T u r u k a s † took Toragal are :—Ali-Âga, Sultân-Âga, Râmâjî-Pant, Krishṇâjî-Pant, Abdulla-Vaḍêru, Baḍê-Malik, Śidi-Yâkôt, and Śidi-Sâlim. On the fourth day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the Kshaya *saṁvatsara*, Kâśîm-Khân came, and the reign of the Môgals extended over the people of Toragal. The names of the Killêdârs of the Môgals are :—Kâdiradâd-Khân, Mahajâ-Khân, Lachhîrâma, and Râmasiṅga. On the thirtieth day of the dark fortnight of the month Mâgha of the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, A v a r a n g a j î b died‡, and Râmasiṅga died. In the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, Kuvarajî. . . . . . . . . .§ On the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśâkha of the Sarvadhâri *saṁvatsara*, the illustrious Subhêdâr Ś i d d i took T o r a g a l and R â m a d u r g a || by parley. The Havaldârs of Toragal were Sôśindê and Karanara-Sôśindê.

May it be well! Reverence to Śambhu, who is resplendent with a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! May there be all kinds of auspicious omens! Hail! On Sunday, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the Kshaya *saṁvatsara*, which was the year of the victorious and glorious era of the Śâlivahânaśaka 1008, under the constellation Bharaṇî, when the sun was commencing his progress to the north,—having washed the lotuses which were the feet of Śrîdharaśarmâ and Sahasraśarmâ and one thousand other Brâhmaṇs, who were intent upon the six rites of sacrificing of their own accord, causing sacrifices to be performed, study, instruction, giving gifts, and receiving gifts, and who were the diamonds of the tiara of learned men, and who belonged to the ritualistic school¶ of Â ś v a l â y a n a and were born in the lineage* of B h â r a d v â j a,—king J a y a ś ê k h a r a,—who was possessed of all good qualities; who was the chief of those who abound in affability; who was the cherisher of gods and Brâhmaṇs; who every day enjoyed the blessings of Brâhmaṇs; who was adorned with perfect good fortune; who was the supreme

¶ In copying, some mistake must have been made between the numerals 8 and 7, which are very similar in Canarese. By the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 1438, and Śaka 1478 was the Nala *saṁvatsara*.

[According to Firishtah, however, A'lî A'âdil Shâh reigned from A.D. 1557 to 1579 (Ś. 1478 to 1500); Ibrahim A'âdil Shâh II. from A.D. 1579 to 1626; and Muhammad Shâh, A.D. 1626 to 1660.—ED.]

* 'The rule of the copper-coloured people,—the Musalmâns'.

† T u r u k a, or T u r u s h k a, a Turk, or Musalmân.

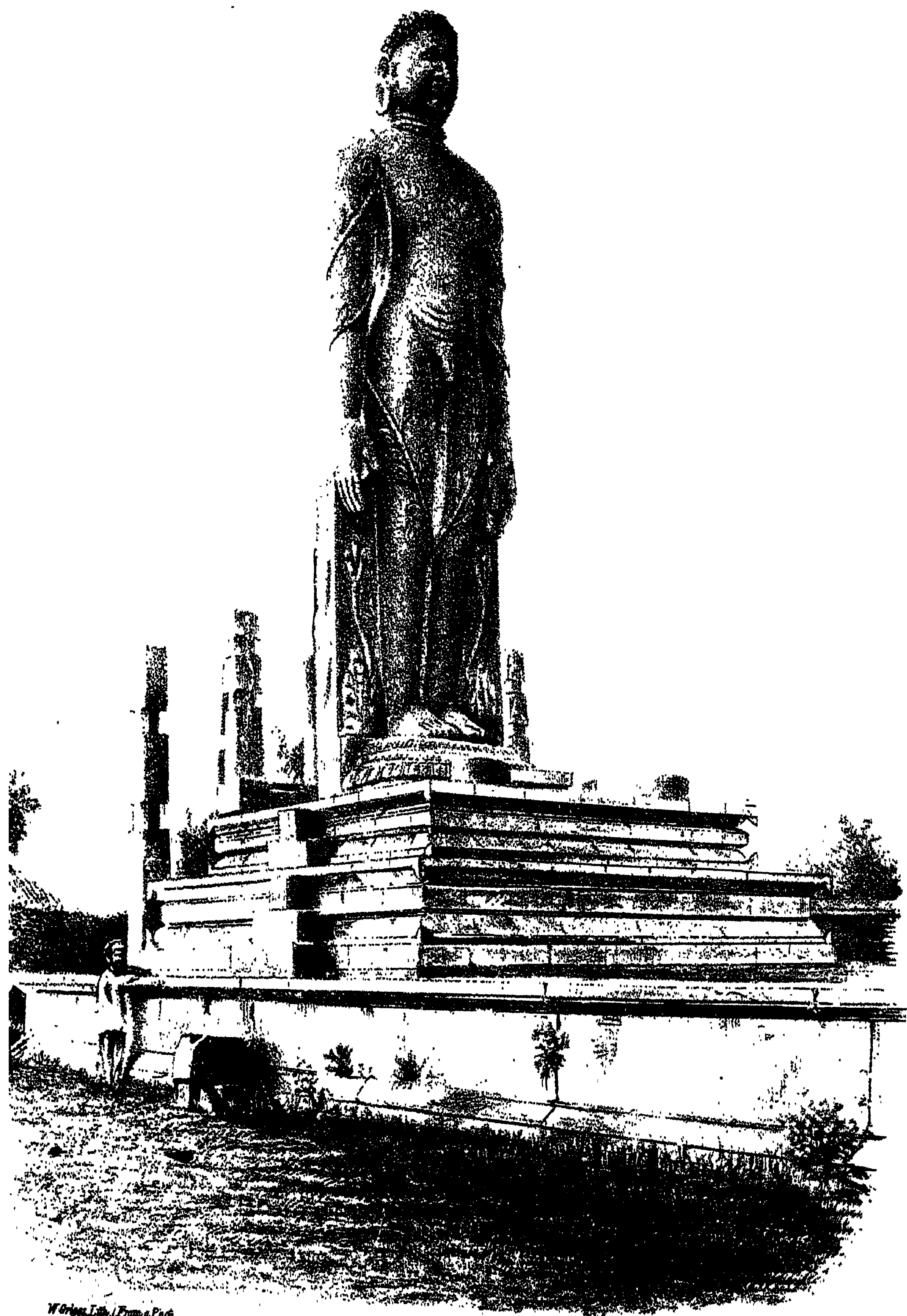
‡ 3rd March 1707 A.D.

§ Probably the word 'died' is to be supplied here; in the original there is a *lacuna*.

|| The chief town of the Native State of the same name about five miles to the east of Toragal.

¶ *Sûtra*.

* *Gôtra*.




COLOSSAL JAINA STATUE AT YÊNÛR.

king of kings; who was the king of great kings; who was the receptacle of glory; who was a very sun among kings; who was worshipped by kings; who was a very lion of a king; who was resolute in the warfare of kings; who was the supreme lord of the throne which, located on the summit of the mountain of Pârâśaraparvata, extends over the Karṇâṭaka and other countries up to the southern bank of the river Narmadâ, —gave a charter as follows to one thousand and two Brâhmaṇs :—

Our mother and father obtained final emancipation in the neighbourhood of the sacred shrine of Agastyêśvara of Nâgatîrtha of Pûvalli† and became residents of Kailâsa. On their account, and for the sake of religious merit, we have given, as an *agrahâra* grant, the village of Pûvalli, including (a radius of) five *kos*. The details of this grant are as follows :— We have specified separately the names of those who hold the eight offices.‡ We have given the two posts of astrologers and of village priest to Śrîdharaśarmâ and Sahasraśarmâ, who are the astrologers and priests of the boundaries of Toragal. We have given the duty of superintending religious matters § to Anantabhaṭṭa of the lineage of Viśvâmitra. We have given the post of village-headman || to Sômalayya and Vallabhayya and Tirmalayya of the lineage of Bhâradvâja. We have given the post of accountant¶ of the *agrahâra* to Śaṁkara of the lineage of Kâśyapa. We have given the post of director of sacrifices** to Châmararasayya of the lineage of Maunabhârgava. We have given the astrologership of the boundaries of Toragal and the village priestship of Haralâpura, of the Chandriya Tarph, of the Śindôgi Tarph, of the Kaḍakôlada Tarph, of the Gôvanakop Sammat, of the Hûli Tarph, of the Sugandhipaṭṭaṇa†† Karyêti, of the Asuḍi Tarph, and of the boundaries of the Beḷagâṁve Tarph, to Śrîdharaśarmâ and Sahasraśarmâ. The details of the ownership of land given to them are :—(The share of) each post consists of four *mârus* less by a fourth; in this way 3756‡‡ *mârus* have been given to one thousand and two Brâhmaṇs. And the rent-free service-lands of the village-headmen and the accountant§§ and the others of the eight officers are 252 *mârus*. Thus we have given, with libations of water, 4008 *mârus* of land. The boundaries of this land are :—On the east, *his* share; on the west side, a stone with emblems on it near the road; on the south-east, a stone called Khajjîgallu in front of the village of Alaṅgavâḍi; on the south, (the village of) Gummagoḷ; on the north, (the god) Basavaṇṇa of Kalakêri; on the south-west, (the big rock called) Navalaphaḍi on the east side of Beṭṭasura; between the south-west and the west, the spring called Nâgajhari; after that, the gate called Kaṇavîvâgilu of Sugandhipaṭṭaṇa; on the west the altar of (the god) Hanumanta of Kadehaḷḷi on the bank of the Malâpahâri; on the north-west, the god Hanumantadêva on the road to the Navalatîrtha near the bank of the river; in the centre of the north, the hill called Ratnamêkaliparvata; between the north and the north-east the god Brahmadêva of Kaṇavi; on the north-east, the temple of (the goddess) Kâlakaṇṭamma. Thus, placing (as boundary-marks) at the eight points of the compass the peaks of the hill of Mônêśidda, and having made this land, marked out by a circle of five *kos*, to be enjoyed by sons and grandsons in succession as long as the sun and moon may last, and having effected for our mother and father final emancipation by means of identification with the divine essence, we shall acquire universal sovereignty. We have written this stone-inscription close to the god Lakshmî-Nârâyaṇa in the Śaiva temple of Agastyêśvara. Those of our royal lineage who may injure it, shall incur the crime of having slain a mother or a father at Kâśî. If Brâhmaṇs injure it, they shall incur the crime of having slain a cow at Kâśî. And if Śûdras and others injure it, they shall incur the crime of slaying a spiritual preceptor. May prosperity attend this deed of gift! With a religious object we have concealed treasure in the treasure of Nâgarakiṇḍi. (This is) the embellishment of the writing!

† *i.e.*, the modern Hubbaḷḷi. There are several places of this name in the Beḷgaum and Dhârwâd Districts; apparently Mughatkhân-Hubbaḷḷi, on the Malâpahârî or Malaprabhâ near Beḷgaum, is intended here.

‡ *Ashṭâdhikârigaḷu.*

§ *Dharmâdhikâra.*

|| *Gauḍakiya-vṛitti.*

¶ *Sânabhôga-vṛitti.* ** *Yajamâna-vṛitti.*

†† A corruption of Sugandhavarti, the old form of Savandhatti or Saundatti, the chief town of the Parasgaḍ Tâlukâ of the Beḷgaum District.

‡‡ The correct calculation is 3757½ *mârus*; in modern Canarese '*mâru*' is equivalent to *a fathom.*

§§ *Gauḍaśânabhôgara mânya.*

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 25.*)

### *No. X.—The two Kanara Colossi.*

At page 353, vol. II. of the *Indian Antiquary* there is an account by Dr. Burnell, accompanied by a drawing, of the great Jaina statue at Kârkaḷa in South Kanara, and at page 129 an account and drawing of the still greater statue at Śrâvaṇa Beḷgoḷa, in Maisur. As Dr. Burnell observes, these monolithic colossi are of truly Egyptian dimensions, and though, owing to the inferior stone from which they are cut, unequal in point of execution, are far from wanting a certain lofty and expressive though rigid dignity. The Kârkaḷa statue stands upon a rounded rocky hill some three or four hundred feet high, in general appearance like a slop-basin reversed; and seen from a distance on this elevation it has a very remarkable aspect, towering waist-high above the crenellated wall that surrounds it, like a giant over the rampart of an enchanted castle. The spot is shown where it was excavated and cut into shape,—on the western declivity of the hill,—and now appears as a long irregular trench overgrown with herbage and bushes. A considerable depression or hollow runs transversely between this spot and the summit of the hill; this is said to have been filled with earth, and the colossus, when finished, raised on to a train of twenty iron carts, furnished with steel wheels, on each of which ten thousand propitiatory cocoa-nuts were broken, and covered with an infinity of cotton. It was then drawn by legions of worshippers up an inclined plane to the platform on the hill-top where it now stands, the transit taking many days. However legendary, this is at least intelligible; but how, when arrived at the top,—where the area is small, and entirely occupied by the platform and enclosure, with the sides falling steeply all round,—the enormous bulk, 80 tons in weight and 41½ feet high, was raised safely upright on its stand, is difficult to conjecture. There it stands, uninjured, though darkened with the monsoons of centuries,—its calm fixed gaze directed eastward toward the magnificent mountain-wall of the Ghâṭs, that, mantled with forests and covered with green domes and peaks, stretches north and south some dozen miles distant.

The Buddhist and Jaina faiths have always tended towards the production of gigantic images, but the two above referred to, as well as a third in South Kanara of which more will be said presently, are the largest *monolithic free-standing* statues I have heard of in India, or indeed in Asia. The enormous statue at Bamian, in Kabul, is 180 feet high, excavated in high relief on a mountain-side, and in the fort at Gwalior there is a Jaina statue 57 feet high, hewn out of the solid rock, to which it is still attached at the back; there are still larger in Burmah, built up of brick and mortar. In Japan there is an image of Buddha 95 feet high, made of brass plates and hollow within. The Chinese pilgrim Fah-Hian* saw at *To-li*, the present Dardu or Dhir, an image of sandalwood 94 feet high, to make which the sculptor was by spiritual power thrice transported up to the Tushita heaven to observe the size and appearance of Maitreya Bodhisatwa. At Bangkôk, in the Wat P'o monastery, there is a gilt metal image of Buddha 135 feet long; it reclines on the right side, with the head resting on the right hand.† General Cunningham describes a colossal figure of Buddha from 20 to 24 feet high at Mathura,‡ and remarks: "Stone statues of this great size are so extremely difficult to move that they can be very rarely made;" what, then, must have been the difficulty of moving the far more colossal Kanara statues, one to a hill-top, the other, as will be described, for some miles over rough ground!§

* Beal's *Travels of Fah-Hian*, p. 19.

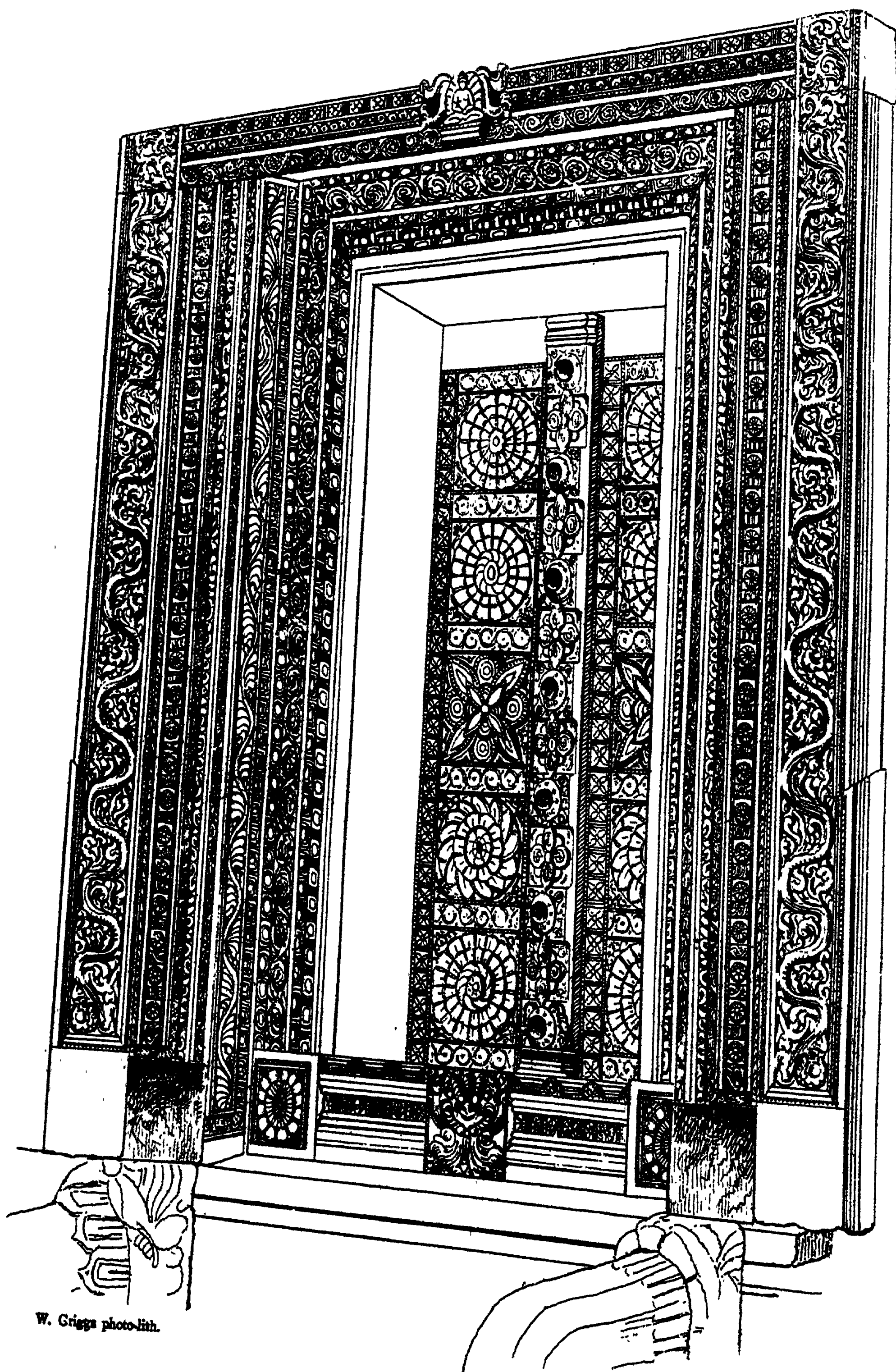
† There is a bas-relief of the death of Buddha in cave No.-XXVI. at Ajaṇṭâ, in the left aisle, in which the figure of Buddha measures about 23½ feet long.—Ed.

‡ *Archæological Survey*, vol. I. p. 239.

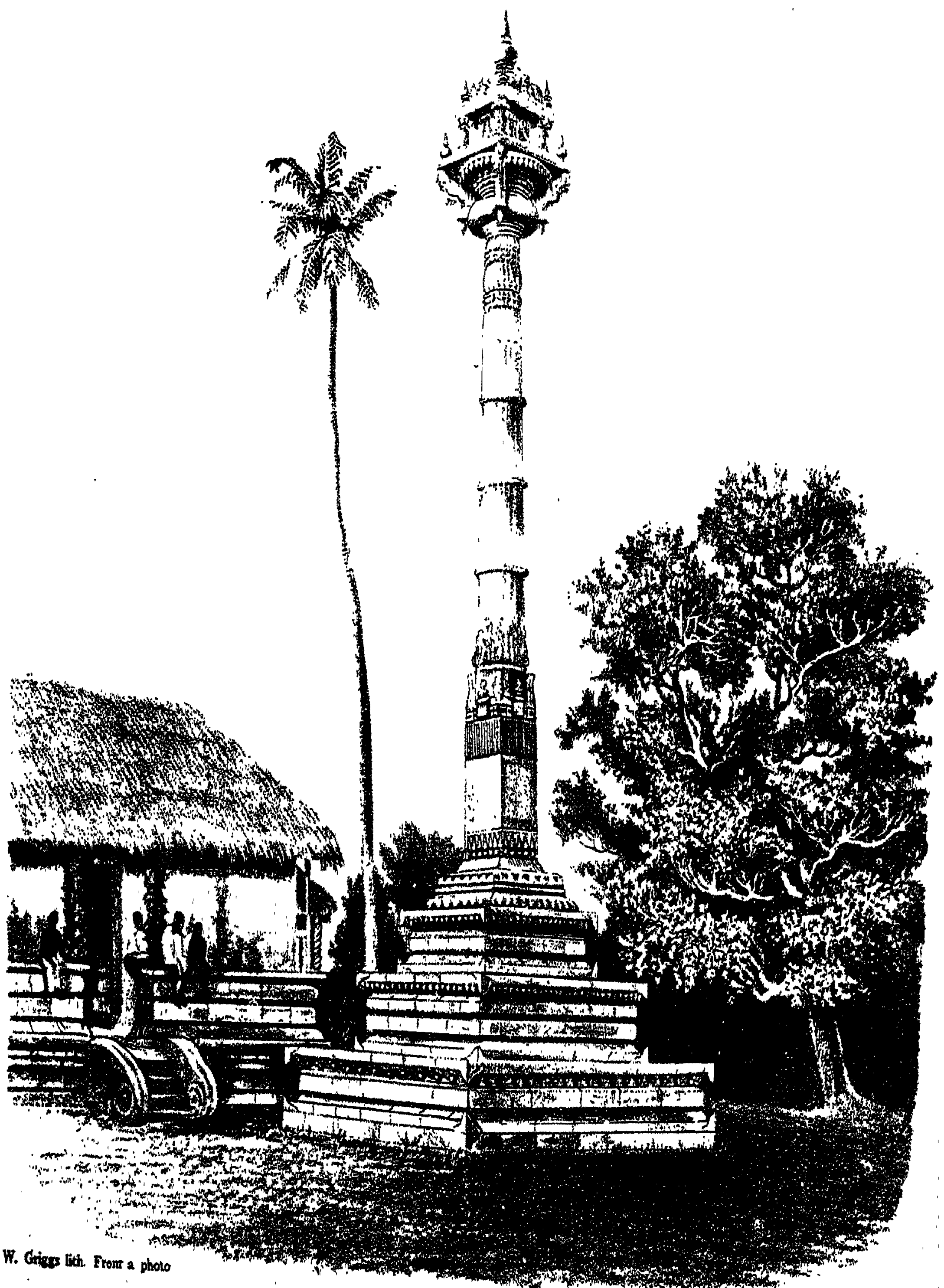
§ The completion and setting up on the Gothenburg, in the Teutoberger Forest, of a gigantic statue of Hermann, the deliverer of Germany and destroyer of the Roman legions, 9 A.D., has just (August 1875) been observed as an event of national importance. Like the Indian statues, it is placed on a hill, and raised on a substructure to clear the tree-tops; but, though fifty feet from foot to top of head, it is made up of pieces of beaten copper weighing together only ten and a quarter tons. Yet it has taken thirty-seven years to construct. The petty Indian râjas probably took far less time in completing their much more ponderous statues of solid stone. Amongst other recorded great monolithic statues in India is a red granite image, evidently Buddhistic, at a place called Santo Madhub, in Kaṭâk; it is half buried in the ground: the upper half visible is nine feet in length, the head from chin to top four and a half feet. The image of Somanâth at Jagannâth is said by Maurice to have been wrought from a single stone, seventy-five feet in height; and his marble image in Gujarât, said to have been broken

DOOR FRAME OF BLACK MARBLE, YÊNÛR.





W. Griggs photo-lith.



W. Griggs lith. From a photo

JAINA PILLAR AT YENUR.

Yênûr, about twenty-four miles east of Kârkaḷa, is one of the few remaining Jaina villages,—now very small, but must once have been a flourishing and splendid centre, judging from the remains of palaces and buildings, and the third colossal statue which still stands there. This statue is not, like the other two, placed on a hill, but on an elevated terrace on the south bank of the Gûrpûr river, which meets and unites with the more southern river, the Nêtvâvati, at its mouth: so that the two rivers half enclose and separate the town of Mangalur by a broad watery girdle from the sea-beach. Yênûr is some forty miles inland, and the river there a swift clear stream about twenty yards broad running over a rocky bed. Approaching from the west, over an undulating well-wooded country, the first glimpse of the statue is very striking. One sees rising in the distance a gentle tree-clad slope on which a huge dark giant seems to stand, towering full height above the tree-tops, that just conceal the terrace. So seen, starting out in profile against the clear sky, it has a most strange, unearthly appearance. The terrace rises about fifty feet above the river's bed, and the image is enclosed by a square wall seven or eight feet high, with massive covered entrance, forming a good-sized quadrangle, in the midst of which it stands on a stone plinth of two stages placed on a platform four or five feet in height. It is lower than the Kârkaḷa statue (41½ feet), apparently by three or four feet, but has never, that I know of, been measured: indeed, as at Śrâvaṇa Beḷgoḷa (but not at Kârkaḷa), the people at Yênûr object to the statue being touched or approached *too* closely, or even to mounting the stone platform it stands on. It resembles its brother colossi in all essential particulars, but has the special peculiarity of the cheeks being dimpled with a deep grave smile. I could get no explanation of this, and regret not having been able to ascertain what particular Tîrthaṅkara it may be intended to represent. The people only knew it by the vulgar name of Gumtâ Râja or Gômateśvara.|| Two fine black-stone *stelês* bearing long inscriptions stand in one corner of the quadrangle,—probably containing all particulars, but I was unable to read or copy them. The salient characteristics of all these colossi are the broad square shoulders, very massive at the setting on of the arms,—perhaps from the exigencies of the material; the thickness and remarkable length of the arms themselves, the tips of the fingers, like Rob Roy's, nearly reaching the knees;¶ the hands and nails very full, large, and well-shaped. Considering the great massiveness of the upper part of the bust, the waist appears unnaturally slender; the legs are well proportioned. In the Yênûr image I noted at the time that the forehead was medium, neither high nor retreating; the nose slightly hooked, with broad nostrils; the lips full, especially the upper, and the cheeks remarkably broad, widening towards the bottom; the chin moderate. The neck is short and thick, with three creases across it; the same across the belly. All the colossi are distinguished by crispy, close-curled hair and pendulous ears: and their entire form and aspect appeared to me very unlike anything Hindu. Like its brother at Kârkaḷa, the Yênûr giant looks eastward towards the prodigious slopes of the Kudire Mûkh mountain, the highest part of the Western Ghâṭs, which rises abruptly more than six thousand feet about twelve miles in front.* In general effect this great statue is not so impressive as its brethren,—the smile, perhaps, weakens the expression. Like the others, it has the lotus enwreathing the legs and arms; or, as Dr. Burnell suggests, it may be jangal creepers, typical of wrapt meditation. A triple-headed cobra rises up under each hand, and there are others lower down. The foot is eight feet three inches long, and the whole statue (when I saw it) much covered with lichen. Once in sixty years the Jains assemble, clean, and wash it with milk, &c.: many years must run at present before the next ceremonial cleansing. The plain archaic pillars behind will be noted.

The natives say that this statue was cut and wrought at a spot three or four miles distant from where it now stands *and on the other side*

by Muhammad of Ghazni, is reported to have been five ells (thirty feet) high. In the Abhayagiri convent in Ceylon, Fah-Hian saw a jasper image of Buddha twenty-two feet high.

|| The same appellation is applied to both the Kârkaḷa and Śrâvana Beḷgoḷa statues (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II. 129); it does not occur in the list and account of the Tîrthaṅkaras, pp. 134 to 140. [But it is perhaps intended for Gotama Indrabhûti, p. 140.—ED.]

¶ These long-armed figures appear in the Bâdâmi caves in Kalâdgi; see Burgess's *Archæological Survey of Western India*, 1874, plates xxxvii. and xlv.

* The accompanying drawing is from a photograph by Captain Ross Thompson, kindly lent by Mr. Fergusson.

*the river;* if so, its transport to its present site must have been a marvel of engineering skill. Both this and the Kârkaḷa image are traditionally said to have been sculptured by Jakkanâchâri, a kind of Hindu Wayland Smith, around whom numbers of legends have gathered, and to whom remarkable works in stone are popularly ascribed: probably he was a workman of extraordinary excellence. He is traditionally said to have wrought the Yênûr statue with a single hand, one being disabled; hence its lesser size.† The legend goes that a bitter dispute having arisen between him and his son respecting an image in a temple at Yênûr, he and his wife committed suicide and became Bhûtas or demons; and to this day, under the appellation of Kalkatti, *i.e.* 'stone-mason,' he is the most powerful, dreaded, and malignant Bhûta in South Kanara, where the principal popular cultus is really Bhûta-worship.

There are two or three Jaina temples in the village of Yênûr, of no great size nor specially distinguished for architecture or sculpture; one, just without the colossus enclosure, contains a life-sized brass image‡ erect, and enshrined in burnished silver and brass work variegated with red ornaments. In another temple, further down the village, there is a large black marble image§ about eight feet high, the head surrounded with a broad golden aureole, precisely like the glories depicted round the heads of saints.

Adjoining this there is a small building or sacellum containing the twenty-four Tîrthaṅkaras, in a row, all of the same size, each resembling each, about two feet high, cut in black stone, each under a horse-shoe-shaped arch elaborately wrought from the same material. This long dark row of doll-like figures has a curiously quaint appearance. The building containing them is poor and mean with a thatched roof, but is entered by a doorway quite a wonder of exquisite and beautiful workmanship set in a common rough stone wall. The doorway is square-headed, its sides and top framed with long narrow slabs of black serpentine, of almost steely hardness and lustre, carved with a luxuriance and delicacy of ornament absolutely marvellous. A band of most elegant wavy foliage is succeeded by another bearing a line of rosettes bordered and separated by tasteful beading; and several other bands rich with foliage, moulding, and rosette-work fill up the deeply recessed entrance. The inner door-step bears in the middle a lion's head, and a large rosette at each end, the spaces between being finely worked; and the massive door itself is admirably carved in compartments, several bearing rosettes not unlike the Tudor rose, but sharper-edged. In the wall over the doorway is a line of six seated figures with hands laid on their laps. Opposite, in a small plain covered shrine, sits a cross-legged image of Adiśvara, the primal god, grave, calm, and earnest-looking.

In front of the temple stands one of those wonderful Jaina pillars which, so far as I can hear, are of a type peculiar to South Kanara, where about twenty exist. On a pedestal formed of four stages rises a monolithic shaft about thirty feet high, exclusive of capital, quadrangular at base and for nearly a third of its height, each face bearing a different design of such

† Herr von Baudel, the sculptor of the vast image just raised to the national hero Hermann in Germany, beat out the two hundred pieces of copper of which it is constructed with his own hands, and without a model to guide himself by.

‡ A *śâsanam* referring to this temple mentions that the image is that of Sântiśvara, the sixteenth Tîrthaṅkara, and that part of its revenues was given over to the service of the great statue, which it styles Gômateśvara, by its setter-up, whose name and date it records. The *śâsanam* is thus translated:—

"Śâsanam of the great and holy Jina, the most high; renowned for eloquence; conqueror and master of the three worlds: a śâsanam to all. The work carried out on Sunday the second of Mina of Sôbhakrit, 1526 of the Śâlivâhana era, (*i. e.* A.D. 1604,—this would make the Yênûr colossus later by 172 years than the one at Kârkaḷa, 1432 A.D.—if there be no mistake). Blessed Vîra Timma Râja, the sovereign Ajlar (?), the beloved disciple of the gods, resplendent with glory, established the royal Gômateśvara on Yênûr hill, and gave over the charitable endowments of the *chaitâlaya* of the holy Sântiśvara, on its (Gômateśvara's) right hand, to Pandiappa Arasu, the Binnani (minister) of the queen Padîleva Devî. Whereupon the Binnani built the *basti*, and devised to the royal Gômateśvara in perpetuity the following two lands (details given) producing eighty-two *mûḍâs* of rice in aggregate rent; besides forty-nine *hûns* (gold pieces) to be collected from Sanku Narnaya, forty-nine hûns from Appâji, and one hundred and eighty for continually anointing the Gûmtanâtha with milk under the superintendence of the Binnani, to be collected from . . . . Whoever destroys this bequest shall be guilty of the sin of destroying a multitude of holy cows on the banks of the Gaṅgâ."

§ The Jains delight in making their images of all substances and sizes, but always with the same features and attitude. I may mention that in the large village of Mûdubidri, between Kârkaḷa and Yênûr, the stronghold and head-quarters of surviving Jainism in Kanara, there is, in one of the *twenty-two* temples there, an image of grey marble apparently about twelve feet high; the material is said to have come from Europe, and the image has a strangely shadowy, mysterious appearance in the dim recess in which it stands. Small portable images are made of crystal, alabaster, soap-stone, blood-stone, various red and green stones, &c.

intricate interlacement as only Jains could contrive and execute. Above this the shaft rises in four sections,—the first octagonal, the next sixteen-sided, the fourth plain, with arabesque enrichments on every alternate, third, or sixth side, and an ornamental band between each section. Over the fourth section the shaft passes into a bell-shaped necking, reeded and enriched with elaborate mouldings, the upper one spreading out circularly with downward curving edge, toothed with pendants, and supporting a square abacus on which a stone canopy, ending in a flame-like finial, rests on four colonnettes. The canopy covers a square block bearing in relief on each side a long-armed, curly-headed Tîrthaṅkara. From a moulding below the capital, four (*grâsdâs*) griffin-like monsters stretch upward, meeting each corner of the abacus with their heads. The whole capital and canopy are a wonder of light, elegant, highly decorated stone-work; and nothing can surpass the stately grace of these beautiful pillars, whose proportions and adaptation to surrounding scenery are always perfect, and whose richness of decoration never offends.

Fine shafts are sometimes found before Brâhmaṇical temples: a remarkably handsome monolith, fluted throughout its length, stands before the temple at Perûr, near Koimbatûr, but in rich and beautiful adornment of capital, and delicate laborious decoration of shaft, the Kanara columns seem to be unapproached; General Cunningham || figures a pillar at Kahaon, in Gorakhpur, something in the same style, with the base square, followed by octagonal, sixteen-sided, and plain sections: it is without platform or pedestal, and the capital comparatively plain. It also resembles the western coast pillars in bearing on one face of the base "a naked standing figure with very long arms reaching to its knees." Whether this feature, as well as the close, crisped, curly hair, was a personal peculiarity of Buddha himself, may be matter of surmise, but both features¶ seem to have been handed down from very early days, and to have been accepted by the Jains in pourtraying their Tîrthaṅkaras. Mr. Beal, in his *Travels of Fah-Hian*, gives at the end a figure of Buddha erect and mantled,—said to be the best traditional likeness, having a history attached to it dating from the first century A.D. It was brought from a Lama temple near Pekin; and though the arms, which are partly mantled, do not seem unusually long, it exhibits the constant most un-Âryan characteristic of the close curly hair.* There appears some reason for thinking that these personal peculiarities, so rare in India, may have marked the bodily appearance of that greatest and most wonderful of mere mortals that ever wore flesh, Buddha Gautama,—greatest—if greatness be measured by long-continued and far-extended influence over the minds of successive generations and millions.

### XI.—*A Jain Temple and Śâsanam.*

The north-eastern declivity of the hill, on which the Kârkaḷa Colossus stands, descends steeply for a third of its height, and then spreads out into a broad irregular platform or spur, sinking very gradually to the level of the plain. On the upper part of this platform, under the gaze of the Colossus, stands a remarkable and beautiful temple, of a style very novel to those accustomed to the Drâviḍian temples of the south. It is four-square, half of each front filled with a projecting portico with pillars and pediments profusely sculptured; many of the blocks of stone in the walls are also ornamented with grotesque or fanciful designs, such as two snakes inextricably intertwined, geometrical figures, flowers, grinning faces, &c. The temple is roofed with immense sloping slabs or flagstones overlapping like tiles and projecting in deep eaves, and in the centre there appears to have

|| *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. I. p. 92.

¶ So far as I know, the genuine statues of Buddha are never represented naked; neither are the Tîrthaṅkaras of the Svetambara Jains. On the other hand, the Digambara Jains always represent their larger images as naked: thus they appear in the caves at Bâdâmî, Aihoḷe, Dhârâsinva, and Elora.—Ed.

* In the *Bṛihat Saṅhitâ*, the 58th chapter, devoted to the description and manufacture of idols, lays down the appearance of Buddha and the Jaina god thus:—

"44. Buddha should be represented seated upon a lotus, and looking as if he were the father of mankind; with hands and feet marked by lotuses, with a placid countenance and very short hair.

"45. The god of the Jainas is figured naked; young, handsome, with a calm countenance, and arms reaching down to the knees: his breast is marked with the Śrivatsa figure." This is the symbol assigned to Sitala, the tenth Tîrthaṅkara, and is delineated at page 136, vol. II. of the *Indian Antiquary*. We know that when Buddha determined to forsake the world and turn Arhat, he cut off his hair with his sword as superfluous; thenceforward his hair never grew longer, but always curled to the right hand. It is for the Jains to explain how the attributes of their deified sages are mingled with those of Buddha, whom they profess to renounce and despise. Nor do Buddhists say why, after the hair had been cut short, it should have *curled* like a jangal-man's or a Habshi's; nor why, as the Ceylon chronicles hand down, Buddha's eyes should have been *blue*,—a trait so foreign to Hindus.

been some sort of dome or tower—now in ruins. On the large heavy folding doors in one of the porticos being rolled back, a striking—almost startling—sight is revealed: for as the daylight penetrates the interior, three tall images, each about six feet high, of burnished copper, are seen standing side by side in a square gloomy recess, where they almost seem to start into life as the sunshine suddenly lights them up. Each resembles each, and they are the counterpart of the great statue on the hill above. An exactly similar triad stands within the entrance of each portico. Mr. Fergusson,† in describing a square temple of Ananda, in Burma, with projecting porticos on each face, observes that it is remarkably dissimilar to anything on the continent of India, and, with its seven-storied tower, more of a Babylonián than Indian type. What rose on the centre of the Kârkaḷa temple, whether dome or tower, is not clear; there are the ruins of some construction, but the square form and projecting porticos are there, and it is on the coast of India nearest ancient Babylonia.

The temple is beautifully situated, overlooking a wide panoramic landscape, well wooded, and diversified during the rains with all the luxuriant vegetation and vivid tints of the western coast; and an extensive hollow under the hill to the south is filled with a very picturesque miniature lake of deep blue water with a sharply winding shore, many little headlands, and a tree-covered islet in the middle, much haunted by white egrets. At one corner of the lake there are steps and a paved landing-place, whence, it is said, the old Jaina kings launched to disport themselves with boating. In those days Kârkaḷa must have been a centre of great stir and magnificence: half a mile northward of the hill may be seen the vestiges of a grand bâzâr street running in a straight line for a mile, and popularly declared to have contained 770 shops. It is now a hollow way, worn deep by the tread of vanished generations, and bordered on each side by mounds of earth and masses of disjointed masonry. It is still known as Hiriya-Aṅgaḍi—Old Bâzâr, and its long vista is closed at the top by the grandest and tallest of the splendid decorated pillars spoken of in note No. X., standing in the midst of a semicircle of three much-ruined temples. Between the Old Bâzâr and the hill I observed a small pillar of unusual appearance, a little to one side, on a waste open *maidân*, and, going up to it, found an obelisk-like stone pillar six or seven feet high, with something like a furnace at the foot. I could not for some time comprehend the explanations offered of its intention, but at last discovered it was the impaling pillar—the Tyburn or place of execution—where criminals were impaled, and a socket on its top marked where doubtless a long spike had been fixed for the purpose, on which many a miserable wretch must have expired in horrible agonies under the burning sun.

Returning to the fourfold temple, a fine black stone stelë stands beside the steps of its northern portico, bearing an inscription which I had copied; it is as follows ‡:—

*Sâsana of the Jain Temple at Kârkaḷa.*

*Transcription.*

ಚತುರ್ಮುಖಬಸ್ತಿಯ ಶಾಸನಂ.

ಶ್ರೀವೀತರಾಗಾಯನಮಃ ॥ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪರಮಗಂಭೀರಸ್ಯಾ-
ದ್ವಾದಾಮೋಘಲಾಂಛನಂ । ಜೀಯಾತ್ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನಾಥಸ್ಯ
ಶಾಸನಂ ಜಿನಶಾಸನಂ ॥ ಆಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕಸ್ಥಿರಂ ಭೂಯಾದಾ-
ಯು:ಶ್ರೀಜಯಸಂಪದ: । ಭೈರವೇಂದ್ರಮಹೀಕಾಂತ: ಶ್ರೀಜಿ-
ನೇಂದ್ರಪ್ರಸಾದತ: ॥ ಅವಿಘ್ನಮಸ್ತು ॥ ಭದ್ರಮಸ್ತು ॥
ತೀರ್ಥೌಘಂ ಸುಖಮಕ್ಷಯಂ ಚ ಕುರುತೇ ಶ್ರೀಪಾರ್ಶ್ವ-
ನಾಥೋ ಬಲಂ ಕೀರ್ತಿಂ ನೇಮಿಜಿನ: ಸುವೀರಜಿನಪಶ್ಚಾಯು:
ಶ್ರಿಯಂ · ದೋರ್ಬಲಿ: । ಕಲ್ಯಾಣಾನ್ಯರಮಲ್ಲಿಸುವ್ರತಜಿನಾ-
ಪೊಂಬುಚ್ಚಪದ್ಮಾವತೀ ಚಾಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕಮಭೀಷ್ಟದಾಸ್ತು ಸು-
ಚಿರಂ ಶ್ರೀಭೈರವಕ್ಷ್ಮಾಪತೇ: ॥ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ದೇಶಿಗಣೇ ಖ್ಯಾತೇ
ಪನಸೋಗಾವಲೀಶ್ವರ: । ಯೋ ಭೂಲ್ಲಲಿತಕೀರ್ತ್ಯಾರ್ಯ-
ಖ್ಯಸ್ತನ್ಮುನೀಂದ್ರೋಪದೇಶತ: ॥ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಸೋಮಕುಲಾ-
ಮೃತಾಂಬುಧಿವಿಧು: ಶ್ರೀಜೈನದತ್ತಾನ್ವಯ: ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ಭೈರವ-
ರಾಜತುಂಗಭಗಿನೀಶ್ರೀಗುಂಮಟಾಂಬಾಸುತ: । ಶ್ರೀಮ-
ದ್ಭೋಗಿಸುರೇಂದ್ರಚಕ್ರಿಮಹಿಮಶ್ಛ್ರೀಭೈರವೇಂದ್ರಪ್ರಭು: ಶ್ರೀ-
ರತ್ನತ್ರಯಭದ್ರಧಾಮಜಿನಪಂ ನಿರ್ವಾಣಸ್ಯ ಸಂಸಿದ್ಧಿಭಾಕ್ ॥
ಶ್ರೀಮಚ್ಛಾಲಿಶಕಾಬ್ದಕೇ ಚ ಗಲಿತೇ ನಾಗಾಭ್ರಬಾಣೇಂದುಭಿ:
ಶಾಬ್ದೇ ಸದ್ವ್ಯಯನಾಮ್ನಿ ಚೈತ್ರಸಿತಪಕ್ಷೇ ಸೌಮ್ಯವಾರೇ

† *History of Architecture*, vol. II. pp. 516-18—ed. of 1867.

‡ This text and translation have been carefully revised and corrected by Mr. J. F. Fleet, Bo. C.S., whose accurate knowledge of such inscriptions is so well known to our readers.—ED.

ವೃಷೇ । ಅಷ್ಟೇ ಸನ್ಮೃಗಶೀರ್ಷಕೇ ಚಿತತರಾ ಶ್ರೀಭೈರವೇಂದ್ರೇಣ ತತ್ಸ್ವೀರತ್ನತ್ರಯಭದ್ರಧಾಮಜಿನಪಃ ಭಾತು ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಾಪಿತಃ ॥ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಶಾಲಿವಾಹನಶಕವರ್ಷ ೧೫೦೮ನೆಯ ವ್ಯಯಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಚೈತ್ರ ಶುದ್ಧ ೫ಯ ಬುಧವಾರ ಮೃಗಶಿರನಕ್ಷತ್ರ ವೃಷಭಲಗ್ನದಲ್ಲು ಕಲಿಯುಗಾಭಿಧಾನಭರತೇಶ್ವರಚಕ್ರವರ್ತ್ತಿ ಗುತ್ತಿಹನ್ನಿಬ್ಬರ ಗಂಡಪಟ್ಟ ಪೊಂಬುಚ್ಚಪುರವರಾಧೀಶ್ವರ ಮರೆಹೊಕ್ಕರೆ ಕಾವ ಮಾರಾಂತರೆ ವೈರಿ ಮಂನೆಯ ರಾಯ ಮಸ್ತಕಮೂಲಕ ದರ್ಶನಸ್ಥಾಪನಾಚಾರ್ಯ ಸೋಮವಂಶಶಿಖಾಮಣಿ ಕಾಶ್ಯಪಗೋತ್ರಪವಿತ್ರೀಕರಣದಕ್ಷ ಪೊಂಬುಚ್ಚಪದ್ಮಾವತೀಲಬ್ಧವರಪ್ರಸಾದ ಸಮ್ಯಕ್ತ್ವಾದಿಗುಣಗಣಾಲಂಕೃತ ಗಂಧೋದಕಪವಿತ್ರೀಕೃತೋತ್ತಮಾಂಗ ಅರವತ್ತುನಾಲ್ಕು ಮಂಡಲಿಕರ ಗಂಡ ಹೊಂಸಮಾಂಬಿಕಾಪ್ರಿಯಕುಮಾರ ಭೈರವರಸವಡೆಯರಳಿಯರೆನಿಪ ಶ್ರೀಮಜ್ಜಿನದತ್ತರಾಯವಂಶಾಂಬುಧಿಪೂರ್ಣಚಂದ್ರ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ವೀರನರಸಿಂಹ ವಂಗನಗರೇಂದ್ರ ಶ್ರೀಗುಂಮಟಾಂಬಾಕುಲದೀಪಕಪ್ರಿಯಸೂನು ಅರಿರಾಯರ ಗಂಡಚೂಡಾಮಣಿ ಶ್ರೀಮದಿಂಮಡಿಭೈರವರಸವಡೆಯರು ತಮಗೆ ಅಭ್ಯುದಯನಿಶ್ರೇಯೋಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಸಂಪ್ರಾಪ್ತಿನಿಮಿತ್ತವಾಗಿ ಕಾಪಕಳದ ಪಾಂಡ್ಯನಗರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀಗುಂಮಟಜಿನೇಶ್ವರನ ಸಂನಿಧಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೈಲಾಸಗಿರಿಸಂನಿಭಚಿಕ್ಕಬೆಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲು ॥ ಶ್ರೀಕಾಂತಾಕುಲವೇಶ್ಮ ಕಿಂ ವರಯಶಃಕಾಂತಾಪ್ರಮೋದಾಕರಂ ಭೂಕಾಂತಾರತಿಸದ್ಮ ಸಜ್ಜಯವಧೂಕ್ರೀಡಾಸ್ಪದಂ ಕಿಂ ಪುನಃ । ಷಟ್ಕಾರೋಜ್ವಲಸಂನಯದ್ವಯಮಯೀ ಶ್ರೀಭಾರತೀರಂಗಭೂಃ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀರಮಣಾಸ್ವಯಂವರಗೃಹಂ ಶ್ರೀಜೈನಗೇಹಂ ವ್ರಜೇತ್ ॥ ಯಿಂತಪ್ಪ ಸಕಲಜಿನಾನಂದಮಂದಿರವಾದ ಸರ್ವತೋಭದ್ರ ಚತುರ್ಮುಖ ರತ್ನತ್ರಯರೂಪ ತ್ರಿಭುವನತಿಲಕ ಚೈತ್ಯಾಲಯವಂನು ಗೋವನಿಕಲಂಕಮಲ್ಲ ಬಂಟರ ಭಾವ ಪರನಾರೀಸಹೋದರ ನುಡಿದ ಭಾಷೆಗೆ ತಪ್ಪುವ ರಾಯರ ಗಂಡ ಸುವರ್ಣಕಲಶಸ್ಥಾಪನಾಚಾರ್ಯರಾದ ಕಾರಣ ಧರ್ಮಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯನಾಯಕರಾಗಿ ನಿಜಪುಣ್ಯಾನುಬಂಧಿಪುಣ್ಯಪ್ರೇರಣೆಯಿಂದ ತಮಗುತ್ತಮಜಿನಭವನಪ್ರೇಕ್ಷಕರಾದ ಸಕಲಶೀಲಗುಣಸಂಪಂನರಪ್ಪ ಚತುಃಸಂಘಕ್ಕು ಸಾಕ್ಷಾತ್ಸನ್ಮೋಕ್ಷಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಸ್ವಯಂವರಸಾಲೋಪಮವಾಗಿ ನಿರ್ಮಾಪಿಸಿ ಅನಂತಸುಖಸಂಪ್ರಾಪ್ತಿನಿಮಿತ್ತವಾಗಿ ಆ ನಾಲ್ಕು ದಿಕ್ಕಿನಲ್ಲು ಅರಮಲ್ಲಿಮುನಿಸುವ್ರತತೀರ್ಥಕರರ ಪ್ರತಿಮೆಗಳನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿ ಆ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮದಿಗ್ಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಚತುರ್ವಿಂಶತಿತೀರ್ಥಕರರ ಪ್ರತಿಮೆಗಳಂನು ಆ ಬಹಿರ್ಮಳಯದ ಗುಂಡುಗಳೊಳಗೆ ಜಿನಬಿಂಬಗಳಂನು ಯಿತಬಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಪದ್ಮಾವತೀಸಹಿತವಾಗಿ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿ ಸವಿಧಾನದಿಂ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಾಪಿಸಿ ಆ ನಾಲ್ಕು ದಿಕ್ಕಿನಲ್ಲು ಹದಿನಾಲ್ಕು ಪ್ರೊಕ್ಕಲು ಸ್ವಾನಿಕರು ನಡಿಸುವ ಅಭಿಷೇಕಪೂಜೆ ಮುಂತಾದಕ್ಕೂ ಮೇಲೆ ನಡೆವ ಅಂಗರಂಗವೈಭವಾದಿಕಂಗಳಿಗೂ ಆ ಭೈರವರಸವಡೆಯರು ನಿಜಸಂತೋಷದಿಂದ ರಾಜ್ಯವಂನಾಳುವಾಗ ಆ ತ್ರಿಭುವನತಿಲಕಜಿನಚೈತ್ಯಾಲಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಆ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಾಪನಸಮಯದ ಪುಣ್ಯಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ತಮಗೆ ಪುಣ್ಯಾರ್ಥವಾಗಿ ಮೂಡ ಮುಕ್ತದಪ್ಪಿನಹೊಳೆ ತೆಂಕ ಯೆಂಣೆಯಹೊಳೆ ಪಡುವ ಪ್ರಳಕಳಿಯಗಪೊಳೆ ಬಡಗ ಬಲಿಮೆಯಹೊಳೆ ಈ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಹೊಳೆಗಳಂನು ಮೇರೆಯೊಳಗೆ ನಿಧಿ ನಿಕ್ಷೇಪ ಅಕ್ಷಿಣಿ ಆಗಾಮಿ ಜಲ ಪಾಷಾಣ ಸಿದ್ಧ ಸಾಧ್ಯಂಗಳೆಂಬ ಅಷ್ಟಭೋಗಂಗಳಿಗೊಳಗಾದ ತೆಳ್ಳಾರುಗ್ರಾಮವಂನೂ ಅದರೊಳಗೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೭೦೦ನ್ನೂ ತೆಂಜಾಳನಲ್ಲೂರ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಗ ೨೫೮ನ್ನೂ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕವಾಗಿ ಆಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕಸ್ಥಾಯಿ ಯಿಪ್ಪಂತೆ(?) ದೇವರ್ಗೆ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಧರ್ಮಕ್ಷೇಮದ ವಿವರ । ಆ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದ ಚತುಃಸೀಮೆಯೊಳಗುಳ್ಳ ಹರಾವರಿ ಮುಂತ್ತಾದವರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಲುವ ಗೇಣಿ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಯ ಬಡ್ಡಿಯ ಭತ್ತ ಹುರ್ಳಿ ಯಾಲಕ್ಕಿ ಜೋಳಕೆ ಕಟ್ಟಿದ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹೊಂನ ಬಡ್ಡಿ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಸಹಾ ಸಲುವ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಾನೆ ೫೦ರ ಲೆಖ್ಖದ ಮುಡಿ ೭೦೦ಕ್ಕಂ ನಲ್ಲೂರುರಂಜಾಳದಲ್ಲಿ ವಕ್ಕಲು ಕಾಕರ್ಣೆಯಾಗಿ ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಯ ಗದ್ಯಾಣ ೫೦ ವರಹಾಕ್ಕು ಸಹವಾಗಿ ನಡದ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮ ಪಡುವಣ ಬಾಗಿಲ ವಕ್ಕಲು ೨ಕ್ಕೆ ಮೂರು ಹೊತ್ತಿನ ದೇವರ ಪೂಜೆಗೆ ಚರು ಹಾನೆ ೯ ಮೇಲ ಚರು ಹಾನೆ ೩ ಅಕ್ಷತೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಾನೆ ೧ ತೋಯ ಪಾಯಸ ತುಪ್ಪ ಕಲಸು ಮೇಲೋಗರ ಕಾಳದ ಮುಂತಾದ ಪಂಚಭಕ್ಷ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಾನೆ ೨ ಕುಡ್ತೆ ೨ ಅಂತು ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಾನೆ ೧೫ ಕುಡ್ತೆ ೨ ಆ ಲೆಖ್ಖದಲ್ಲಿ ವರುಷ ೧ಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೧೧೦ ಉದಯದ ಪಂಚಾಮೃತಾಭಿಷೇಕಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೭೮೨ ಪಂಚಖಜ್ಜಾಯಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೪೭೪೯ ಸಿದ್ಧಚಕ್ರಾರಾಧನೆಗೆ ಗ ೧೨ ಫಲವಸ್ತುವಿಗೆ ಗ ೧೨ ಬೈಗಿನ ಹಾಲ ಧಾರೆಗೆ ಗ ॥೯೪ ಗಂಧಧೂಪಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ॥೯೩ ಯೆಂಣೆ ಹಾಡ ೧೨ಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೮೯೪ ಅಷ್ಟಟರ್ಹ್ನಿಕ ೩ಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೩ ವರ್ಷಾಭಿಷೇಕಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೬ ಅಂತು ಗದ್ಯಾಣ ೪೭ ಬಡಬಾಗಿಲ ವಕ್ಕಲು ೨ಕ್ಕೆ ೩ ಹೊತ್ತಿನ ನಡವ ಪೂಜೆಗೆ ದಿನ ೧ಕ್ಕೆ ಚರುವಿಗೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಾನೆ ೯ ಮೇಲ ಚರುವಿಗೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಾನೆ ೩ ಅಕ್ಷತೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಾನೆ ೧ ತೋಯ ಪಾಯಸ ತುಪ್ಪ ಕಲಸು ಮೇಲೋಗರ ಕಾಳದ ಮುಂತಾದ ಪಂಚಭಕ್ಷ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಾನೆ ೨ ಕುಡ್ತೆ ೨ ಅಂತು ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಾನೆ ದಿನ ೧ಕ್ಕೆ ಹಾನೆ ೧೫ ಕುಡ್ತೆ ೨ ಆ

ಲೆಖ್ಖದಲ್ಲಿ ವರ್ಷಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಡಿ ೧೧೦ ಉದಯ ಬೈಗಿನ ಹಾಲು-
ಧಾರೆಗೆ ಗ ೧||.೯೩ ಪಂಚಖಜ್ಜಾಯಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೭||. ಫಲವಸ್ತುವಿಗೆ
ಗ ೧೯೨ ಗಂಧಧೂಪಕ್ಕೆ ೯೮ ಯೆಂಣೆ ಹಾಡ ೧೨ಕ್ಕೆ ಗ
೮೯೪ ಅಷ್ಟಾಹ್ನಿಕ ೩ಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೩ ವರ್ಷಾಭಿಷೇಕಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೬
ಅಂತು ಗ ೨೮೯೭||. ಯಿೀ ಲೆಖ್ಖದಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂಡ ಬಾಗಿಲ
ವಕ್ಕಲು ೨ಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೧೧೦ ಗ ೨೮೯೭||. ಆ ತೆಂಕಬಾ-
ಗಿಲ ವಕ್ಕಲು ೨ಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೧೧೦ ಗದ್ಯಾಣ ೨೮೯೭||.
ಅಂತು ಬಾಗಿಲ ೪ಕ್ಕೆ ವಕ್ಕಲು ೮ಕ್ಕೆ ವರ್ಷ ೧ಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ
ಮುಡಿ ೪೪೦ ಗದ್ಯಾಣ ೧೩೩೯೧||೯||. ಪಡುವ ಬಾಗಿಲ
ಯೆಡಬಲದ ಗುಂಡು ೨ಕ್ಕೆ ವಕ್ಕಲು ೧ಕ್ಕೆ ಚರುವಿಗೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ
ಪಾನೆ ೫ರ ಲೆಖ್ಖದಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಡಿ ೩೬ ಅಕ್ಷತೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೪
ಉಭಯಂ ಮುಡಿ ೪೦ ಹಾಲುಧಾರೆ ೪ಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೩||೯೧ ಫಲವ-
ಸ್ತುವಿಗೆ ಗದ್ಯಾಣ ೧೯೨ ಗಂಧಧೂಪಕ್ಕೆ ೯೩ ಯೆಂಣೆ ಹಾಡ
೫ಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೩||. ಅಷ್ಟಾಹ್ನಿಕ ೩ಕ್ಕೆ ೯೫||. ವರ್ಷಾಭಿಷೇಕಕ್ಕೆ
ಗ ೧ ಅಂತು ಗ ೧೦೯೧|| ಯಿೀ ಲೆಖ್ಖದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಡಗ ಮೂಡ
ತೆಂಕ ಗುಂಡು ಗಳಿಗೂ ಆ ಪಡುವಣ ತೀರ್ಥಕರ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಪದ್ಮಾ-
ವತಿಗಳಿಗೂ ಸಹಾ ವಕ್ಕಲು ೫ಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೨೦೦ ಗ
೫೦೯೭||. ಉಭಯಂ ವಕ್ಕಲು ೬ಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೨೪೦ ಗ
೬೦೯೯ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಪದ್ಮಾವತಿಯರ ಚರುವಿಗೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೪
ಅಂತು ವಕ್ಕಲು ೧೪ಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೬೮೪ ಗದ್ಯಾಣ
೧೯೪೯|| ಡೋಲು ನಾಗಸರ ಕೊಂಬಿನವ ಜನ ೬ಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೩೬
ಅಡಪಿನಮುಲಕ್ತಿಯ ಜನ ೨ಕ್ಕೆ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೧೬ ಬಸ್ತಿಯ-
ಲ್ಲಿಹ ತಪಸ್ವಿಗಳ ತಂಡ ೪ಕ್ಕೆ ಶೀತನಿವಾರಣೆಯ ಹಚ್ಚಡ
೮ಕ್ಕಂ ಕೈಯಕ್ಕಿ ತುಂಬುವ ಸೂಸುವ ಹಚ್ಚಡ ೧ಕ್ಕಂ ಸಹಾ.
ಹಚ್ಚಡ ೯ಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೫೯೨ ಮಂಡೆಯ ಕೋಳವರೆ ಯೆಂಣೆ
ಹಾಡ ೨ಕ್ಕೆ ಗ ೨ ಅಡಿಗಬ್ಬು ಶೀಗೆಗೆ ಸಹಾ ೯೮ ಅಂತು
ಗ ೮ ಅಂತು ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೭೦೦ ಗ ೨೩೮ ಭಾರ್ಯ
ಅರಮನೆಯ ೪ ಚೌಕದ ವಳಗಣ ಬಸ್ತಿಯ ಚಂದ್ರನಾಥ-
ಸ್ವಾಮಿಯ ಅಮೃತಪಡಿಗೆ ಆರು ರಬಿಜಕಳದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಳ್ಳಿಯರಸರ
ಗುತ್ತು ಚೆಂನ್ನಪ್ಪನಿಂದ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೨೦ ಬಾಗಿಲರಸರ
ಗುತ್ತು ಮೊಂಡಪಾರ್ಡಿಯಿಂದ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೧೦ ಉಭಯಂ
ಮುಡಿ ೩೦ ನಲ್ಲೂರು ಚಿಕ್ಕರಪಾಂಡಿಯಬಾಳಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಗ ೭||. ಜ-
ತ್ರಿಕೋಟಿಯಬಾಳಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಗ ೩ ಪಂಜಾಳದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಂಬುವಬಾಳಿನಲ್ಲಿ
ಗ ೭|| ಅಂತು ಗ ೧೮||. ಗೋವರ್ಧನಗಿರಿಯ ಬಸ್ತಿಯ
ಪಾರ್ಶ್ವನಾಥಸ್ವಾಮಿಯ ಅಮೃತಪಡಿಗೆ ಮಲ್ಲಿಲದಕಂಬಳದಲ್ಲಿ
ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೩೦ ಆ ಮೇಳಣ ದಡೆ ಮಾತುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಡಿ ೪
ನಲ್ಲೂರುನಂಗಬೆಟ್ಟಸಾರ್ಣನಲ್ಲಿ ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಮುಡಿ ೬ ಅಂತು ಮುಡಿ
೪೦ಕ್ಕೆ ಕೆರವಶೆಬೆಟ್ಟಿನ ಹಿತ್ತಲ ಫಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಗ ೮೯೨||.
ಇದು ಪಂಚಸಂಸಾರಕಾಲೋರಗದಷ್ಟಗೋಡುಂಬೋರ್ಚಿ-
ತನಾನಾಸಂಸಾರಜೀವಪ್ರಭೋಧನಕರಪಂಚಮಹಾಕಲ್ಯಾಣಾಭಿ-
ಜ್ಞೋಪಮವಾದ ಜಿನಮಂತ್ರಪೂತಾತ್ಮ ಶ್ರೀವೀತರಾಗ ಯೆಂಬ
ಪಂಚಾಕ್ಷರಿಯು ಪಂಚವಿಂಶತಿ ಮಲವಿಧುರಪರಸಮ್ಯಗ್ದೃ-
ಷ್ಟಿಗಳಾದ ಕಾರಣ ಆ ಭೈರವ ರಸನಡೆಯರೇ ಸ್ವಹಸ್ತ-
ದಿಂದವಪ್ಪು ಬಿಟ್ಟುದದಕ್ಕೆ ಇಂದ್ರವಜ್ರಾವೃತ್ತದಿಂದ ಚತು-
ರ್ವಿಂಶತ್ಯಕ್ಷರಲಿಖಿತಪಂಚಾಕ್ಷರರೂಪಸರ್ವತೋಭದ್ರ ಚಿ-
ತ್ರಪ್ರಬಂಧದಿಂದ ರಚಿಸಿದ ಚಿತ್ರಶ್ಲೋಕ || ಶ್ರೀವೀತವಿರಗಾಕ-
ವಿಗವಿತಂ ಶ್ರೀರಾಗವೀತಂ ಗತರಾಗಂ ಶ್ರೀಗಂತತಂ ರಾಗತ-
ರಾಂಗರಾಗಂ ಶ್ರೀವೀತರಾಗಂ ತತ: ವಿರಗಂತಂ§ || ೦ ||
ಶ್ರೀ || ಶ್ರೀ ||

*Translation.*

The charter of the Jain temple with four fronts.

Reverence to the saint by whom all his passions have been brought under control! Victorious be the scripture of the lord of the three worlds, the scripture of Jina, which has, as an efficacious distinguishing appellation, the glorious and most excellent and profound doctrine of the assertion of possibilities! Through the favour of Śrî-Jinêndra, may the king Bhairavêndra continue, as long as the moon and sun may endure, possessed of long life and good fortune and victory and prosperity! May there be no obstacles! May it be auspicious!

Śrî-Pârśvanâtha|| confers abundance of salutary advice; and Nêmijina, strength and fame; and Suvîrajinapa, long life; and Dôrbali,¶ good fortune; and the Jaina saints Ara and Malli and Suvrata, prosperity: and may (the goddess)

§ The curiosity of this verse consists in its being composed of combinations of the five syllables *śrî vî ta râ ga.* I cannot at present propose any further emendations, or suggest a translation.—J. F. F.

|| This personage, as well as the six enumerated immediately after, belongs to the Jain hierarchy of Tîrthaṁkaras, with the exception of Bâhubali or Dôrbali, who, not one himself, was the son of Vṛishabha, the first Tîrthaṁkara, and is represented by the Colossus on the hill above—vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 134 and 353.

¶ Another form of this name would be Bâhubali, the son of Vṛishabha (conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 134, 353), and a Jain saint of this name, belonging to the sect called Kaṇḍûragaṇa, is mentioned in lines 23, 24, and 35, No. III (dated Śaka 903) of my Raṭṭa Inscriptions, published in *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. X, and was at that date alive.—J. F. F.

Padmâvatî* of Pŏmbuchcha † grant all the desires of the king Śrî-Bhairava for a very long time, as long as the moon and sun may endure!

At the advice of that greatest of sages, Lalitakîrti, the lord of the lineage of Panasôgâ, ‡ who was born in the glorious and famous sect called Dêśigaṇa,—the lord Śri-Bhairava,—possessed of the greatness of the glorious emperor who is the king of the serpent-gods; the moon of the nectar-ocean which is the glorious Sômakula; born in the lineage of Śri-Jainadatta; the son of Śrî-Gummaṭâmbâ, who was the noble sister of the glorious king Bhairava,—caused to be constructed (an image or temple of) Jinapa, whose glory is made auspicious by three excellent qualities,§ and thus enjoyed complete success.

May (the image or temple of) Jinapa, whose glory is made auspicious by three excellent qualities, be beautiful for a long time;—(that image or temple) which was established by Śrî-Bhairavêndra when the year of the glorious era called Śâliśaka, having the excellent name of Vyaya and to be expressed in words|| by "the elephants, the sky, the arrows, and the moon," had expired, in the bright fortnight of (the month) Chaitra, on Wednesday under the sign of the Bull, and under the excellent astronomical conjunction of Mṛigaśîrsha.

Hail! On Wednesday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Chaitra of the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, which was the year of the Śrî-Śâlivâhanaśaka 1508 ¶, under the astronomical conjunction of Mṛigaśira and under the sign of the Bull, in order that he might obtain prosperity and happiness and good fortune, the glorious sovereign, king Immaḍi-Bhairava*,—who was the universal emperor of the Kaliyuga; like to Bharatêśvara; who was the greatest hero of the twelve (heroes or kings) of Gutti; who was the supreme lord of the city of Pŏmbuchchapura, which is the best of cities; who protected those who took refuge with him; who was the enemy of such as withstood him; who was the supporter of honourable kings; who was the priest to establish the systems of philosophy; who was the ornament of the Sômavaṁśa; who was expert in purifying the lineage of Kâśyapa; who had acquired the excellent favour of (the goddess) Padmâvatî of Pŏmbuchcha; who was adorned with all the virtues of propriety of conduct; whose head was purified by perfumed water; who was the greatest of sixty-four chieftains; who was the beloved son of (the queen) Honnamâmbikâ; who was considered to be the son-in-law of the sovereign, king Bhairava; who was the full-moon of the ocean which was the lineage of the glorious king Jinadatta; who was as glorious and as brave as Narasiṁha; who was the king of the city of Vaṅganagara; who was the beloved son and the glorifier of the family of (the queen) Śrì-Gummaṭâmbâ; who was the greatest of all those who punish hostile kings,—at the city of Pâṇḍyanagari of Kâpĕkaḷa, in the presence of (the Jain god) Śrî-Gummaṭa-Jinêśvara on the hill called Chikkabeṭṭa†, which resembles the mountain of Kailâsa caused to be built a Chaityâlaya,‡—of such a kind as to answer to the description "What is the family-abode of the lovely woman Śrî?; what is the mine of the happiness of the lovely woman Excellent Fame?; what is the house in which the lovely woman the Earth enjoys the pleasures of love?; and what, again, is the place in which the bride Excellent Victory disports herself?; it is the arena of Śrî-Bhâratî, consisting of both the six letters§ and excellent morality: Hail!, then, (to find this place,) a man should betake himself to the temple of Śrî-Jina, which is the house in which the lovely woman Śrî makes her choice of a husband"; the happy habitation of all the Jinas; auspicious in every respect; having four fronts; resembling the form of the three excellent things; the ornament of the three

* Padmâvatî is the divine being who executed the orders of the twenty-third Arhat of the present *Avasarpinî* (a long period of time, or age, with the Jainas). As used by other sects it is an epithet usually of Lakshmî.

† This seems to be the name of a place which cannot at present be identified. (Possibly the reading in the original may be Pombeṭṭa, 'the mountain of gold',—Mahâmêru.)

‡ In Canarese the form of this name is Panasôge or Hanasôge, and the sect is mentioned in line 45 of No. V of my Raṭṭa Inscriptions referred to above.—J. F. F.

§ The *ratnatraya* or three excellent things among the Jains are,—1, *samyakchâritra*, correct conduct; 2, *samyagjñâna*, complete knowledge; and 3, *samyagdarśana*, accurate perception.

|| These words denote the numerals 8, 0, 5, 1, the order of which has then to be reversed to give the date. According to the text in this passage the year 1508 had expired, and consequently the date was Śaka 1509, A.D. 1587; by the Table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology* Śaka 1508 was the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, and Śaka 1509 was the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*.

¶ According to the text here, the Śaka year 1508 was still current.

* *i.e.* 'Bhairava the second'.

† *i.e.* 'the little hill'.

‡ 'A Jain temple'.

§ I am unable to explain this.

worlds,—which was like the house in which the goddess Final Emancipation visibly chooses her husbands, for the (members of) four religious bodies who were possessed of all good qualities and who,—because they were . . . . . . . . . ||, and behaved like brothers to the wives of other men, and punished kings who failed to keep their promises, and were the establishers of (temples with) golden pinnacles,—had become the principal men in the kingdom of religion, and who, at the instigation of piety which was the consequence of their own piety, had become his superintendents of the most excellent temples of Jina. And then, in order that he might obtain endless happiness, he set up images¶ of the Tîrthakaras Ara and the saint Malli and Suvrata at the four points of the compass of that temple, and images of the twenty-four Tîrthakaras in the western side of it, and images of Jina in the corners of the outer enclosure of it, together with (images of) Brahma and Padmâvatî on the left and right hand. Having established these with the proper ceremonies, that same sovereign, king Bhairava, while governing the kingdom to his own contentment, at the holy time of establishing those same images in that same Chaityâlaya of Jina, which was the ornament of the three worlds, in order that he might acquire religious merit, gave to the god,—with libations of water, and to last as long as the moon and sun might endure, for the purpose of the Abhishêkapûje and the other rites which were to be celebrated at those same four points of the compass by the fourteen local fixed servants of the god, and for the purposes of the *Aṅga(-bhôga)* and the *Raṅga(-bhôga)* and all the other glorious ceremonies,—the village of Tēlyârû,—within the boundaries of four streams, which are on the east, the stream called Mukkaḍappina-hoḷe; on the south, the stream called Yeṇṇeya-hoḷe; on the west, the stream called Puḷakaḷiyada-hoḷe; and on the north the stream called Balimeya-hoḷe,—including the *Ashṭabhôgas*,* which are buried treasure, deposits, *Akshiṇi*, *Agâmi*, water, stones, that which has become property, and that which may become property,—and 700 *muḍis* of rice within that village, and 238 *gadyaṇas* out of the fixed revenues of (the villages of) Rēñjâḷa and Nallura.

And the details of this religious grant are:—(Here follows the specification of the sums of money and the grain-allowances given for the support of the priests and servants of the temple and for the performance of various ceremonies. It does not appear necessary to translate this in detail; and, in fact, the transcription is in many points too doubtful to permit of this being done. The inscription then continues:—)

Because the five letters which constitute the word 'Śrî-Vîtarâga,' and which are a sacred charm of Jina which resembles that which conveys an understanding of the five most holy things which convey a knowledge of many excellent existences which are like a water-melon bitten by the serpent which is the period of five existences, are the twenty-five means of accurate perception of Jain religious mendicants†, that same sovereign, king Bhairava, in token of his having allotted (the above grants), with his own hand composed, in the Indravajrâ metre, a curious verse, by a most auspicious and curious arrangement which was written in twenty-four syllables but had the form of (those same) five syllables. (Here follows the verse, commencing *Śrîvîtaviragâ*, &c., the explanation of which is not at present apparent.) * * *

One of the grand massive pillars in the propylæum of that cathedral of existing Jaindom in Kanara—the great temple at Mûdubidri, ten miles from Kârkaḷa—has one side of its quadrangular base covered with a riddle-sentence in twenty-five compartments, separated by orna-

|| I cannot explain or emend *Govanikalaṅkamalla baṇṭara bhâva.*

¶ The images at the four entrances identically resemble one another. Each Tîrthaṁkara appears to be distinguished only by his particular symbol or cognizance, and not here,—nor elsewhere in South Canara where complete sets of the twenty-four exist, nor at Yênûr,—to be marked by gradation in size. Jina is a general appellation of these saints, apparently often applied *par excellence* to the first: it is also a name of Buddha. I was not allowed to enter the temple, and whether the images mentioned as being in the middle still exist I cannot say. Before the entrance to the enclosure of the great image on the hill above the temple there is a low stone pillar bearing on its capital, not covered by any canopy, a seated image of Brahmâ, excellently cut in some fine white stone. A figure on horseback is cut in relief on the base of the pillar, which is surrounded by a plain stone three-barred "Buddhist rail." A pillar and an image of Brahmâ, but of inferior execution, stands also before the entrance of the Colossus at Yênûr.

* Eight conditions or privileges attached to landed property.

† *Malavidhara* would seem to be the same as *Maladhârin*, a religious mendicant, especially one of the Jain sect. The sense of the whole of this passage, or rather the correctness of the transcription, seems to me very doubtful. Where the transcription has *gŏdamârchita*, I have substituted *gôdumbôrjita* as the only correction that suggests itself to me.

mental bands, and the whole enclosed with an elaborate border. The inscription, it is said, may be read as verses in any direction, and appears to be a song of praise consisting of ingeniously varied epithets, somewhat resembling the Orphic Hymns: a copy is given in conclusion:—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Smarahara‡<br>Urutara<br>Suruchira<br>Varakara | Karmalôpa<br>Barharûpa<br>Śarmasadma<br>Dharmavartma | Bhuvanêśa<br>Bhuvanêśa<br>Suvinîta<br>Suvinûta | Haṭhabhrama<br>Natabhrama<br>Dhṛitôdgama<br>Yutakshama | Nînavîranai<br>Nînaśûranai<br>Nînasâranai<br>Nînadhîranai |
| Bhayamada<br>Dayavidha<br>Jáyadhṛita<br>Dayakṛita | Pâthihâra<br>Jâtidûra<br>Nîtiyôga<br>Vîtarâga | Niravadya<br>Varavaidya<br>Suraharmya<br>Giridhairya | Nirañjana<br>Chirantana<br>Dhṛitânvita<br>Varânvita | Nînagaṇyanai<br>Nînapuṇyanai<br>Nînadhanyanai<br>Nînaśûranai |
| Vilasita<br>Balayuta<br>Khalagata<br>Malagata | Bhûrichakra<br>Chârunakra<br>Mârachaitra<br>Sârabhûta | Chamarîja<br>Samurôja<br>Samudâya<br>Ramaṇîya | Mahânvita<br>Mahânvita<br>Maharddhika<br>Sahâyaka | Nînasiddhanai<br>Nînabuddhanai<br>Nînasaukhyanai<br>Nînamukhyanai |
| Suranata<br>Parivṛita<br>Parahita<br>Parichita | Chârumâuli<br>Bhûrinîla<br>Sârabhadra<br>Mâraraudra | Maṇirâja<br>Phaṇirâja<br>Guṇayukta<br>Raṇajaitra | Parîkshaka<br>Surakshaka<br>Sunîshita<br>Vinishkṛita | Nînanâthanai<br>Nînajihvanai<br>Nînakaṇṭhanai<br>Nînaśântanai |
| Ghanadhṛita<br>Vinihita<br>Muninuta<br>Janapati | Yuktisâra<br>Śaktisâra<br>Bhuktidharmya<br>Muktiramya | Nirapêksha<br>Varadaksha<br>Charamâṅga<br>Paramâṅga | Janâśrita<br>Manôjita<br>Ghanâśrita<br>Mahîpati | Nînaramyanai<br>Nînagamyanai<br>Nînaharmyanai<br>Nînasaumyanai |

‡ These words, being read along the lines from left to right, constitute five stanzas in the Champakamâlâ metre. By means of the metre and the Prâsas or alliterations, for which the stanzas are intended to be regarded as a curiosity, I have corrected such mistakes as were obvious in the transcription, by substituting real for unreal words. I cannot at present suggest any further improvement or offer a translation.—J. F. F.

## SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

(*Continued from page 20*).

Through the kindness of Sir W. Elliot there has been lent to me a copy of his collection of Old Canarese stone-inscriptions, belonging to the Library of the University of Edinburgh, and Mr. Burgess has made over to me a set of 57 excellent facsimiles of Sanskrit and Old Canarese copper-plates. I hope to make valuable additions to the present series from these two sources.

### No. XI.

This is another Kaḷachuri inscription, to be read in connexion with No. III. of this series, from Plate No. 38 of Major Dixon's collection. The original, in the Old Canarese characters and language, is on a stone-tablet, 4′ 7″ high by 1′ 11″ broad, at Baḷagâmve. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a *liṅga;* on its right, a standing priest, with the sun above him and a cow and calf beyond him; and on its left, a representation of Basava, with the moon above it.

The inscription commences with the mention of Tribhuvanamalla-Bijjaṇadêva, and his eldest son, Sôma or Sôvidêva, and second son, Saṅkamadêva or Saṅkammadêva. The titles applied to them are those of paramount sovereigns.

It then mentions Lakmidêva, Chaṇḍuṅgidêva, Rêchaṇayya, Sôvaṇayya, and Kâvaṇayya, the chief ministers of Saṅkamadêva, and the royal spiritual preceptor, Vâmaśaktidêva, the priest of the temple of the god Dakshiṇakêdârêśvaradêva at Baḷḷigrâme, which was the chief town of the Banavase Twelve-thousand.

It then proceeds to record how, at the suit

of the above-mentioned ministers, S a ṅ k a m a d ê v a, in the fifth year of his reign, or Śaka 1102-3 (A. D. 1181), the Vikâri *saṁvatsara*, granted the village of K i r u-B a ḷ ḷ i g r â m e, for the purposes of that same temple.

It further records grants made to the same temple, on the same occasion, by the Great Chieftain T a i l a h a d ê v a or king T a i l a p a, and the Great Chieftain king E ṟ a h a, the son of king E k k a l a, who, also, must apparently be looked upon as the subordinates of S a ṅ k a m a d ê v a.

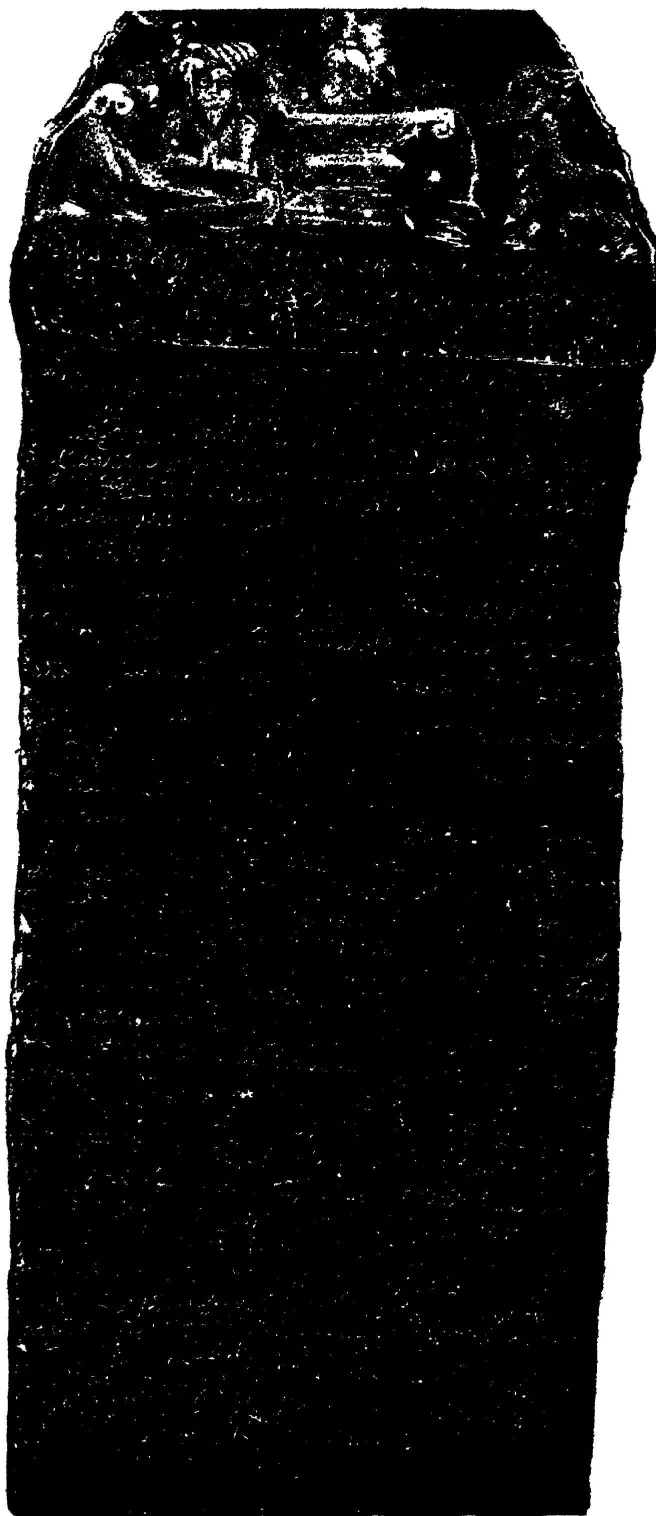
Finally it records a grant of land, in the Śaka year 1108 (A.D. 1186-7), the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara*, to three persons named Bisaḍôja, Bâvôja, and Siṅgôja. By whom this grant was made is not apparent; at that time Saṅkamadêva had, according to Sir W. Elliot's list, ceased to reign.

In line 50, in characters of a larger and inferior standard, another portion of the inscription, intended to record a grant of the village S i r u v ŏ g a l, was commenced, but seems to have been left unfinished.

*Transcription.*

[1] ಓ ನಮಃ ಶಿವಾಯ ॥ ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ ತ್ರೈಳೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂ-
ಭಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಶಂಭವೇ ॥ [2]ನಮಃ ಶಾಶ್ವತಿಕಾನನ್ತಜ್ಞಾನೈಶ್ವರ್ಯ್ಯಮಯಾತ್ಮನೇ ಸಂಕಲ್ಪಸಫಲ-
ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಸ್ತಂಬಾರಂಭಾಯ ಶಂಭವೇ ॥ ನಮೋ ರಾಜಗುರವೇ ॥ [3]ಓ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾಶ್ರಯ
ಶ್ರೀಪೃಥ್ವೀವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕ ಕಾಳಂಜರಪು[4]ರವರಾಧೀಶ್ವರ ಸುವರ್ಣ್ಣ-
ವೃಷಭಧ್ವಜ ಡಮರುಕತೂರ್ಯ್ಯನಿರ್ಘೋಷಣ ಕಳಚುರ್ಯ್ಯಕುಳಕಮಳಮಾರ್ತ್ತಂಡ ಕದನ[5]ಪ್ರಚಂಡ ಮಾ-
ನಕನಾಡಳ ಸುಭಟಾದಿತ್ಯ ಕಲಿಗಳಂಕುಶ ಗಜಸಾಮನ್ತ ಶರಣಾಗತವಜ್ರಪಂಜರ ಪ್ರತಾಪಲಂಕೇಶ್ವರ [6]ಪ-
ರನಾರೀಸಹೋದರ ಶನಿವಾರಸಿದ್ಧಿ ಗಿರಿದುರ್ಗ್ಗಮಲ್ಲ ಚಲದಂಕರಾಮ ವೈರಿಭಕಂಠೀರವ ನಿಶ್ಶಂಕಮಲ್ಲಾದಿ ಯಥಾರ್ತ್ಥ-
ನಾಮ [7]ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ಭುಜಬಳಚಕ್ರವರ್ತ್ತಿ ತ್ರಿಭುವನಮಲ್ಲಬಿಜ್ಜಣದೇವಂ ಮಹೀವಲ್ಲಭೆಯನನುದಿನವನುಭವಿಸಿದನೆನ್ತೆಂದಡೆ ॥
● [8]ವೃ ॥ ಪೃಥ್ವೀ ದಾ ಪೃಥುನಾ ಪುರಾ ಚಿರತರಂ ಮೂಢೇನ ಗೋತ್ರಂ ಗತಾ ಸೇಯಂ
ಬಿಜ್ಜಣದೇವಪಟ್ಟಮಹಿಷೀವೃತ್ತಾ ಚಿರಂ ಕ್ರೀಡತೇ [।] ರ[9]ತ್ನಂ ದೇವ ತಥೈವ ಭಾತಿ ಜಡ(ಳ)ಧಾ
ವೇಳಾಧಿಪೋರಸ್ಥಳೇ ವಿಷ್ಣೋರ್ವಕ್ಷಸಿ ಕೌಸ್ತುಭಂ ನೃಪವರ ಪ್ರಾಗೇ(ಣೈ)ನ ಸಾಶ್ಲಾಘ(ಘ್ಯ)ತಾ ॥ ವ ॥
ಅನ್ತೆ[10]ನಿಸದ ರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜಪ್ರಿಯತನಯಪ್ರತಾಪಮಂ ಪೇಳ್ವಡೆ ॥ ವೃ ॥ ರಿಪುಭೂಪಾಳತಮೌಘಮೋಡೆ
ಕುಮುದಪ್ರಾ(ವ್ರಾ)ತಂ [11]ಕರಂ ಪೆರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ತದ್ರಿಪುಕಾಂತಾಮುಖಪಂಕಜಂ ಕೊರಗೆ ನಕ್ಷತ್ರೋದಯೋತಂ ಕಳಾಳಿಪರಿ-
ಘ್ರಾಜಿತನುಂನತೋಂನತಯಶ(ಶಃ)ಶ್ರೀಚಂದ್ರಿಕಾಧೀಶ್ವ[12]ರಂ ನೃಪನೇ ಸೋಮನೆನಲ್ಕೆ ಬಿಜ್ಜಣಮಹೀಪಾಳಾಬ್ಧಿಯೊಳ್
ಪುಟ್ಟಿದ ॥ ವ ॥ ಅನ್ತು ಪುಟ್ಟಿ ಕ್ಷೋಣೀತಳವೆಲ್ಲವನೇಕಚ್ಛತ್ರದಿಂದಾ[13]ಳ್ದ ರಾಯಮುರಾರಿ ಸೋವಿದೇ-
ವಾನುಜನಾಳ್ದನೆಂತೆಂದಡೆ ॥ ಕ ॥ ತತ್ಸಮನನ್ತರದೊಳ್ ಧರೆಗುತ್ಸವಮಂ ಮಾಡಿ [14]ಸತ್ಯಶೌಚಪ್ರ(ವ್ರ)ತದ
ಸರಿತ್ಸುತವೊಲೆಯುಂ ನವಪ್ರಮುಕುತ್ಸಂ ಸಂಕಂಮದೇವನಾಳ್ದಂ ಧರೆಯ ॥ ಉತ್ಪಳ ॥ ಗೌಳಗಜನ್ತುರುಷ್ಕ-
ತುರಗಂ ವ[15]ರಸಿಂಹಳನಾಥಮೌಕ್ತಿಕಂ ಚೋಳಸುಧಾಂಬರಂ ಮಗಧಕಸ್ತುರಿಯುಂ ಮಳಯೋತ್ತಚಂದನಂ ಲಾಳನ
ಬಾಳಕ(ಕಂ)ನಕೆಯುರ್ಕ್ಕೆ(ರ್ಕ್ಕೆ)ಮು ಡರರ್ಸರಿ ಬಿಂನಪಂ[16]ಗಳಂ ಕೇಳಿಸುತಿಪ್ಪರೋಲಗದೊಳಂ ವಿಭುಸಂಕಮದೇ-
ವಭೂಪನ ॥ ಅನ್ತನೇಕಪ್ರಕಾರದಿಂ ವಸುಧಾವಳಯವಂ ನಿಃಕಂಟಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ[17]ದಾ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜಚಕ್ರೇ-
ಶ್ವರನ ರಾಜ್ಯಪ್ರಧಾನಾಂಗಂಗಳೆ ಮಹಾಪ್ರಧಾನಾದರೆನಿಸಿದ ಪಿರಿಯ ದಂಡನಾಯಕಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿದೇವ[18]ನುಂ ।
ಬಾಹತ್ತರನಿಯೋಗಾಧಿಷ್ಠಾಯಕಂ ಚಂಡುಗಿದೇವನುಂ । ವಸುಧೈಕಬಾಂಧವಂ ರೆ(?ರೇ)ಚಣಯ್ಯದಂಡನಾಯಕನುಂ ।
ಸ[19]ರ್ವ್ವಾಧಿಕಾರಿ ಸೋವಣಯ್ಯದಂಡನಾಯಕನುಂ । ಸಮಸ್ತಸೇನಾಗ್ರೇಸರಂ ಕಾವಣಯ್ಯದಂಡನಾಯಕನುಂ ।
ವೊಳ್[20]ಗಾಗಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಪ್ರಧಾನರ್ ಸಹಿತಂ ವಿನೋದದಿಂ ದಕ್ಷಿಣದಿಶಾವರಕ್ಕೆ ವಂ(ಬಂ)ದು ಬನವಸೆಪಂನಿ-
ರ್ಚ್ಛಾಸಿರದಧಿಷ್ಠಾನಂ [21]ಬಳ್ಳಿಗ್ರಾಮೆಯ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ದಕ್ಷಿಣಕೇದಾರೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ ತ್ರಿಕೂಟಪ್ರಾಸಾದಮುಮಂ ಲತಾ-
ಮಂಟ(ಡ)ಪಮುಮಂ ರತ್ನಕುಂಭಾನೇಕ[22]ಸ್ವರ್ಣ್ಣಕಳಶಂಗಳಂ ವಿದ್ಯಾದಾನಾನ್ನದಾನಾದ್ಯನೇಕಶ್ರೀಕಾರ್ಯ್ಯಮಂ ನೋಡಿ
ಯಥಾರ್ತ್ಥಂ ದಕ್ಷಿಣಕೇದಾರವಿಲ್ಲಿ ನಾವೇನಾನುಂ ಧ[23]ರ್ಮ್ಮಕಾರ್ಯ್ಯಮಂ ಮಾಡಲ್ವೇಟ್ಟುವೆಂದು ತದೀಯಸ್ಥಾನಾ-

STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KALACHURI DYNASTY AT BALAGAMVE.



W. Griggs photo-lith

ಚಾರ್ಯ್ಯರಪ್ಪ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಗುರುದೇವರಂ ಕಂಡವರ ತಪ:[24]ಪ್ರಭಾವಾದಿಸಾಮರ್ತ್ಥ್ಯಶ್ಚಾತುರ್ಯ್ಯದಿಂ ನೀಡುಂ
ನೋಡಿ ॥ ವೃತ್ತ ॥ ಶಬ್ದೇ ಪಾಣಿನಿಸನ್ನಿಭೋ ನಯವಿಧೌ ಶ್ರೀಭೂ[25]ಷಣಾಚಾರ್ಯ್ಯಕಃ ನಾಟ್ಯಾದೌ
ಭ(ಡ?)ರತೋ ಮುನಿಸ್ತು ಭರತಃ ಕಾವ್ಯೇಷು ಮಾಘಃ ಸ್ವಯಂ ಸಿದ್ಧಾನ್ತೇ ನಕುಲೀಶ್ವರಃ ಶಿವ[26]ಪದೇ
ಸ್ಕಂದಃ ಸ್ವಭಾರ್ಯ್ಯೈರ್ಗ್ಗುಣೈಃ ಸೋಯಂ ರಾಜಗುರುಃ ಸದಾ ವಿಜಯತೇ ಶ್ರೀವಾಮಶಕ್ತಿರ್ಯ್ಯತಿಃ ॥
ಶ್ಲೋಕ ॥ [27]ಇತ್ಯನೇಕಗುಣಾಧೀಶಃ ಗೌತಮಪ್ರಿಯನಂದನಃ ಸತ್ಯೋದ್ಧತಃ ಸಮಾಸಾದ್ಯ ಸಂಕಮಕ್ಷೋ-
ಣಿಪಾಳಕಃ ॥ ವ ॥ [28]● ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಸಂಕಮದೇವವರ್ಷದ ೨ನೆಯ ವಿಕಾರಿಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ವೈ-
ಶಾಖಮಾಸದಮಾವಾ[29]ಸ್ಯೆ ಸೋಮವಾರ ವೃಷಭಸಂಕ್ರಮಣವ್ಯತೀಪಾತದಂದು ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಕೇದಾರೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ ಅಂ-
ಗಭೋಗರಂಗಭೋ[30]ಗಖಂಡಸ್ಫುಟಿತಜೀರ್ಣ್ಣೋದ್ಧಾರಕ್ಕಂ ತಪೋಧನಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣಾಹಾರದಾನಕ್ಕಂ । ಜಿಡ್ಡುಳಿಗೆಯ
ಕಂ[31]ಪಣದ ಬಟಿಯ ಬಾಡಂ ಕಿಱುಬಳ್ಳಿಗಾವೆಯುಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಸಂಕಮಚಕ್ರವರ್ತ್ತಿ । ತದೀಯಸ್ಥಾ[32]ನಾಚಾ-
ರ್ಯ್ಯರಪ್ಪ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಗುರು ವಾಮಶಕ್ತಿದೇವರ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿಯಾಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕ್ಕತಾರಂ
ಬರಂ [33]ಸರ್ವ್ವನಮತ್ಯಂ(ಸ್ಯಂ) ಸಲ್ವನ್ತಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟನೀ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಮನಾವನೊರ್ವ್ವಂ ಪರಿಪಾಳಿಸಿದಂ ಶತಕ್ರ-
ತುವಂ ಮಾಡಿದವನ್ ● ● [34]ಈ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಮನಳಿದವಂ ಶತಕ್ರತುವುಮನ್ತದೀಯದ್ವಿಜರುವನಳಿದನ್ನಹೆ
ನರಕಕ್ಕೆ ಪೋಹನ್ ● ● ● ● ●

[35]● ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರನ್ತೈಲಹದೇವನುಂ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರ ಯೆಱಹರಸನುಂ
ಬಂದು ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಮಂ ನೋಡಿಯಿದು ನಾಮನ್ವಯಾನುಗ[36]ತವಪ್ಪ ಗುರುಕುಳಸ್ಥಾನವಿಲ್ಲಿ ನಾವು ಮೇಣಾನುಂ
ಧರ್ಮ್ಮವಂ ಮಾಡಲ್ವೇಟ್ಕುಮೆಂದು ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಬುದ್ಧಿಯನ್ತನ್ನವರ ಪ್ರತಾಪಮಂ ಪೇಳ್ವುದೆ ॥ ವೃ ॥ ಕದನಕ್ಕು-
ಗ್ರಾ[37]ರಿಯುಮುತ್ರಿದಶಭುವನವಂ ಪ್ರೀತಿಯಿಂ ಬಂದು ಕಾಣ್ಬಂಗೊದವಿದ್ದೈಶ್ವರ್ಯ್ಯಮಂ ಭೀತರಿಗಸುಗತಿಯಂ
ಮಾಳ್ಪುವೇ ನೋಳ್ಪನೆಂಬಂಗಿದೆದಶ್ಶಾಟ್ಬಂ ಕಟಾಕ್ಷೈಕ್ಕಲನ್ನೃಪತನಯನ್ತೈಲಪ[38]ಕ್ಷೋಣಿಪಾಳಮ್ಮದದಿಂದಂ ಪ್ರೀತಿ-
ಯಿಂದಂ ಹೃದಯದ ಕೃಪೆಯಿಂ ಗು(ಗುಂ)ದು ಮೆಚ್ಚಕ್ಕೆ ನಿಚ್ಚ ॥ ಕ ॥ ಧುರದೊಳಗೋಡಿದ ರಿಪು-
ನೃಪರರಸಿಯರ ಕಟಾಕ್ಷರುಚಿಯನಿಕ್ಷಿಸರಿಂನಂ ಧರೆಯೊ[39]ಳಗೆಱಹರಸನ ಪೊಸ ಕರವಾಳಿನ ಬೇಗೆ ಕೊಳ-
ಯಿತೆಯುಬಿಥಯದಿಂ ॥ ವ ॥ ಅನ್ತನೇಕಪ್ರಕಾರದ ಪೊಗಳ್ತೆಗಂ ನೆಗಳ್ತೆಗಸ್ಥಾನ ನೆಲೆಯೆನಿಸಿ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾ-
[40]ಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ತೈಲಹದೇವನುಂ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಯೆಱಹರಸನುಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಕೇದಾರೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ
ಮಹಾನೈವೇದ್ಯಕ್ಕಂ ನಂಧಾ(ದಾ)ದೀವಿಗೆಗಂ [41]ಪ್ರಾಗ್ಲೇಖಿತವಿಶಿಷ್ಟತಿಥಿಯೊಳ್ ತದೀಯಸ್ಥಾನಾಚಾರ್ಯ್ಯರಪ್ಪ
ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಗುರು ವಾಮಶಕ್ತಿದೇವರ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವ್ವಕಂ ಮಾ[42]ಡಿ ಜಿಡ್ಡುಳಿಗೆ ನಾಡ
ಬಟಿಯ ಬಾಡಂ ಕಿಱುಬಳ್ಳಿಗಾವೆಯ ಮನೆಯುಮುಮಂ ಕಿಱುಕುಳಾಯದಾಯಸಹಿತಂ ಸರ್ವ್ವನಮತ್ಯ(ಸ್ಯ)ವಾ[43]ಚಂ-
ದ್ರಾರ್ಕ್ಕತಾರಂ ಬರಂ ಸಲ್ವನ್ತಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರೀ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಮನ್ತಪ್ಪದೆ ಪರಿಪಾಳಿಸಿದವರ್ಗೆ ವಾರಾಣಸಿಕುರುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಾ-
ದಿತೀರ್ತ್ಥಂಗಳೊಳ್ ಸಾಸಿರ ಕವಿ[44]ಲೆಗಳ ಕೋಡುಂ ಕೊಳಗುಮಂ ಪೊನ್ನಿಂ ರನ್ನದಿಂ ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿ ಸಾಸಿರ
ವೇದಪಾರಗರಪ್ಪ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರ್ಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಫಲವೀ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಮನಾವನಾನುಂ ವಳಿ[45]ದವನಾ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರುಮನಾ
ಕವಿಲೆಗಳುಮನಾ ತೀರ್ತ್ಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವಹಸ್ತದಿಂದಳಿದನ್ತಪ್ಪ ನರಕಕ್ಕೆ ಪೋಹನೀಯರ್ತ್ಥದಲ್ಸಾಕ್ಷಿತ್ವೇನ ಸ್ಮೃತಿ(ತಿಃ) ॥
ಶ್ಲೋಕ ॥ [46]● ಸ್ವದತ್ತಾಂ ಪರದತ್ತಾಂ ವಾ ಯೋ ಹರೇತಿ ವಸುಂಧರಾಂ ಷಷ್ಟಿರ್ವ್ವ(ವ)ರ್ಷ-
ಸಹಸ್ರಾಣಿ ವಿಷ್ಠಾಯಾಂ ಜಾಯತೇ ಕ್ರಿಮಿಃ ॥ ●

[47]● ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಸ(ತ್ ಶ)ಕವರ್ಷ ೧೧೨೯ನೆಯ ಪ್ರಾಭವಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ವೈಶಾಖ ಬ
೩ವ(ಯ) ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಕೇದಾರದೇವರ ಮಂಟ(ಡ)ಪಮನವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ[48]ವರ್ಣ(ರ್ಣ್ಣ)ಣಂ ಮಾಡಿ ತನ್ನ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಗುರು-
ದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಕಿಱುಬಳ್ಳಿಗಾವೆಯ ಹೊಲನಲ್ಲಿ ಬಾ(?)ವರಗೆಡೆಯಿನ್ತೆಂಕಲಂ ಹಾಳಗೊಟದ ಕೆಯಿ [49]ಕಮ್ಮಂ
ನೂಱಯ್ವತ್ತಂ ಬಿಸವೋಜ । ಬಾವೋಜ । ಸಿಂಗೋಜನಿನ್ತೀ ಮೂವರ್ಗ್ಗಮಾಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕ್ಕಂ ಸರ್ವ್ವನಮ-
ತ್ಯಂ(ಸ್ಯಂ) ಸಲ್ವನ್ತಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರ್ ॥ ● ॥

[50]ಮತ್ತಮಾ ಜಿಡು(ಡ್ಡು)ಗೆಯಿಪ್ಪತ್ತೈಉ ಬಳಿಯ ಬಾಡಂ ಸಿರುವ್ರೋ(?ವ್ರೋಂ)ಗಲುಮಂ ಸರ್ವ್ವನಮಃ[51]ಶ್ಯ-(ಸ್ಯ)ವಾಗಿ ಶ್ರಿಭೋಂಗಾಭ್ಯಂತರಂ ನಡಿವ(ವಂ?)ತಪಾ(ಪ್ಪಾ)ಗಿ ಕೆಟ್ಟರ್*........................

*Translation.*

Reverence to Śiva! Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! Reverence to Śambhu, who is composed of eternal and infinite knowledge and power, and who undertakes the support of religion which is fruitful through the exercise of mental determination! Reverence to the royal spiritual preceptor!

Hail! The glorious Tribhuvanamalla-Bijjaṇadêva †,—who was a universal emperor by reason of the strength of his arm, and who possessed the appropriate titles commencing with "The asylum of the universe; the favourite of the world; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the most venerable; the supreme lord of the city of Kâḷañjarapura, which is the best of cities; he who has the banner of the golden boar; he who has (to proclaim him abroad) the sounds of the musical instrument called Ḍamaruka; he who is as the sun to the white lotus which is the Kaḷachurya family; he who is impetuous in war; he who is a very golden mountain‡ in respect of his haughtiness; he who is the best of good warriors; he who is a very elephant-goad to brave men; Gajasâmanta §; he who is a very cage of thunderbolts to (protect) those who come to him for refuge; he who is a very lord of Laṅkâ in respect of his prowess; he who behaves like a brother to the wives of other men; he who attains the accomplishment of his objects (even) on a Saturday ‖; he who is the conqueror of hill-forts; he who is like Râma in the fierce contest; he who is a lion to the elephants which are his foes; he who is a hero free from any apprehension,"—day after day enjoyed his mistress, which was the earth. That same earth, which formerly was made by the foolish Pṛithu ¶, to be for a very long time in the condition of a cow, now for a long time disports itself in the function of the royal consort of Bijjaṇadêva; O lord!, O best of kings!, O mighty lord!, being possessed of the right to be praised, it shines upon the ocean, which has the shore above its water, just as the jewel Kaustubha shines on the chest of Vishṇu.

To describe the prowess of the beloved son of the supreme king of kings who has thus been mentioned:—While the darkness which was the hostile kings was fleeing away, and the blue lotuses (which were his friends) were blooming luxuriantly, and the white lotuses which were the faces of the lovely women of his enemies were fading,—a king,—who was to be called Sôma **, because he was the lord of splendour as the moon is the lord of the constellations, and because he was made brilliant by his accomplishments just as the moon is made radiant by its digits, and because he was the lord of the moonlight which was his fame that became ever greater and greater,—was born from the ocean which was king Bijjaṇa.

The younger brother of Sôvidêva, the greatest of kings, who, having thus been born, governed the whole earth under one umbrella, reigned:—Immediately after him,—Saṅkâmmadêva ††, who was like to the son ‡‡ of the river in respect of his truth and his purity and his religious vows, and who was a second Purukutsa §§, governed the earth, causing joy to the world. Having been selected as his emissaries, the elephants of Gauḷa, the horses of Turushka ‖‖, the pearls of the excellent

* The rest of this line, about nine letters, is illegible in the photograph. It is not clear in the photograph whether this is the last line of the original or not.

† Śaka 1078 to 1087,—Sir W. Elliot.

‡ Mêru, the central point of Jambûdvîpa, with the loftiness of which the pride of Bijjaṇadêva is compared.

§ The explanation of this title is not apparent; but perhaps it is analogous to 'Gajapati', a title of another dynasty of kings.

‖ The planet Śani, Saturn, and consequently his day, Saturday, is looked upon as very inauspicious for success in undertakings.

¶ An ancient king, in whose time all the mountains, using Himâlaya as a calf to induce the flow of milk and Mêru as the milkman, milked forth from the earth, as from a cow, all manner of precious things and medicinal herbs.

** Śaka 1087 to 1098,—Sir W. Elliot.

†† Śaka 1098 to 1104,—Sir W. Elliot. The name is usually spelt Saṅkama; the '*m*' is doubled here for the sake of the metre.

‡‡ Kârttikêya, the god of war, the son of the Amaragaṅgâ, or heavenly Ganges. He was generated from the seed of Śiva, which was received by the Ganges when the Fire was unable to retain it.

§§ A king of old times, the son of Mândhâtâ.

‖‖ 'Turushka',—a Turk or Musalmân.

lord of Siṁhaḷa¶¶, the fine raiment of Chôḷa, the musk of Magadha, the sandalwood of the lord of Malaya, and the young damsels of Lâḷa, used to proclaim the commands of the lord king Saṅkamadêva in public assemblies.*

All the chief ministers,—the leading men of the kingdom of that same supreme king of great kings, the universal emperor, who had thus in many ways made the earth free from trouble,—*viz.*, the chief Daṇḍanâyaka, Lakmidêva, and Chaṇḍuṅgidêva, who superintended the seventy-two functions †, and the Daṇḍanâyaka Rĕchaṇayya, who was the best friend of the world, and the Daṇḍanâyaka Sôvaṇayya, who was entrusted with general superintendence, and the Daṇḍanâyaka Kâvaṇayya, who was the leader of the whole army,—came in company, by way of recreation, on a tour to the south, and beheld the temple with three pinnacles, and the pavilion covered with creepers, and the numerous votive golden balls embellished with jewels on the top of the temple, of the god the holy Dakshiṇakêdârêśvaradêva of Baḷḷigrâme, which was the chief town of the Banavase Twelve-thousand, and the imparting of instruction and the giving of food, and all the other sacred rites,—and said "Verily the Kêdâra ‡ of the south is here; we must celebrate some religious rite,"—and regarded with great astonishment the power of the efficacy of the devotion and the other qualities of those who had seen§ the holy royal spiritual preceptor, who was the priest of the shrine of that god. The learned Pâṇini occupies himself in grammar, and Śrî-Bhûshaṇâchâryaka in works relating to politics, and the saintly Bharata in dramatic representations, &c., and Mâgha in poetry, and Nakulîśvara in dogma, and Skanda in the affairs of Śiva; but this same royal spiritual preceptor, the ascetic Śrî-Vâmaśakti, is ever resplendent with good qualities that are inherent parts of his nature. ||

King Saṅkama, who excelled in goodness, having met with him, the beloved son of Gautama, who was thus possessed of many good qualities;—

Hail!;—When the sun was entering the sign of the Bull, on Monday the day of the new-moon of the month Vaiśâkha of the Vikâri *saṁvatsara,* which was the fifth of the years of the glorious Saṅkamadêva¶, the glorious universal emperor Saṅkamadêva, having washed the feet of the holy royal spiritual preceptor Vâmaśaktidêva, who was the priest of the shrine of that god, gave, with libations of water, to be respected by all as long as the moon and sun and stars might last, the town of Kiṟu-Baḷḷigâve**, a town which was near to†† the Jiḍḍuḷige *Kampaṇa*, for the *aṅgabhôga*‡‡ and *raṅgabhôga* of the god the holy Kêdârêśvaradêva, and to repair whatever might become broken or torn or worn-out through age, and for the purpose of feeding devotees and Brâhmaṇs. Whosoever preserves this act of religion, is as one who performs a hundred sacrifices; he, who destroys this act of religion, shall go to hell, like one who destroys a hundred sacrifices and the Brâhmaṇs connected with them!

Hail! The fortunate Great Chieftain Tailahadêva and the fortunate Great Chieftain king Eṟaha came, and, having had regard to religion, brought (themselves into) a pious frame of mind, saying "This is the locality of a family of spiritual preceptors dependent on our race; we must perform here some act of religion." To describe their prowess:—King Tailapa, the son of the mighty king Ekkala, being ever very happy through his pride and his affection and the tenderness of his heart, bestowed the world of the gods §§ if his enemy wished for war, but gave the wealth which was his property to any one who came and regarded him with affection, and to any one who said "See now!, verily he causes no unhappiness to the timid." From excessive fear because the fresh lustre of the scimetar of king Eṟaha has flashed forth over the world, men look no longer upon the beauty

¶¶ Ceylon.

* *i.e.*, all these things were habitually sent by him as presents to other courts.

† '*Bâhattara-niyôgi*'; the first part of this compound is Prâkṛit. What the seventy-two functions referred to are, I do not know.

‡ Kêdâra is the name of part of the Himâlaya mountains, or of Śiva, worshipped under the form of the *linga* at that place.

§ *i.e.*, 'who had been the disciples of'.

|| In contradistinction to the *acquired* qualities of the persons named in the text.

¶ *i.e.*, the Śaka year 1102-3. According to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Vikâri *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 1101, and Śaka 1102 was the Śârvari *saṁvatsara*. ** *i.e.*, 'the smaller Baḷḷigâve'.

†† '*Baḷiya*'; see vol. IV., page 181, col. 2, note*.

‡‡ I have not been able to obtain a satisfactory explanation of these terms as used in connexion with the worship of idols. §§ *i.e.*, 'slew his enemies'.

of the side-glances of the queens of the hostile kings who flee away in the battle.

Being thus the abiding-places of manifold praise and renown, the fortunate Great Chieftain T a i l a h a d ê v a and the fortunate Great Chieftain king E ṛ a h a, having, on the auspicious lunar day that has been written above, washed the feet of the holy royal spiritual preceptor V â m a ś a k t i d ê v a, who was the priest of the shrine of that god, gave as a grant to be respected by all and to continue as long as the moon and sun and stars might last, some rent-free land, together with some miscellaneous dues, at K i ṛ u - B a ḷ ḷ i g â v e, which was a town near to ‖‖ the Jiḍḍulige district, for the great oblation and for the perpetual lamp of the god the holy Kêdârêśvaradêva. Those, who without fail preserve this act of piety, obtain the reward of fashioning out of gold and jewels the horns and hoofs of a thousand tawny-coloured cows at Vârâṇasi and Kurukshêtra and other sacred places of pilgrimage and bestowing them upon a thousand Brâhmaṇs well versed in the Vêdas; whosoever destroys this act of piety shall go to hell, like one who with his own hand slays those same Brâhmaṇs and those same tawny-coloured cows at those same sacred places of pilgrimage! And by way of witness as to this assertion, there is the scripture:—He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

Hail! On the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Vaiśâkha of the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara*, which was the year of the glorious Śaka 1108, having carefully built the pavilion of the god the holy K ê d â r a d ê v a, with the approval of their holy royal spiritual preceptor they gave, as a grant to be respected by all and to continue as long as the moon and sun might last, one hundred and fifty *kammas* of the cultivated land called Hâḷigûṭada-keyi, to the south of the tank called Bâvaregeṛe, in the lands of K i ṛ u - B a ḷ ḷ i g â v e, to Bisadôja and Bâvôja and Siṅgôja.

And they gave, to be continued as a grant to be respected by all and including the *Tribhôga*, the town of S i r u v ŏ g a l, which was a town near to that same Jiḍḍulige seventy.

‖‖ '*Baliya*'.

## No. XII.

This is a Sanskṛit copper-plate inscription from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection made over to me by Mr. Burgess; I have no information as yet as to where the original was found or in whose possession it is. The plates, four in number, are marked with numerals, and, contrary to the usual custom, the writing commences on the outside of the first plate and covers also the outside of the fourth plate. The seal connecting the plates bears the representation of what seems to me to be a dog, but is, in native opinion, a lion. The characters are the old Sanskṛit, which I know, and have always spoken of, as the Cave-alphabet.

The inscription is one of the Pallava dynasty, and mentions in genealogical order the names of four kings,—Skandavarmâ; his son, Vîravarmâ; his son, Skandavarmâ; and his son, Vishṇugôpavarmâ. As Vishṇugôpavarmâ is spoken of as the Yuvamahârâja, it is probable that Siṁhavarmâ, who is referred to as the reigning monarch in the last two lines, was his elder brother.

The age of these kings must be early; but, beyond stating that the copper-plate was bestowed by Vishṇugôpavarmâ in the eleventh year of the reign of Siṁhavarmâ, the inscription contains no information as to its date. As far as we may judge from the forms of the letters used, I would allot the inscription to the fifth century A.D.

But little is known as yet regarding the P a l l a v a family, beyond that it was one of the dynasties that ruled in the Dekkan anterior to the C h â l u k y a s. At the time of the present inscription P a l a k k a d a would seem to have been the capital of the P a l l a v a kings; but it was from them that the Châlukyas acquired K â ñ c h î. Some information regarding them has been given and quoted by Mr. Rice at p. 156 of vol. II of this journal. To this I have now to add the following. In the old K â d a m b a copper-plate inscriptions of unknown date, published by me in *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. IX (No. XXVII), M ṛ i g ê ś a is spoken of as being "a fire of destruction to the P a l l a v a s," and R a v i v a r m â as "having conquered the whole earth by slaying Ś r î - V i s h ṇ u v a r m â * and other kings." And in

* Possibly the V i s h ṇ u g ô p a v a r m â of the present inscription, part of his name being omitted for the sake of the metre.

# URUVUPALLI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY.



*I.b.*

*II.a.*

*II.b.*

W. Griggs photo-lith. from originals.

**URUVUPALLI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY.**

*IIIa*

*IIIb*

*IVa*

a large Cave-alphabet inscription at Aihoḷe, dated Śaka 507 (A.D. 585-6), which I hope to publish very shortly in this series, we are told that the Châlukya king Pulikêśi II, who was like "the sun to melt the frost which was the army of the Pallavas," "caused the lord of the Pallavas, who had aimed at the eminence of his own power, to hide his prowess within the ramparts of the city of Kâñchî." As regards the family in later times, a stone-tablet inscription† at Galaganâth in the Kôḍ Tâluka of the Dhârwâḍ District, dated the fifth year of the Châlukya Vikramâditya-Tribhuvanamalla, *i.e.* Śaka 1002-3 (A. D. 1081), seems to deserve to be carefully copied and studied, as containing references to the Pallavas as the subordinates of the Châlukyas. And finally, in a stone-tablet inscription at Munôḷi in the Parasgaḍ Tâluka of the Belgaum District, dated Śaka 1145 (A.D. 1223-4), photographed by Mr. Burgess in his archæological tour of 1873-4, they are included‡ among the kings said to have been conquered by the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Siṅghaṇadêva.

*Transcription. First plate; first side.*

[1] जितं भगवता [।।] श्रीविजयपलक्कदस्थानात् परमब्रह्मण्यस्य स्व-
[2] बाहुबलार्जितोर्जितक्षात्रतपोनिधेः विहितसर्व्वमर्यादस्य
[3] स्थितिस्थितस्यामितात्मनो महाराजस्य श्रीस्कन्दवर्म्मणः
[4] प्रपौत्रस्यार्च्चितशक्तिसिद्धिसम्पन्नस्य प्रतापोपनतराज-

*First plate; second side.*

[5] मण्डलस्य महाराजस्य वसुधातलैकवीरस्य श्रीवीरवर्म्मणः पौ-
[6] त्रस्य देवद्विजगुरुवृद्धोपचायिनो विवृद्धविनयस्यानेकगोहि-
[7] रण्यभूम्यादिप्रदानैः प्रवृद्धधर्म्मसञ्चयस्य प्रजापालन-
[8] दक्षस्य लोकपालानां पञ्चमस्य लोकपालस्य सत्यात्मनो महा-

*Second plate; first side.*

[9] त्मनो महाराजस्य श्रीस्कन्दवर्म्मणः पुत्रस्य भगवद्भक्तिसद्भाव-
[10] संभावितसर्व्वकल्यान(ण)स्य प्रजासंरञ्जनपरिपालनोद्योगसत-
[11] तसत्रव्रतदितक्षितस्य § अनेकसमरसाहसावमर्द्दल-
[12] ब्धविजययश(शः)प्रकाशस्य कलियुगदोषावसन्नधर्म्मोद्धरणनित्यस-

*Second plate; second side.*

[13] न्नद्धस्य राजर्षिगुणसर्व्वसन्दोहविजिगीषोर्द्धर्म्मविजिमीषोर्भगवत्पादा-
[14] नुद्धया(ध्या)तस्य बप्पभट्टारकमहाराजपादभक्तस्य परमभागवतस्य
[15] भारद्वाजसगोत्रस्य स्वविक्रमाक्रान्तान्यनृपश्रीनिलयानाम् यथ(था)-
[16] वदाहताश्वमेध(धा)नाम् पह्लवानाम् धर्म्मयुवमहाराज(जस्य) श्रीविष्णुगोपव-

*Third plate; first side.*

[17] र्म्मणो वचनेन मुण्डराष्ट्रे उरुवुपल्लिये ग्रामेयका:(का) वक्तव्याः [।।] एतस्मिन्ग्राम-
[18] सीमे द्विशतं सिमनिवर्त्तनानि [।] एतेषां निवर्त्तनानाम् अवधयः [।] अप-
[19] रं(र)दिशि के(क?)ण्डुकूरग्रामस्य सीमावधिः [।] दक्षिणं(ण)दिशि सुप्रयोगनदी
[20] अवाधिः [।] पुर्व्वा(र्व्व)न्दि(दि)शि अवाधिः [।] पूर्व्वदक्षिणा(णो)त्क(त्त)रं महापथपार्श्वे(र्श्वे) शिला [।]

† Page 289, vol. I. of Sir W. Elliot's book now with me.

‡ But perhaps only by self-laudatory custom.

§ The letters are clear in the original; the emendation must be either व्रतादितक्षितस्य, or, more probably, व्रतदीक्षितस्य.

*Third plate ; second side.*

[21] एतस्याः(स्या) उत्तरं गत्वा चिञ्च(ञ्चा)वृक्षः [।] ततः(त)उत्तरं गत्वा कु(क?)रुपूरग्रामस्य क(के?)ण्डुकू-
[22] रग्रामस्य च पथि शिला [।] ततः उत्तरं गत्वा शिलोपलयम् [।] ततः उत्तरं ग-
[23] त्वा क(कु?)रुपूरग्रामे ब्र(ब्रा)ह्मणानाम् हलक्षेत्रस्यावधौ शिला [।] उत्तरां(र)दि-
[24] शि अवधिः शिलोपलयवृतो महाचिञ्च(ञ्चा)वृक्षः [।] ततः अपरादिशं गत्वा

*Fourth plate ; first side.*

[25] कोण्डमुरुवुदु(?डु)ग्रामस्य सीमान्तमवधिः [॥] एवं चतुर्णाम् सीमावधीनाम् मध्ये(ध्य)सी-
[26] मस्य तद्वि(द्वि)शत(तं) निवर्त्तनानि क(के?)ण्डुकूरे विष्णुवर्म्मसेनापतिकृतविष्णुहारदेवकु-
[27] लाय देवभोगं कृत्वा अष्टादशजातिभिः परिहारैरुपेता(तं) अस्मदायुर्बल-
[28] वर्द्धनीयमस्माभिः सम्प्रदत्तं [॥] तदवगम्य तस्मिन्विषये सर्व्वायुक्तकाः सर्व्वने(नि)य्यो(यु)काः(क्ता)
[29] राजवल्लभाः सञ्चरन्तकाश्च तत्सीमम् सर्व्वपरिहारैः परिहरन्तु परिहारयन्तु च [॥]

*Fourth plate ; second side.*

[30] यश्चेदमस्मच्छासनमतिक्रामेत्स पापश्शारीर[द||]ण्डमर्हति [।] अपि चापि श्लोकाः [।]
[31] भूमिदानात्परु(रं)न्दानं न भूतन्न भविष्यति तस्यैव हरणपाप(पान्) न भूतं न भविष्यति [॥]
[32] स्वदत्ता(त्तां) परदत्ता(त्तां) वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति दु-
[33] ष्कृतम् [॥] सिंहवर्म्ममा(म)हाराजस्य विजयसंवत्सरे एकादशे पौष्यमासे कृष्णपक्षे
[34] दशम्याम् मया दत्ता ताम्रपट्टिका [॥]

*Translation.*

Victory has been achieved by the holy one!¶ From the glorious and victorious locality of P a l a k k a d a**, at the command of Ś r î-V i s h ṇ u g ô p a v a r m â, the pious Y u v a m a h â r â j a†† of the P a l l a v a s, who are the receptacles of the royal glory of other kings that have been overcome by their valour, and who have prepared for celebration horse-sacrifices according to the proper rites,—of him who is the great-grandson of the Great King Ś r î-S k a n d a v a r m â, who was an excellent worshipper of the supreme spirit, who acquired by the strength of his arm a great abundance of the penances‡‡ peculiar to those who belong to the caste of warriors, who conformed to all such injunctions as are prescribed, who was firm in steadiness of conduct, and who was broad-minded; of him who is the grandson of the Great King Ś r î-V î r a v a r m â, the bravest man upon the surface of the earth, who was endowed with honoured power and success, and who subjugated by his prowess the assemblage of kings §§; of him who is the son of the Great King Ś r î-S k a n d a v a r m â, who nourished the gods and the twice-born and spiritual preceptors and old men, who was of great affability, who acquired much piety by many gifts of cows and gold and land and other things, who was skilful in protecting his subjects, who was the fifth L ô k a p â l a of the L ô k a p â l a s|||, who was true-hearted, and who was high-minded; of him who is possessed of all prosperity produced by his devotion towards the holy one and by his goodness; who is always initiated into the charitable vows of the occupation of pleasing and protecting his subjects; who is possessed of the radiance of the fame of his victories acquired by impetuous assaults in many battles; who is always zealous in supporting religion

|| This letter, द, is omitted altogether in the original.

¶ '*Bhagavân*' is an epithet of Vishnu, Śiva, or Jina. Judging from the proper names of the kings, the god V i s h ṇ u would seem to be intended here.

** The position of this place is not known to me.

†† '*Yuvamahârâja*' denotes an heir-apparent associated in the government with the reigning Mahârâja or great king. Analogously to these two terms, we have in other instances '*Râja*' and '*Yuvarâja*.'

‡‡ *sc.*, bravery, skill in the use of weapons, good government, charity to Brâhmaṇs, &c.

§§ Or, if preferred, 'the countries or courts of (other) kings.'

||| The *four* L ô k a p â l a s, or presiding deities of the cardinal points of the compass, are,—I n d r a, of the East; Y a m a, of the South; V a r u ṇ a, of the West; and K u v ê r a, of the North. Usually the L ô k a p â l a s are spoken of as *eight* in number, *viz.* the above four together with the regents of the intermediate points of the compass, who are, A g n i, of the South-East; N i r ṛ i t i, or S û r y a, of the South-West; V â y u, of the North-West; and Î ś â n a or S ô m a, of the North-East.

# URUVUPALLI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY.

*IV b*

*V a*

W. Griggs photo-lith. from originals.

which had been brought to death's door by the sins of the Kali age; who is desirous of surpassing all the collection of meritorious qualities of kingly saints; who is desirous of surpassing religion itself; who meditates on the feet of the holy one; who is the disciple of the feet of the venerable great king B a p p a; who is an excellent worshipper of the holy one; and who belongs to the lineage of Bhâradvâja,—those who dwell in the village of Uruvupalli¶¶, in the country of M u ṇ ḍ a*, are to be addressed :—

In this village there are two hundred entire† *nivartanas*‡. The limits of those *nivartanas* are :—On the west, the boundaries of the village of Keṇḍukûra are the limit; on the south, the river Suprayôga is the limit; on the east, (the same) is the limit; to the north by south of the east, there is a rock on the side of the great road; proceeding thence to the north, there is a tamarind-tree; proceeding thence to the north, there is a rock on the road to the village of Kurupûra and to the village of Kaṇḍukûra; proceeding thence to the north, there is a heap§ of rocks; proceeding thence to the north, there is a rock on the limit of the cultivated field of the Brâhmaṇs in the village of Karupûra; on the north, the limit is a large tamarind-tree surrounded by a heap of rocks; proceeding thence to the west, the limit is the edge of the boundaries of the village of Kŏṇḍamuruvudu. Having made those same two hundred *nivartanas* of area which is in the centre of these four boundary-limits a possession of the gods at Kaṇḍukûra for the family of Vishṇuhâradêva which was founded by || the general V i s h ṇ u v a r m â, it has been given by us, invested with immunity from taxation by the eighteen castes, and to be increased by us as long as our life may last and according to our strength. Bearing this in mind, let all the functionaries and all in authority in that district, and the favourites of the king, and travellers ¶, treat that same area with immunity from all taxation, and cause it to be treated in the same way by others. But any wicked man who transgresses against this our charter is deserving of corporal punishment. Moreover, are there not verses (as to this)? There has not been and there shall not be any gift better than a grant of land; verily there has not been and there shall not be any sin greater than the sin of confiscating such a grant! He incurs the guilt of one who slays a hundred thousand cows, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! This copper-plate is given by me in the eleventh of the victorious years of the Great King S i ṁ h a v a r m â, in the month Paushya, in the dark fortnight, and on the tenth lunar day.

¶¶ In '*palli*' we have the old form of the Canarese '*haḷḷi*', *a small village, hamlet*.

* The locality of this district is not known to me.

† '*Sima*', *all, every, whole, entire*, is, on Prof. Mon. Williams' authority, only a Vêdic word; but the reading here is distinct.

‡ '*Nivartana*',—a measure of land, 20 rods or 200 cubits or 40,000 '*hastas*' square.

§ This would seem to be the meaning of '*upalaya*', but neither in Westergaard's nor in Prof. Mon. Williams' Dictionary can I find the prefix '*upa*' in composition with the root '*lî*'. Perhaps '*śilôpalaya*' is equivalent to the Canarese '*guḍḍe*', *a heap of stones above a grave*, used very commonly in the Canarese country as a landmark; see Note 17 to No. III of my Raṭṭa inscriptions, *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X, No. xxix, p. 211.

|| '*Krita*';—but my translation here may be objected to.

¶ '*Sañcharantakâh*';—the reading is clear, but the formation is rather a peculiar one.

# OMKÂRA MÂNDHÂTÂ.

BY RÂVAJI VÂSUDEVA TULLU, M.A., SUPDT. STATE EDUCATION, INDOR.

O m k â r a M â n d h â t â is an interesting place in Central India, on the banks of the N a r m a d â, about five miles from B a d h w â i and S a n â v a d, both stations on the Holkar State Railway. It is visited by hundreds of pilgrims from all parts of India at all seasons of the year. The place is thus noticed by Major-General Sir John Malcolm in his *Memoir of Central India* :—M â n d h â t â is "a small town containing one hundred houses, situated on the south side of an island in the Narmadâ, and famed for the sanctity of its pagoda. Lat. 22° 14′ N.; Long. 76° 0′ 17″ E. The Narmadâ here is confined between rocks, and not more than one hundred yards broad, but very deep . . .

"The island of M â n d h â t â is a hill of moderate height, and was formerly fortified, but there are now only the remains of a few gateways and old pagodas all covered with jungle. The town stands on the slope of the hill. The neighbouring country consists of a succession of low hills, deep ravines, and watercourses, the whole covered with high thick forests, which for seven or eight miles from the river are only

passable on foot. The pagoda here is dedicated to O m k â r a, the phallic emblem of Mahâdeva. . . . . . This is one of the twelve celebrated places where, according to the followers of Śiva, the god is most peculiarly present. Here he is known under the form of the mystic syllable *om*."

The origin of Omkâra is thus given in the *Śiva Purâṇa*, chapter 47 :—

सूत उवाच ॥
ॐकारं च यथा ह्यासीत्तथा च श्रूयतां पुनः ॥
कस्मिंश्चित्समये चात्र नारदो भगवांस्तदा ॥ १ ॥
गोकर्णाख्यं शिवं गत्वा आगतो विंध्यके स्वयम् ॥
तत्रैव पूजितस्तेन बहुमानपुरःसरम् ॥ २ ॥
मयि सर्वं च विद्येत न न्यूनं हि कदाचन ॥
इति मानं तदा श्रुत्वा नारदो मानहा ततः ॥ ३ ॥
निःश्वस्य संस्थितस्तच्च श्रुत्वा विंध्यो ऽब्रवीदिदम् ॥
किं न्यूनं च त्वया दृष्टं मयि निःश्वस्य कारणम् ॥ ४ ॥
तच्छ्रुत्वा नारदो वाक्यमुवाच श्रूयतां पुनः ॥
त्वयि च विद्यते सर्वं मेरुरुच्चतरः पुनः ॥ ५ ॥
देवेष्वपि विभागो ऽस्य न तवास्ति कदाचन ॥
इत्युक्त्वा नारदस्तत्र जगाम च यथागतम् ॥ ६ ॥
विंध्यश्च परितप्तो वै धिगेवं जीवितादिकम् ॥
विश्वेश्वरं तथा शंभुं समाराध्य जपाम्यहम् ॥ ७ ॥
इति निश्चित्य तत्रैव ॐकारं यंत्रके स्वयम् ॥
कृत्वा चैव पुनस्तत्र पार्थिवीं शिवमूर्तिकाम् ॥ ८ ॥
आरराध तदा शंभुं षण्मासं च निरंतरम् ॥
न चचाल तदा स्थानाच्छिवध्यानपरायणः ॥ ९ ॥
प्रसन्नश्च तदा शंभुर्ब्रूहि त्वं मनसेप्सितम् ॥
तस्मै च दर्शयामास दुर्लभं योगिनामपि ॥ १० ॥
रूपं यथोक्तं वेदेषु भक्तानामीप्सितं च यत् ॥
यदि प्रसन्नो देवेश वृद्धिं धेहि यथेप्सितम् ॥ ११ ॥
किं करोमि यदा तेन व्रियते दीयते मया ॥
न युक्तं परदुःखाय वरदानं ममाशुभम् ॥ १२ ॥
तथापि दत्तवांस्तत्र यथेप्सासि तथा पुनः ॥
एवं च समये देवा ऋषयश्च तथा ऽमलाः ॥ १३ ॥
संपूज्य शंकरं तत्र स्थातव्यमिति चाब्रुवन् ॥
तथैव कृतवान्देवो लोकानां सुखहेतवे ॥ १४ ॥

"Sûta said :—Hear the origin of O m k â r a. Once upon a time the god N â r a d a came from G o k a r ṇ a M a h â b a l e ś v a r a to the V i n d h y a mountain. Here Vindhya received him with all due honours; but Nârada had heard of Vindhya's pride in his belief that he had everything with him and that he wanted nothing. For this Nârada breathed heavily. When Vindhya heard this, he said, 'What defect have you seen in me that you now breathe so?' Nârada replied, 'You have everything in you, but M e r u is taller and has a place among the gods; such is not the case with you.' So saying Nârada returned to the place from whence he came. Vindhya thus got disgusted with himself and worldly things, and went to the spot where O m k â r a now is, with the design of worshipping Śiva. Here he constructed an earthen image of the god, and, being all motionless and lost in meditation, worshipped it for six months, not stirring from his seat. The god was pleased and said, 'Ask thou thy desire.' So saying, he revealed to him his bright appearance as described in the Vedas, which is difficult even for devotees to see. Vindhya replied, 'If thou art pleased, O god of gods, ordain an increase in my bulk as I desire.' The god complied with his request, and gave him his desire,—although he thought that an ill-boding gift injurious to others was not proper,—being persuaded that a desire asked must be granted. At this time the gods and the pure sages worshipped Śiva and requested him to stay there, and the god did so for the comfort of the people."

Such is the Paurâṇic account of the origin of O m k â r a. Whatever may be thought of this mythical origin of the shrine, this much is certain, that it is one of the oldest in India. Even a casual visitor is sure to be inspired with a feeling of admiration for its situation. The lucid waters of the Narmadâ are seen flowing between two high embankments, the surface of the waters below being reached by ghâṭs. As the shrine itself is situated on an island, it has to be approached by crossing the stream in a boat. On alighting at the other bank, a flight of steps leads up to the level of the temple. The temple itself has no grandeur about it; it is a small building of massive stone. The front hall is divided as it were into three, by two rows of carved stone pillars supporting the stone roof. The inside of the temple is wider, and projects more in one direction. It is divided by a partition into two apartments. The one half is empty, merely leading into the other half, on the right-hand side, where is the liṅga with its appendages. On entering this shrine we descend some three steps to the level of the liṅga. Those who have seen the shrines of Hindu temples are aware that no ventilation is provided for, and no orifice allowed. But no Hindu temple is worse in this respect than this of Om-

k â r a : as the liṅga has been placed, so to speak, in a cell within a cell, ventilation is carefully prevented. This temple has a gilt finial.

On leaving the temple, the stranger is conducted a few steps higher up, almost to the top of the hill, to a place known as the palace of the M â n d h â t â R â j a, which is an ordinary building, the residence of the high-priest of the temple, who is said to be worth a lákh of rupees a year. There are small temples of less importance in the vicinity. But there is nothing which so much strikes the eye from a distance as the hilly eminence whose base is washed by the Narmadâ, and whose area is studded with temples and buildings rising in terraces one over another.

---

## COPPER-PLATE GRANT FROM KAPÂLEŚVARA, IN ORISSA.

FORWARDED BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

The transcription and translation of these plates have been made by my friend Bâbu Raṅgalâl Banerjia, a well-known Sanskrit scholar.

The plates are three in number, size $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$, and are connected by a thick copper ring with a boss on which was apparently the seal of the king, which, however, is now effaced. The two outer sides are blank, and there are thus four sides, engraved in the ordinary *Kutila* character. It was found last rains by a cultivator who was ploughing at K a p â l e ś v a r a, a village on the north bank of the Mahânadî river opposite the city of Kaṭaka, and only about four miles distant from that station. The village stands near the site of the ancient city of C h a u d w â r, the former capital of Orissa, which has been abandoned for Kaṭaka for the last three hundred years. The ruins of this city cover a very large area, and consist of walls of laterite stone, which are largely quarried for metalling roads. It is surprising that so few relics of any value have been found, but as the quarrying goes deeper down more will probably come to light.

I am not responsible for the interpretation or translation, though I have carefully compared the transcription with the original, and I am not quite satisfied as to interpretation of the date, which would make this copper-plate nearly 1900 years old (Saṁvat 34 = B.C. 23)*. It seems to refer to the year of the king's reign. Nor do I understand how the G u p t a s came to be paramount lords of Kaliṅga, or how Kaliṅga came to claim lordship over Orissa. However, as my own line of research has been linguistic rather than antiquarian, I am content to leave the discussion of those questions to the experts in such matters, and merely to supply the facts. It remains only to add that no villages called either D â r a ṇ ḍ a or K h a l â ṇ ḍ a l a now exist in Kaṭaka, but that the "district of Yodha" is traceable, as there is still a parganâ of that name (now pronounced Jodh) a few miles north of Kaṭaka. The use of the modern word "Sudi" for the light half of the month is somewhat suspicious also.

*Plate I.*

स्वस्ति श्रीमहाराजसमावासिनः श्रीमतो विजयकटकात् । परमभट्टा-
रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर श्रीशिवगुप्तदेवपादानुध्यात परममाहेश्व-
र परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर सोमकुलतिलक त्रिकलिंगाधिपति
†महाराजाधिराज श्रीमहाभवगुप्तदेवः कुशली । कोशलदेशे योधाविषयी दा-
रण्डाग्रामे तथा खलाण्डलग्रामे । ब्राह्मणान् संपूज्य तद्विषयीयान् यथाकाला-
ध्यासिनः समाहूत सन्निवीत नियुक्तकाधिका‡रिक दाण्डपाशिक नाट-
भट्टपिशुनाविधिकाररो§धजनराणक राजवल्लभादीन् सर्वान्

---

* No one can suppose from the style of the alphabet used in these plates that they are older than the tenth century A.D. Possibly Samvat 1034 = A.D. 978 may be meant.—ED.

† This is evidently a repetition.

‡ In the original ॆ occurs, which is incorrect.

§ In the original it is रोध ; this correction is made in accordance with other plates found in the district.

समाज्ञापयति । विदितमस्तु भवतां यथास्माभिरयं ग्रामस्सनिधिस्सो-
पनिधिश्शतशोपराधस्सर्वबाधाविवर्जितस्सर्वोपरिकर्तृत्वदानसहितश्चतुः-
सीमाद्यायत्तस्सामलकस्सगर्त्तोषरजलस्थलसहितः प्रतिनिषिद्धनाटभट्टप्रवे-
शः ¶टङ्गारी[क]विनिर्गताय । कोशले उर्वरावास्तव्याय । भारद्वाजगोत्राय । बा-
र्हस्पत्यांगिरसप्रवराय वाजसेनशाखाध्यायिने भट्टश्रीमहत्तमसाधारणा-
य भट्टश्रीशोभनसुताय । सलिलधारापुरस्सरमाचन्द्रतारकार्कज्योतिः सम-

*Plate II,—1st Side.*

कालोपभोगार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये ताम्रशासनेनाकरी-
कृत्य प्रतिपादितमित्यवगत्य सम्वरितभोगभागकरहिरण्यादिमत्ययमुपनय-
द्भिर्भवद्भिस्सुखेन प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति भाविभिश्च भूपतिभि र्दत्तिरियमस्मदीया धर्म्म-
गौरवादस्मदनुरोधात् स्वदत्तिरिवात्र पालनीया । तथाचोक्तं धर्म्मशास्त्रे । बहुभि-
र्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । माभू-
दफलशंका वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः । स्वदत्तात्फलमानन्त्यं परदत्ता-
नुपालने । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः । ** क्षितिपालाश्चह-
र्त्तारद्वितयं नरकं व्रजेत् । अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूरौषधीः
सूर्य्यसुताश्चगावः । यः काञ्चनं गां च महीं प्रदद्यात् दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लोके ।
आस्फोटयन्ति पितरः प्रवल्गन्ति पितामहाः । भूमिदाता कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भ-
विष्यति । भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्[ण]ाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नि-
यतं स्वर्गगामिनौ । तडागानां सहस्राणि वाजपेयशतानि च । गवां कोटिप्र-
दानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न शुध्यति । हरेत हारयेत् यस्तु मन्तबुद्धिस्तु मोहतः । सवंशो

*Plate II,—2nd Side.*

वारुणैः पाशैस्तिर्यग्योनिं स गच्छति । सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां भूमि††मप्यर्द्धमङ्[ग]लां ।
हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूतसंप्लवं । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्ध-
ां । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते । आदित्यो वरुणो विष्णुर्ब्रह्मा
सोमो हुताशनः । शूलपाणिश्च भगवानभिनन्दति भूमिदं । सामान्यो-
यं धर्म्मसेतु र्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेवं भाविनः पार्थि-
वेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । इति कमलदलाम्बुबिम्बलो-
लां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुध्वा
नहि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ सकलभूपालमौलिमालावि-
लग्नमाणिक्यमयूखपादाभिरञ्जिताङ्[क]ितं । लब्धवर्णः प्रचण्डदोर्दण्डमण्ड-

¶ This appears to be the name of a village inhabited by a class of Brâhmans of the Bharadvaja *gotra*, having the family name of Taṅgkâr, for, in a plate found in the Katṇka Collectorate Records, the reading टङ्कारपूर्वभरद्वाजगोत्राय occurs.

** The reading is obscure here. Perhaps a correct reading may be expected from scholars who are well versed in the Saṁhitas. The word *kshiti* is doubtful.

†† Instead of म here, there is र, which is a grammatical mistake.

लाग्रखण्डितारातिमत्तमातङ्गविमुक्तमुक्ताफलप्रसाधिताशेषबलं मही-
मण्डलं । यस्साधारणनाम्नि मन्त्रितिलके विन्यस्य सर्वागमं चौर्य्योदञ्चति ती-
व्रतेजसि धुरं राष्ट्रस्य विप्रोत्तमे । ‡‡नानाख्यानकवीश्वरामृतरसास्वादाद-
मर्त्यस्फुरत् सन्तोषात् सुखमन्वभूदविरतं पृथ्वीशचूडामणिः । §§ज्ञाताशेषार्थ-

*Plate III.*

शास्त्रस्मृतिविमलधिया वेदवेदाङ्गविद्याशिक्षाकल्पेतिहासप्रकट ¶¶सुरस *वा-
क्प्रासभूयिष्ठधाम्ना । नाम्ना साधारणेन द्विजवरविधिना मन्त्रिणा यस्य राज्ये नि-
ष्ठागम्भीरमूर्तिस्त्रिजगति विदितो धर्म्मकन्दर्प्पदेवः । परममाहेश्वर परम-
भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर सोमकुलतिलक त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति श्री-
महाभवगुप्तदेव पादपद्मप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये । एकत्रिंशत्तिमे साम्वत्स-
रे मार्ग्गसुदि तिथौ त्रयोदश्यां यत्राङ्केनापि सम्वत् ३४ मार्ग्ग-
सुदि† ३ लिखितमिदं त्रिफलीताम्रशासनं महासान्धिविग्र-
ही राणक श्रीमल्लदत्तप्रतिबद्ध ‡कायस्थ श्रीमाहूकेन इयद्वर्णा-
ङ्कितं स्वेनेति ॥ प्रणीतं कोशलेन्द्रेण प्रतिबोध्यमहत्तम । श्रीदत्तपुण्डरीका-
क्षः शासनं ताम्रनिर्ण्णतं । तन्निर्म्मितं माधवेन वा सृष्टं तेनेति ॥

*Translation.*

May it be propitious! Mahârâjâdhirâja Śrî Mahâbhava Gupta Deva, the beneficent. He who is a devout adorer of Maheśvara, the great Bhaṭṭâraka, the Supreme lord, the pre-eminent among the Lunar race, the ruler of Trikaliṅga, the meditator on the feet of the great Bhaṭṭâraka and the lord Mahârâjâdhirâja Śrî Śiva Gupta Deva, makes it known to all the inhabitants around His Majesty, from the glorious and victorious Kaṭaka, after worshipping the Brâhmaṇs invited (and) congregated, who are duly invested with the sacred thread, and living at the time in the district of Yodha: Be it known to you all, (namely) the appointed ministers, the Dânda Prâsikas (literally the men armed with clubs and bearded arrows), the dramatic performers, the bards, the spies, the law-makers, the chief of the guard of the seraglio, the beloved men and women of his Majesty, (that) the villages of Dâraṇḍa and Khalâṇḍala, in the district of Yodha and province of Kośala, with its treasure-troves, sealed or enclosed deposits of valuables, with absolution of a hundred sorts of transgressions (committed in it), and all let and hindrances removed with its sovereign authority, given over all, with its hidden utensils and vessels, with its hollows, wastes, waters, and land bounded on four sides, in which entry is prevented to dramatic performers and bards, (is given) to Bhaṭṭa Śrî Mahottama Sâdhârana, the son of Bhaṭṭa Śrî Sobhana, who came from Tamkâri and settled in the (village of) Urvarâ in the (province) of Kośala, who is of the Bharadvaja *gotra* (clan) and Vârhaspatya Âṅgirasa *pravara* (family), and a reader of the Vâjasena Śâkhâ (of the Vedas), (this gift is made) by pouring water and by inscribing it in this copper plate for augmentation of the merit and fame of my father and mother and self, that he will enjoy it so long as the sun, moon, and stars shine;

‡‡ In the original, 'Kavi' is written with a Hrasva-ikar, and the dental *s* is used; both are evidently mistakes committed by the engraver. The rules of Sandhi, Versification, and Orthography point out that the Hrasva-ikar ought to be Dirgha-ikar, and the *s* must be palatal instead of dental.

§§ There is omission of ज्ञा in the original.

¶¶ The स is omitted in the original by a mistake.

* In the original ः (Visarga) occurs instead of the Halanta mark after क.

† It is curious that this Hindi form of the Sanskrit 'Suddha,' or bright half of the moon, occurs in all the plates.

‡ It is a noticeable fact that the 'Sandhi,' 'Vigrahi,' or Minister of War and Peace, and the Secretary, were always Kayasthas, or men of the writer-caste. This not only occurs in the Kataka plates, but in grants or inscriptions found in Ceylon and Central India.

and do you live here in happiness, having a firm belief that I have foregone all enjoyments of this village, with the power of dividing it, its rents and gold, &c. Future kings will consider this gift of mine, for the sake of my merit, as a gift of their own, and so protect it. For it is stated in the *Śâstras* that Sâgara and other kings have given many a piece of land, but subsequent kings have enjoyed the merits of such gifts. Do not apprehend that there is no good in preserving the gift of another, for the benefit is greater from protecting the gifts of other men than from gifts made by ourselves. The giver of land resides happily for sixty thousand years in heaven. Both he that robs land and he that spoils victuals served in a dish will go to hell. (Whereas) gold was the first product of fire, (next) were the earth and vegetation, (then came) the sun, whose offspring were horses and kine, hence he who gives either gold, cows, or land becomes a giver of threefold in this world, and his parents and forefathers emulate and exclaim, "A giver of land is born in our family, for our salvation." He that bestows and he that accepts land are both of them workers of merit, and are sure to go to heaven. If the spoliator of land (given by another) digs a thousand deep tanks and performs a hundred *vâjapeya* sacrifices, and gives ten millions of cows in expiation, yet will he not be absolved. He that takes away land or causes it to be taken, intoxicated with power or passion, out of folly, is sure to be born as a bird or a beast, after having been bound in the fetters of Varuṇa. The person who robs a gold coin, a cow, or land to the extent of half an inch will remain in hell till the dissolution of this world. He that seizes land given by himself or another will rot in ordure as a worm with his forefathers. A giver of land is made happy by Âditya, Varuṇa, Vishṇu, Brahma, Chandra, Agni, and Mahâdeva. This is a common bridge of merit,—hence, ye future kings of earth! preserve this bridge for ages evermore, and this has been repeatedly prayed for by Râmabhadra. For man's property and life are transitory like a drop of water on a lotus-leaf. Pondering on this and comprehending all these illustrations, it behoves not man to destroy the good works of other men. The feet (of the king) are tinged with the beams shooting forth from the ruby circlets on the crowns of all (prostrate) rulers, he who is ever famous, and by the prowess of his excessively strong army cut to pieces the heads of elephants belonging to his enemies, whence issued innumerable pearls, which adorn his illimitable power and the world. This crown-jewel of kings having cast the burden of the state and finances upon his chief minister, named Sâdhârana, the dispeller of robbery, and of unlimited energy, appears like an immortal and enjoys happiness from the delight caused by constantly tasting the nectar (of poesy) from many a tale composed by eminent poets. In whose kingdom the said minister Sâdhârana has his understanding purified by studying the endless sciences of political economy and law, and his speech sweetened by quotations from the *Vedas*, the *Vedâṅgas*, *Śikshâ*, *Kalpa*, and *Itihâsa*—and hence he has attained the highest degree of dignity. He (the king) is distinguished in the three worlds as unrivalled by his austere deportment on account of his uniform practice of religion. (Given) in the thirty-first year (*Saṁvatsara*) of the glorious reign and under the extended (shadow) of the lotus-feet of the great Bhava Gupta Deva, who is a devout adorer of Maheśvara, the great Bhaṭṭâraka, Mâhârâjâdhirâja, the Supreme lord, the pre-eminent among the Lunar race, (and) the ruler of Trikaliṅga, in the month Mârga, the 13th of the bright half of the month, or, expressed in figures, Saṁvat 34, 13th bright fortnight, (when) this threefold copper plate was written. (The witnesses thereof) are the Minister of War and Peace, Malla Datta, and the Secretary, Kyastha Mahuka, who have inscribed these letters. This has been written for the comprehension of Mahottama, engraved by Pundarîkaksha Datta, formed or composed by Mâdhava.

### REMARK ON THE ABOVE, BY BÂBUS RAṄGALÂL BÂNERJIA, DEPUTY COLLECTOR, KAṬAKA.

The plates were found by a *rayat* in July 1874, in ploughing his land adjoining his house, in Chaudwâr, Pargaṇâ Tapankhand, 4½ miles north-east of the Kaṭaka post-office.

Chaudwârâ, or the four-gated city, though now reduced to a mean bazâr and village, was once the proud *râjdhâni* or capital city of Orissa. According to records kept by astrologers of Orissa, this city was built by Janamejaya, Emperor of India, after the performance of

the Nâgâ sacrifice, or extermination of the Nâga or serpent race. Apart from the mythical story of its foundation, it is believed that Kaṭaka Chaudwâr was the first city of Orissa in point of age. Jâjpur, Sárangaḍh, Kaṭaka-Biḍânasi (the modern Kaṭaka) and Bhuvâneśvara, were all built in much more recent times. Besides the city of Chaudwâr, there was a very strong fortress hard by, called Kapâleśvara, or 'lord of fortune.' Some years ago, Government made over a portion of this fort at the instance of the now defunct East India Irrigation Company, who used the greater portion of the cut-stone of its ramparts to build the Birupâ *ânikaṭ* and other works. Vandalism could go no further: but much may yet be found to repay the labour of exhumation.

Though the seat of the kingdom was removed elsewhere, Chaudwâr still retained some of its grandeur in subsequent ages, for we find a large tank was dug within the fort in the reign of Chorgaṅgâ, the founder of the Gaṅgàvaṁśâ family, who reigned between 1132 and 1152 A.D. The tank is still called by his name. An entry has been recently found in the *Mádlá Panji* to the effect that money was sent from Purì for army expenses; this was after the revetment of modern Kaṭaka was built, in 1006 A.D.

But how came a copper-plate grant of the great Guptas to be in the old metropolis of Orissa? The country where the grant is made is called Kośala; one of the names of ancient Oudh is Kośalâ, which is also called Uttara or Northern Kośalâ; the Dakshinâ or Southern Kośalâ is identified by some authorities with the country round Kânhpur; but neither of these Kośalâs can be the Kośala of the grant, as the former is always written with a long *á* at the end, whereas the final letter in the grant is a short one. Again, one of the titles of the royal donor is Trikaliṅgâdhipati, or 'lord of the three Kaliṅgas,' and this king gives it out on the plate that the grant was made from the great and glorious city of Kaṭaka. The most ancient name of the country bordering on the western shore of the Bay of Bengal, stretching from the Suvarṇarekhâ river to Madras, appears to be Kaliṅga: the upper region was called Utkaliṅga, and the other two were the middle and the southern Kaliṅgas; the word Utkal is perhaps a shortened form of Utkaliṅga, and occurs in comparatively modern *Purâṇas* and *Kávyas*. The word Kośalâ is still known in parts of Orissa; tracts of country in Purì and in Aṅgul are still known by this name. A species of pot-herb, peculiar to Orissa is called Kośalâ Sàk; and perhaps any country between two rivers—such as the Doâb of the Ganges and Saraju, which was generally called Kośalâ—or any country in the shape of a *kośa*, the sheath of a fruit, may have borne this name. Now the country where this plate and others have been found falls exactly within the description of such a country: for first we have the country between the Baitarni and Kharasua, then that between the latter and the Brâhmaṇì, third that between the Brâhmaṇî and Birupâ, fourth between the Birupâ and the Mahânadì, fifth between the Mahânadì and the Kàtjuri, and so on. It is well known also that the great Guptâs had their seat of empire first in the Doâb, and perhaps a branch of the family establishing themselves in Trikaliṅga named parts of it after their own parent country.

Then the question resolves itself into another shape. If the Guptas indeed held sway in Orissa, how is it that there is no mention of their names in the royal *vaṁśávalis* kept by the astrologers of Orissa, or in the well-known palm-leaf records called *Mádlá Panji.* By a reference to another plate, in the Kaṭaka Collectorate records, we find that a king named Yayâti ruled in Orissa when Śiva Gupta, the son of Bhava Gupta, was the king of Trikaliṅga: hence it follows that the Orissa Râjas were feudatories of the Guptas, and all lands granted by the former were made in the name of the paramount power.

We have indeed a Yayati, or Yayati Kesari (*i.e.* Yayati the Lion), in the *vaṁśávalis*; according to Stirling, he reigned from 473 to 520 A.D. Again, Śiva Gupta, according to the Chaudwâr plate, was the father of Bhava Gupta: so that it appears from the two plates that both the father and son of Bhava Gupta had the same name.

It is noteworthy that these Guptas of Trikaliṅga had among their titles the honorific one of Bhaṭṭâraka, like the Guptas of Saurâshṭra or Valabhî.

Is then the year 34, given in the plates, that of the Valabhì era, or is it of the local era of the Guptas of Trikaliṅga?§ Again, we have two dates of different eras,—the one is called the

§ It is distinctly stated that it was in the 31st year of the reign.—Ed.

Saṁvatsara, and the other Saṁvat. As the character is common Kutila, the plate cannot be very ancient.|| But this much is proved—that the plate is found in the old capital city of Orissa; that the grant recorded by it was made from Kaṭaka, the old Kâṭaka Chaudwâr, and by Bhava Gupta, the lord paramount of Trikaliṅga, whose son Śiva Gupta we suppose to have been a contemporary of Yayâti Keśari, who reigned between the years 474 and 526 A.D., and that the Keśaris of Orissa were feudatories of the kings of Trikaliṅga.

## MISCELLANEA.

### WILD JUNGLE FOLK.

Mr. Bond had the good fortune to procure an interview with a couple of the wild folk who live in the hill-jungles of the Western Ghâṭs, to the south-west of the Palanei Hills, and took the opportunity to observe and note on the spot some of their peculiarities. We had often heard of the existence of some strange dwarfish people who occasionally frequented the jungles near our station of Pèmalei, a few miles west of Strivilliputtûr, at the north-west corner of the Tinnevelli district, but none of us, when visiting the Pêmalei hills for the purpose of selecting, building, or observing at this station, had seen any trace of them, except that whilst observing the final angles we noticed some fires burning at night far off in the distant valleys commonly stated to be entirely devoid of villages and civilized inhabitants. When returning afterwards to Pêmalei, in order finally to close and deliver over charge of the station to the local officials, Mr. Bond having heard that the wild men of the woods occasionally came to Strivilliputtûr with honey, wax, and sandalwood to exchange for cloth, rice, tobacco, and betelnut, induced three of the *Kâvalkârs*, or hill-watchers, through whom principally this barter is carried on, to attempt to catch a specimen of this strange folk. What follows is Mr. Bond's account:—

"Knowing a locality they frequented, whence they could easily steal the remains of food and pots left by the herdsmen, the three Kâvalkârs went there to look for them, and on the second day sighted a couple, who at once made off through the jungle for the rocks, with great fleetness and agility, using hands and feet in getting over the latter.

"After a difficult and exciting chase and a very careful search they were again caught sight of, crouching between two rocks, the passage to which was so narrow that it cost their captors a severe scratching to reach them and drag them out one at a time by the legs. They were brought to me in a state of great fear—a man and a woman—as I was descending the hill, and began to cry on being led to my camp at a large village a few miles out in the plains. After some coaxing, however, with promises of rice and tobacco, they consented to accompany me willingly. On reaching my tent in the evening I gave the man some clothes, and offered them a little money in small silver and copper coins. Each of them selected the latter, refusing the silver pieces of ten times the value, saying that they could get rice with the copper, and apparently had no idea of the value of the former. I gave the woman some pieces of cloth and a few small things, for which they both showed their thanks by repeated prostrations on the ground before me.

"The rest of the day was spent in taking notes on this strange pair, and in getting from them all the information I could through the hill-watchers, who were able to converse with them to a slight extent. They seemed as great a curiosity to the villagers themselves as to myself; and a crowd assembled to watch them, expressing their surprise at the ease and freedom with which they sat in my tent without showing any fear or any desire to run away. The following observations were noted on the spot:—

"The man is 4 feet 6½ inches in height, 26¼ inches round the chest, and 18¾ inches horizontally round the head over the eyebrows. He has a round head, coarse black, woolly hair, and a dark brown skin. The forehead is low and slightly retreating; the lower part of the face projects like the muzzle of a monkey, and the mouth, which is small and oval with thick lips, protrudes about an inch beyond his nose; he has short bandy legs, a comparatively long body, and arms that extend almost to his knees: the back just above the buttocks is concave, making the stern appear to be much protruded. The hands and fingers are dumpy and always contracted, so that they cannot be made to stretch out quite straight and flat; the palms and fingers are covered with thick skin (more particularly so the tips of the fingers), and the nails are small and imperfect; the feet are broad and thick-skinned all over; the hairs of his moustache are of a greyish white,

|| The alphabets in use during the early centuries of the Christian era markedly differ from the Kutila, and only gradually approximate to it in a later age, when it arose out of preceding forms: hence there is no reason to suppose that the alphabet was in use very long before the date of the earlier inscriptions in that character.—ED.

scanty, and coarse like bristles, and he has no beard.

"The woman is 4 feet 6½ inches in height, 27 inches round the chest (above the breasts), and 19 horizontally round the head above the brows; the colour of the skin is sallow, or of a nearly yellow tint; the hair is black, long, and straight, and the features well formed. There is no difference between her appearance and that of the common women of that part of the country. She is pleasant to look at, well developed, and modest.

"There are said to be five or six families living about the Pêmalei hills, men and women being about the same height, all the men having the same cast of features and being built as the specimen above described.

"The dress of the man consists of a *laṅgoṭî*, or small piece of cloth tied round the loins. The women when they cannot procure cloth wear only a skirt of leaves.

"They both believe themselves to be a hundred years old, but judging from their appearance I suppose the man to be twenty-five, and the woman about eighteen years of age. They say that they have been married four years, but have had no children.

"Their marriage custom is very simple,—a man and woman who pair off, mutually agree to live together during their lifetime, the conditions being that the man is to provide food, and the woman to cook it; and the marriage is considered to be binding after these conditions have been carried out for the first time, *i.e.* after they have eaten their first food together.

"They eat flesh, but feed chiefly upon roots and honey. The roots, of which the man next morning went to the jungle and fetched me two kinds, are species of wild yam. I tasted both when cooked and found them far from unpalatable.

"They have no fixed dwelling-places, but sleep on any convenient spot, generally between two rocks or in caves near which they happen to be benighted. They make a fire and cook what they have collected during the day, and keep the fire burning all night for warmth and to keep away wild animals. They worship certain local divinities of the forest,—Râkas or Râkâri, and Pê (after whom the hill is named, Pê-malei).

"When one of them dies, the rest leave the body exposed, and avoid the spot for some months. Whenever the herdsmen, wood-cutters, or hill-watchers come across a corpse and tell the *grâm munsaf*, or head village official, he sends men to bury it, and reports the circumstance to the Tahsildâr. The *grâm munsaf* of this place (Mamsâpuram and Śiventipatti) told me that six had been buried under his orders.

"As I detained this couple in my camp till late in the evening, they begged to remain all night, as they were afraid to enter the jungles so late, for fear of wild beasts, unless they had a torch with them. I then offered them food if they would cook it near my tent, and gave them what they asked for,—rice; but when a fowl and curry-stuff were suggested they took them also. The man would have killed the fowl by cutting off its head between two stones, but I told my people to give him a knife and show him how to cut its throat, which they did, but he evidently disliked to use the knife, and begged my servant to do it for him, and turned away his head, as if he did not wish to see it done.

"Whilst the woman cooked the rice, the man cut up the fowl, by placing the knife between his toes and drawing the meat along the edge of it. They seemed ignorant of the use of salt and curry-stuff, as they did not use the condiments till told to do so. Moreover, they wanted to eat the food when only half cooked.

"The man having washed his hands remained squatting on the ground till his wife served him, which she continued to do, without eating anything herself, till he signed to her that he had had enough: she then brought him water to wash his mouth and hands, and afterwards ate her own food.

"The fingers alone were used in eating: some rice mixed with the curry was collected into a lump and thrown into the mouth, and I noticed that they did not mix any of the meat with the curry. What remained of their food was put carefully away and carried off next day into the jungle.

"Next morning I sent the man to fetch specimens of the roots they ordinarily feed on, whilst the woman remained at my camp. On his return, soon after midday, I dismissed them, apparently not ill pleased with their involuntary visit."—*General Report Gt. Trig. Survey of India*, 1873-74.

## WINE AMONG SUFÎS.

A favourite metaphor with the Sufi poets of Islâm is wine; the knowledge of God is compared to wine, but no sooner is the wine drunk than drunkenness ensues. The sense is absorbed in the enjoyment, and the union is complete between the seeker and the sought. Maulavi Rûmi has in a few lines given the gist of these speculations, and, curiously enough, succeeded in combining both metaphors, while at the same time he enunciates the esoteric doctrine of Sufism, that Existence is Light, and that Light is the manifestation of God.

'Tis we who steal the sense of wine,
Not wine that robbeth us of wit;
Life is of us, not we of it,
But who shall such a thing divine?

'What is our secret when 'tis told?
A loved one, and nought else beside;
A lover who himself doth hide
The loved one he would fain behold.

'The loved one lives for evermore,
The lover dies a living death;
Till quickened by the loved one's breath
The lover cannot upward soar.

'About us all His sunbeams play:
On right, on left, below, above,
We revel in the light of love,
Nor yet reflect a single ray.

'For though the soul of man they call
A mirror that reflected grace;
A mirror with a dusty face
Reflecteth not the light at all.'

—*British Quarterly Review.*

## BOOK NOTICE.

THE LAND OF THE TAMULIANS AND ITS MISSIONS, by the Rev. E. R. Baierlein. Translated from the German by J. D. B. Gribble, F.R.A.S., M.A.I., M.C.S. (Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1875.)

"A portion of this book," the translator tells us, "has already appeared in a German missionary publication. A considerable portion is here translated from the original manuscript, and the whole has been subjected to the revision of the author." The result is a book that deserves a wide circulation, and will be read by many with great interest. We cannot say much for the printing, and the proofs have not been read with over-much care, but the book is written in a very clear, simple, and often fascinating style, and never wearies the reader by too minute details, or by dwelling long on one subject: indeed some of the chapters would well bear enlargement; what is given whets the appetite for more.

The book is in two parts. In the first we have the Land and its products; the People, their history and literature, Manners, Customs, and Domestic Life; the Ethnology and Religion, the Temples and Temple-worship,—all treated of briefly, but in an interesting and instructive way. In the second, we have short accounts of the various Missions—of the Ancient Church, the Romish, Lutheran, English Episcopal, and Nonconformist Churches,—that of the Lutheran Mission, to which the author belongs, naturally occupying the largest space, as does the account of Rhenius and his work in the shorter chapter on the English Church Mission.

We shall make a few extracts: Here is the author's estimate of the Tamiḻ race:—"The most important of the Drâviḍian races is that of the Tamulians. They occupy not only the [Tamiḻ] country . . . but also the north of Ceylon and the south of Travankor on the western side of the Ghâṭs. There is a Christian congregation of Tamulians at Bombay and at Calcutta; and Tamulians are to be found in Burmâ, Pegu, Singapur, and in the islands of Mauritius, Bourbon, and even in the West Indies . . . . In short, wherever there is a lazier and more superstitious people to be shoved aside, there will Tamulians be found, for they are the most enterprising and movable people in India.* Their numbers, according to the last census, amount to sixteen millions." This characteristic has been remarked before in other branches of the Drâviḍian race, and if once the scattered fragments of that race were brought into full participation of the advantages of our education and civilization, they will probably, to a large extent, supplant the more orthodox Brahmanical races in offices requiring enterprise and energy.

There is a short notice of Tiruvalluvar,† the author of the *Kural*, from which we give the following anecdote of his most dutiful wife:—"This same good wife as she lay dying, begged her stern husband to explain what to her was a matter of great mystery, and had puzzled her since the day of her marriage: 'My lord, when for the first time I cooked your rice and placed it before you, you ordered me always to put a jug of water and a needle by your side; why did you order me to do this?' Whereupon her loving consort replied: 'If, my dear one, a grain of rice should fall to the ground, the needle is to pick it up with, and the water to wash it.' Then the wife knew that her husband had never dropped a grain of the rice she had cooked for him, and died happy.

"Deeply moved, Tiruvalluvar sang:—'O loving one, sweeter to me than daily rice! Wife, who failed not in a single word! Woman, who gently stroking my feet lay down after me to sleep and arose before me! And dost thou leave me? How shall I ever again be able to close my eyes at night?"

There are some interesting translations from the early Tamil poets also, but we can only find space

* "It is remarkable how the Tamiḻ language has gradually spread, with the spread of railways and roads. Take, for instance, the district of Kaḍâpâ. Seventy years ago Canarese was the predominant language; now it is Telugu; but since the railway was opened, seven years ago, Tamiḻ is spoken by many thousands near the line of rail. But rare instances are to be found of any foreign language, such as Telugu, &c., spreading in Tamiḻ land. Telugu shoves Canarese on one side, and in its turn is displaced by Tamiḻ. A hundred years hence the whole of the Madras Presidency will be a Tamiḻ-speaking country."

† Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 200.

for one,—a translation by Dr. Grant from the warlike poetry of Paraporal:—

*The King goes to battle.*

"Like a sea surges up the terrible host,
As by wind by its fury now goaded,
And the Monarch storms past through the opening ranks,
In a chariot with gold overloaded;
And there flies round the host, in its front and its rear,
In circles still growing more narrow,
A flock of black demons, whose wide-gaping maws
Will feed on the fallen one's marrow.

*The Queen's Sorrow.*

"Who once filled the throne lies stretched on the field,
And foes of his valour are singing;
But 'Husband, O husband!' exclaims the wife
Of the smile so tender and winning;
And weeping and moaning she puts next her heart
His wreath all faded and gory,
And clings to the breast which, pierced by a dart,
Is covered with heavenly glory.

*A Hero's Death.*

"As the lion who roams thro' the forest glade wild,
His eye with majesty flashing,
Yields his life without murmur when struck by a rock
That comes through the valley down dashing;
So the hero, with sword all dripping with blood,
Looks round on the hosts that surround him,
Then flashes his eye, he raises his hand,
And falls with his foes all around him.

*Self-sacrifice of the Royal Wives.*

"And now the great kings of the mighty sword
On the field stark and cold are all lying,
And see! the proud king with the giant-like arm,
Where the slain lie the thickest, is dying:
The world too is weeping, and now the sad wives
Themselves in the flames are all throwing,
But, horror! the death-god is not yet content,
But gloats o'er the death-piles still growing.

At the conclusion of the chapter on Religion and Worship, the author adds,—"I should, however, be doing these idol-worshippers an injustice if I did not expressly say that among them there are many pious and earnest minds. These do not remain floundering in the quagmire of idolatry, but regard it as a mere outward husk, and reject it indeed in words, but still as far as their actual daily life is concerned they cannot disconnect themselves from it, for the whole life of the people is entwined with it. Many of this kind rely in spirit on the truth and good which the Vedanta has brought to light. They seek to grasp God as the most perfect Being, as the most perfect Intelligence, and as the most perfect Bliss (*Sat, Chit, Ânanda*), and endeavour to find union with him by the path of self-contemplation. . . . I cannot describe them better than Tayumanaver, one of themselves, has described them in a poem full of tenderness and longing for God, and which reminds one of the 42nd Psalm. The following is taken from Dr. Graul's translation, in his *Indische Sinnpflanzen*:—

*A modern Tamil Hymn.*

"Thou standest at the summit of all the glorious earth,
Thou rulest and pervadest the world from ere its birth, O Supremest Being!

And can the pious man find out no way to thee,
Who melting into love with tears approaches Thee, O Supremest Being?

Already on the way is he who takes as guide,
An earnest, loving heart, and self-discernment tried, O Supremest Being!

Who'd gaze at heaven, first climbs the mountain-height,
Self-contemplation's wings towards Thee aim their flight, O Supremest Being!

Thou throned above the ether's pinnacle, O Lord,
'Tis thou who art the spirit, and thou who art the word, O Supremest Being!

Untouched thyself, the mind of him thou gently movest
Who pondering, bewildered, the word and spirit loseth, O Supremest Being!

Things heavenly thou showest unto the wondering sight,
Reflected in a mirror, thou mountain of delight, O Supremest Being!

He dies, O Lord Supreme, who loves thee to perfection,
And slumbering ever rests in blissful contemplation, O Supremest Being!

The object thou of love, of every heartfelt pleasure,
Of souls that prize alike the potsherd and the treasure, O Supremest Being!

A madness there possessed me to kill the 'Self and Mine;'
In need I wandered helpless, seeking help divine, O Supremest Being!

My pride became then softened and touched by thee above,
To water ran my bones, and I dissolved in love, O Supremest Being!

O thou, of all the weary and heavy laden, Rest!
Henceforth thy name by me for ever shall be blest,
O Supremest Being!

Grant, thirsty, I may plunge in thy fresh stream of bliss,
Or else o'erwhelmed I sink within the deep abyss, O Supremest Being!

Knowing all my thoughts, for ever and again
Thou comest to refresh me, thou grace-bestowing rain, O Supremest Being!

Thou nectar never cloying, thou stream of heavenly bliss,
O thou the good that dwells in perfect loneliness,
O Supremest Being!

All things pervadest thou, O sweetest honey-dew!
My inward self possessing thou sweet'nest through and through, O Supremest Being!

My coral thou, my pearl, my mine of purest gold,
My beam of brightness, spirit light, my priceless wealth untold, O Supremest Being!

My eye, my thought, my tree, my heavenly stream,
Thou art my ether-ray, my joy and wonder-dream, O Supremest Being!

Lost in myself, my spirit lies here helpless,
Like dried-up wood—and thou wilt leave me sapless, O Supremest Being!

O sea of bliss, may I not plunge in Thee,
Nor quench the thirst which now destroyeth me,
O Supremest Being?

When will my sorrow cease, my fountain spring,
And flow again with joy, my Prince and King,
O Supremest Being!

Why turn thy face away? All that I knew,
To get a closer view of Thee, away I threw,
O Supremest Being!

My tears of grief my soul seem to destroy;
When wilt thou change them, Lord, to tears of joy,
O Supremest Being?

To thee in silent worship I ever cling and twine,
And, like an orphan child, I long and pine,
O Supremest Being!

Though free and joyful I myself may boast,
I still must ever wander in a dreary waste,
O Supremest Being!

Like to a stalk of straw in whirlwinds blown and tossed,
So is thy wretched slave within this desert lost,
O Supremest Being!

But earthly powers and kings are nought of worth to me
If they not humbly raise their hand in prayer to thee, O Supremest Being!

The cow bestows upon its helpless offspring love;
Show me, O gracious mother, thy pity from above,
O Supremest Being!

However guilty I, whatever wrong I do,
I ask thee, mother-like, thy pitying love to show,
O Supremest Being!"

Lastly, from the second part, we extract the following:—"The bishop of the Thomas Christians, Mar Gabriel, gave to the Dutch, at the commencement of the 18th century, a long account of their circumstances, from which I will only extract the following:—'Fifty-five years after the birth of the Messiah, the apostle Thomas came to Mylapur (near Madras), on the Coromandel coast, and preached the Gospel. From thence he came to Malabar, preached the Gospel, collected congregations in several places, and fixed their pastors. He then returned to the Coromandel coast, where he was stabbed by a heathen with a spear, and thus ended his life. After some time all the pastors whom St Thomas had appointed died off, and a false doctrine arose which was followed by many. Only 160 families remained true. But in 745 (A.D.) there arrived from Bagdad Christians and Priests who settled down in Malabar. King Perumal, to whom the new arrivals addressed themselves, received them kindly and gave them land in order to build shops and churches. He also bestowed upon them many marks of honour, and the right to trade throughout the whole country as long as the sun and moon should shine, as may be read to this day on tablets of copper.‡ Thus the Christians lived happy and prosperous, and the Christian Patriarch of the East sent them many shepherds and teachers from Bagdad, Nineveh, and Jerusalem. After the Portuguese had come to Malabar, the Patriarch sent four more bishops, Mar Mardina, Mar Jacob, Mar Thoma, and Jene Allay, who ruled the Christians and built many churches. After their death there came to Malabar, about the year 1550, another, Mar Abraham. But the Portuguese, resolved that no more teachers should be allowed to come, and guarded all the roads by which the Syrian priests could come. When now the Christians had no instructors, the Portuguese spent much trouble in endeavouring to draw them over,' &c.

We are surprised to find expressions in this translation like "the Rev. Schwartz;" as also to find on both covers a figure of that unsightly abortion of a hideously diseased imagination,—Gaṇeśa with the invocation *Śrî Gaṇeśa namah.* In what state of intellectual nightmare the mind must have been that first used so ugly a vignette on an English book, we can hardly conceive: by what accident it has now got on the cover of a missionary's work we may guess, but do not excuse.

‡ *Conf. Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 229, and vol. III. p. 334, where the date is given as A.D. 774.—ED.

## METRICAL VERSION OF BHARTṚIHARI'S VAIRÂGYA ŚATAKAM.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

(*Continued from page 3.*)

*Of the proud man.*

THOSE men may boast of being born, whose skulls gleam white on Śiva's head,
The final meed of holy saints, and chiefs whose souls in battle fled;
But oft I muse how men can swell with pride at causing those to bow,
Who, if they save their precious lives, care little for the when and how.

---

You are a lord of acres,
But we are lords of song;
And we subdue the subtle,
If you subdue the strong;

The rich of you are speaking,
In me the wise believe,
And if you find me irksome,
Why then—I take my leave.

---

*Of Self-renunciation.*

The day of pleasure's past and gone,
Long through this world we've wandered on,
And weary reached the brink:
By Gangâ's stream shrills forth our cry,
"O Śiva, Śiva, Lord most high,
Help, Śiva, or we sink."

---

When honour fades, and wealth departs, and boons are craved in vain,
And friends are dead, and servants fled, and joy exchanged for pain,
This course alone becomes the wise—to seek those mountain caves
Whence softly flow through woods below the sanctifying waves.

---

Why suffer endless woes in vain
The favour of the great to gain?
Let false ambition's longings cease,
Learn to possess thy soul in peace,
And thou hast won the wishing-cap
That pours earth's treasures in thy lap.

---

*Of the terrors that beset the path of Pleasure.*

In happiness men fear disease, the haughty shrink from scorn,
The rich, the wise, the men of might, dread princes, critics, foes;
Envy blights virtue, eld good looks, death threatens all things born,
The hermit's humble life alone gives undisturbed repose.

---

For life fast slipping from my hold
I've borne the last and worst disgrace,—
I've sat 'mongst wealthy fools, and told
My merits with unblushing face.

---

We speak with awe of glorious kings, of haughty lords, and knights,
Of courtiers ranged in glittering rows, of triumphs and of fights,
Of tuneful bards that hymn their praise: who honours as he ought
That "eloquent and mighty Death" that sweeps them into nought?

---

*Of Time the Destroyer.*

Our parents long have passed away,
All old familiar faces fled,
Destruction nears us day by day,
Like trees in sandy river-bed.

---

Where many dwellers once were seen, one only now survives,
Again that house is filled with store of joyous human lives,
Then all are swept away again; thus wielding Night and Day
As dice, destruction's wedded powers* with helpless mortals play.

---

Shall we retire to Gangâ's brink,
Or cull the sweets of honeyed lays,
Or court a wife whom all men praise?
Life's short—we know not what to think.

---

O for those days when I shall dwell alone
Among the snowy hills by Gangâ's stream,
In stony torpor stiffened on a stone,
Inly conversing with the One Supreme,
Rapt in devotion, dead to all beside,
And deer shall fray their horns against my senseless hide.

---

* *i.e.* Śiva and Pârvati.

When shall we, sick of life's entangling bands,
Sit on the holy river's moonlit sands,
Through windless nights, with rapture-streaming eyes,
And thrice on Śiva call with plaintive cries?

---

Still Śiva's arm is strong to save,
Still may we plunge in Gangâ's wave,
Still one blue heaven bends over all,
Still Time sees mortals rise and fall,
Still poverty's our best defence,
Enough—renounce the joys of sense.

---

Hope is a stream, its waves desires, by stormy passions tossed,
With cruel longings lurking deep, by light-winged visions crossed,
Resolves like firmly planted trees its floods up-rooting bear,
Its madness swirls in eddying rings beneath its banks of care;
But those, who in devotion's bark attain its further shore,
Rejoice, for this unstable world enslaves their souls no more.

---

I've searched for years through earth and air and sky,
Nor yet one perfect saint hath met my eye,
Nor have I heard of one who could restrain
Desire's fierce elephant with reason's chain.

---

The days seem long to those who drudge for pay,
And short to those who fritter life away;
When shall I sit and think how vain their moans,
A hermit pillowed on a bed of stones?

---

When all our wealth is wasted, we'll seek some calm retreat,
And spend the night in thinking on Śiva's holy feet,
When streams the autumn moonlight into our melting hearts,
How false that world will glimmer where once we played our parts!

---

Bark garments satisfy my needs,
But you are pleased with silken weeds,
Who counts you better off than me?
But woe to him whose wants are great!
Contentment equals men's estate,
And makes the rich and poor agree.

Unfettered wandering, and meals from degradation free,
The friendship of the wise and good; and sober piety,
A heart that beats not for the world—none, that my thoughts can trace,
Not e'en by strictest discipline hath gained this heavenly grace.

---

The hand's a lordly dish,
The mouth with alms is fed,
The sky's a glorious robe,
The earth's a sumptuous bed,
Those live in high content
Who're free from passion's chain,
And works with all their brood
Of ignorance and pain.

---

Kings' fancies swiftly pass like coursers in the race,
In vain to them we look for favour, wealth, and place,
Eld robs our frame of strength, Death slays us at a blow,
None but the hermit's life can happiness bestow.

---

Our joys are short-lived as the flash
That cleaves the cloudy veil,
Our life is fleeting as the mists
That drive before the gale;
Youth's pleasures fade—then fix your minds
On that untroubled peace
Which patient meditation brings
To those whose longings cease.

---

To roam some woodland hermitage where Brâhmaṇs' chants resound,
And smoke of sacrificial fires blackens the trees around,
Begging one's bread from cell to cell, plants in the breast no thorns,
Like flattering men of equal birth whose sympathy one scorns.

---

While gaping idlers turn the head and say,
"What stamp of man can yonder pilgrim be,
"Saint, sophist, outcast, Brâhmaṇ, slave or free?"
Nor pleased nor wroth the hermit wends his way.

Happy are those who've ceased to walk by sight,
Slain passion's snake, and make good deeds their stay,
Who spend in woodland nooks the tranquil night,
Illumined by the moon's autumnal ray.

---

Be still, my fluttering heart, and leave this crowded show
Of worldly toys 'midst which thou eddiest to and fro,
Abandon fleeting forms, and seek that settled state
Of grounded peace enthroned above the storms of fate.

Pillowed on banks of moss, with roots and berries fed,
Enwound with strips of bark, our wants shall all be sped—
Off to the woodland shades, and gladly leave behind
These men of stammering speech, with wealth-bewildered mind.

---

Abandon empty hopes, and place thy trust, my breast,
In Gangâ, and in him who bears the moony crest;‡
Whoe'er confides in snakes, waves, women, bubbles, flames,
Lightnings or mountain streams, his want of sense proclaims.

---

## SANSKṚIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

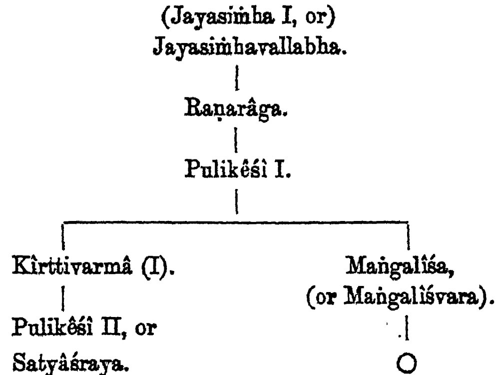
BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

(*Continued from page* 53.)

### No. XIII.

This is an inscription in the Cave-alphabet character and the Sanskṛit language from a stone-tablet let into the outside of the east wall of a temple called Mêguṭi* on the top of the hill at Aihoḷe on the Malaprabhâ, about five miles to the south-west of Amîngaḍ in the Hungund Tâlukâ of the Kalâdgi District. The tablet is 59½″ broad by 26″ high; the average size of the letters is half an inch. A photograph of this inscription, but on a small scale and very illegible, is given in Plate No. 3 of Mr. Hope's collection. I have edited the text from a personal inspection of the original, and have also taken a paper estampage of it.

This inscription is one of the Châlukya dynasty, and is the oldest but one of known date†, and the most important, of all the stone-tablet inscriptions of these parts. It mentions the following kings:—




And the object of it is to record the erection of a stone temple of Jinêndra by a certain Ravikîrtti, during the reign of Pulikêśî

‡ *i.e.* Śiva.

* 'Mêguṭi' is the rustic pronunciation of 'Mêguḍi,' sc. *Mêlina-guḍi*, *the temple which is up on high.*

† The exception is the stone-inscription, in Cave No. III at Bâdâmi, of Maṅgalîśa, dated Śaka 501 ("five *hundred years having elapsed* since the installation of the Śaka king"), the twelfth year of his reign,—published in facsimile, with transcription, &c., by Prof. Eggeling, at Vol. III, p. 305 of the *Indian Antiquary*, and at p. 23 of Mr. Burgess' *Archæological Report* for 1873-4. My own version, differing in some minor points from that of Prof. Eggeling, is to be published in the Appendix to Mr. Burgess' *Second Report*. At Amînbhâvi in the Dhârwâḍ Tâlukâ there is, indeed, a stone-tablet inscription, which refers itself to the time of Satyâśraya (or Pulikêśî II), the son of Kîrttivarmâ, who was the son of Pulikêśî (I.), and has the date of Śaka 488 (A.D. 566-7); a transcription of it is given at pp. 672 *et seqq.* of Sir W. Elliot's MS. vol. I. now with me. But this part of the inscription is not original. For, the inscription commences by referring itself to the time of Vikramâditya the Great, A.D. 1076 to 1127; then follows a portion in Old Canarese; and then comes the passage containing the mention of Pulikêśî II and the above date, in Sanskṛit, and copied manifestly from a copper-plate inscription. That this portion of the inscription is not original and genuine is also shown conclusively by the fact that it states that the Śaka year 488 was the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*; at that time the use of the cycle of sixty *saṁvatsaras* had not been introduced. And Śaka 488 was *not* the time of the *second* Pulikêśî.

II, in the Śaka year 507‡ (A. D. 585-6), which the inscription makes equivalent to the year of the Kaliyuga 3551 §, and to the year of the era of the war of the Mahâbhârata 3731.‖ Dr. Bhau Dâjî has already noticed this inscription, from the photograph, in the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, No. xxvii, Vol. but he varies in his interpretation of the date; at page 315 he takes it as Śaka 506, the 3855th year of the Kaliyuga and the 3730th year of the war of the Mahâbhârata, and at page cxcix, as Śaka 506, the 3506th year of the Kaliyuga, and the 3855th year of the war of the Mahâbhârata. The passage containing the dates is distinctly legible in both the original and the photograph, and I see no way of interpreting it but as I have done.

This inscription abounds in historical allusions. As affecting the history of these parts, the most important are the mention of the Kadambas and the Kaṭachchuris¶ and the references to Vanavâsî, to the Mauryas in the Koṅkaṇa, who were ejected by Chaṇḍadaṇḍa as the agent of Pulikêśî II, and to Âppâyika-Gôvinda, who was probably of the Râshṭrakûṭa family. In line 12 we have perhaps the earliest mention of this part of the country under its name of Mahârâshṭra. Vâtâpipurî, or Vâtâpînagarî, which was made the capital of the dynasty by Pulikêśî II, has not yet, I believe, been localized. There can, however, be no doubt that it is the modern Bâdâmi, the well-known remains at which are quite enough to show that it was in former times a place of much importance. Taking the old form of the name, 'Bâdâvi', which we meet with as far back as Śaka 622* (A. D. 700-1), the interchange of letters,— '*vâ*' with '*bâ*'; '*tâ*' with '*dâ*'; and '*pi*' with '*vi*',—is natural enough, whether we take 'Bâdâvi' as a Prâkṛit corruption of the Sanskṛit 'Vâtâpi', or whether we take 'Vâtâpi' as a name already known in Sanskṛit literature and therefore used as the nearest approach towards Sanskṛitizing a Dravidian name. But further confirmation of my proposition is forthcoming. There are two local *Mâhâtmyas*†; one connected with the shrine of Banaśaṁkarî‡, and the other connected with Mahâkûṭa, also called Dakshiṇakâśî because of the innumerable *liṅgas* around it, a shrine about three miles away in the hills to the east of Bâdâmi; I have examined them both. The *Banaśaṁkarîmâhâtmya* contains nothing of importance, beyond mentioning the name of Bâdâvi. But the *Mahâkûṭamâhâtmya* transfers to Mahâkûṭa the destruction of the demon brothers Vâtâpi and Ilvala by Agastya, which myth is allotted in the *Purâṇas* to some unspecified place in the Vindhya mountains. The worthlessness of *Mâhâtmyas* as historical records is proverbial; but, in a matter of this kind, they involuntarily furnish valuable testimony. At whatever time the *Mahâkûṭamâhâtmya*, necessarily a somewhat modern production, may have been written, the writer of it was manifestly well aware that in some way or other the name of Vâtâpi was connected with the locality, and that, in writing such a record as he was desirous of producing, it was incumbent on him to explain the fact. He has given the only explanation that suggested itself to him, or that it suited his purpose to give; and, as usual, the explanation is incomplete and at first sight worthless. But the true inference to be drawn is clear; viz., that the name of Vâtâpi, however derived, is really and historically connected with the neighbourhood of Mahâkûṭa, and, in fact, that Vâtâpi and Bâdâvi are one and the same name and place.

Dr. Bhau Dâjî has already drawn attention to the literary importance of this inscription, as showing, by mentioning the poets Kâlidâsa and Bhâravi, that by this time their names were already well known and their fame established.

‡ According to the original, "five hundred and *six* years of the Śaka kings *having elapsed*".

§ According to the original, "(three thousand) five hundred and *fifty* years *having elapsed*". By the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, and by the table in Thomas's edition of Prinsep's *Antiquities*,—both of which follow the usual computation, according to which the Kaliyuga commenced on the equinox of March, 3102 B.C.,— Śaka 507 was the year 3686 of the Kaliyuga.

‖ According to the original, "three thousand seven hundred and *thirty* years *having elapsed*".

¶ See note ¶, page 71.

* *Vide* a subsequent inscription in this series, from a stone-tablet in the Kallamatha at Bâdâmi. 'Bâdâvi' occurs therein in a passage which is prefaced by the words "After that, these verses were given *in the Prâkṛit language*". This points rather to 'Bâdâvi', and thence 'Bâdâmi', as a corruption of a Sanskṛit 'Vâtâpi,' than to 'Vâtâpi' as a Sanskṛitized version of a Dravidian name. But it should be remarked that Prof. Monier Williams suggests only a doubtful etymology for 'Vâtâpi', and none at all for 'Ilvala'.

† '*Mâhâtmya*',—a work giving an account of the supposed history and merits of a holy place or object.

‡ *Vide* No. X of this Series, p. 19 of the present volume.

ŚILÂŚÂSANA AT THE MÊGUṬI TEMPLE, AIHOḶE, TÂLUKÂ HUNGUND, KÂLADGI DISTRICT. ŚAKA. 506.

Size of the original, 4'· 10½" by 2'· 1".

*Transcription.*

[1]जयति भगवाञ्जि(ज्ञि)नेन्द्रो §....ज¶....र(?क्ष)णजन्मनो यस्य ज्ञानसमुद्रान्तर्ग्गतमखिलञ्जगदन्तरीपमिव ।(॥) तदनु चिरमपरिमेयश्चलुक्यकुलविपुलजलनिधिर्ज्जयति ॥(।) पृथिवीमौली(लि)ललामो यᳶ* प्रभवᳶ पुरुषरत्नानाम् ॥ शूरे विदुषि च विभजन्दानम्मानञ्च युगपदेकत्र ॥(।) [2]अविहितयाथातथ्यो जयति च सत्याश्रयस्सुचिरम् ॥ पृथिवीवल्लभशब्दो येषामन्वर्थताञ्चिरञ्जात:† तद्वंशेषु जिगीषुषु तेषु बहुष्वप्यतीतेषु ॥ नानाहेतिशताभिघातपतितभ्रान्ताश्वपत्तिद्विपे नृत्यद्भीमकबन्धखड्गकिरणज्वालासहस्र(स्रे) रणे [3]लक्ष्मीर्भावितचापलादिव कृता शौर्य्येण येनात्मसात् राजासीज्जयसिङ्घवल्लभ इति ख्यातश्चलुक्यान्वय: ।(॥) तदात्मजो भूद्र(द्) रणरागनामा दिव्यानुभावो जगदेकनाथः अमानुषत्वं किल यस्य लोक: स्सु(सु)प्तस्य जानाति वपुᳶप्रकर्षात् [॥] तस्याभवत्तनूजᳵ पुलिकेशि(शी) य‡(य:) श्रितेन्दुकान्तिरपि [4]श्रीवल्लभो प्ययासीद्वातापिपुरीवधूवरताम् ॥ यत्त्रिवर्ग्गपदवीमलं क्षितौ नानुगन्तुमधुनापि राजकम् भूश्च येन हयमेधयाजिना प्रापितावभृथमज्जना बभौ [॥] नळमौर्य्यकदम्बकाळरात्रिः(त्रि)स्तनयस्तस्य बभूव कीर्त्तिवर्म्मा परदारनिवृत्तचित्तवृत्ते§§रपि धीर्यस्य रिपुश्रि[5]यानुकृष्टा ॥ रणपराक्रमलब्धजयश्रिया सपदि येन विरुग्न(ग्ण)मशेषतः नृपतिगन्धगजेन महौजसा पृथुकदम्बकदम्बकदम्बकम् [॥] तस्मिन्सुरेश्वरविभूतिगताभिलाषे राजाभवत्तदनुजᳵ¶¶ किल मङ्गलि(ली)शः यᳶ पूर्व्वपश्चिमसमुद्रतटोषिताश्व(श्वः) सेनारजᳶपटविनिर्म्मितदिग्वितानः [॥] स्फुरन्मयूखैरसिदीपिकाशतैः [6]व्युदस्य मातङ्गतमिस्रसञ्चयम् अवाप्तवान्यो रणरङ्गमन्दिरे क(?के)ट(?ळ)च्चुरिश्रीललनापरिग्रहाम् ॥ पुनरपि च बिघृक्षोस्सैन्यमाक्रा(क्रा)न्तसालम् रुचिरबहुपताकं रेवतीद्वीपमाशु(शु) सपदि महदुदन्वत्तोयसंक्रा(क्रा)न्तबिम्बं वर(रु)णबलमिवाभूदागतं यस्य वाचा ॥ तस्याग्रजस्य तनये नहुषानुभावे(वे) लक्ष्म्या किलाभि[7]लषिते पुलिकेशिनाम्नि सासूयमात्मनि भवन्तमतᳶ पितृव्यम् ज्ञात्वापरुद्धचरितव्यवसायबुद्धौ [॥] स यदुपचितमन्त्रोत्साहशक्तिप्रयोगक्षपितबलविशेषो मङ्गलि(ली)शो(श)स्समन्तात् स्वतनयगतराज्यारम्भयत्नेन सार्द्धं निजमतनु च राज्यञ्जीवितञ्चोज्झति स्म ॥ तावत्तच्छत्रभङ्गे जगदखिलमरात्यन्धकारोपरुद्धं [8]यस्यासह्यप्रतापद्युतिततिभिरिवाक्रा(क्रा)न्तमासीत्प्रभातम् नृत्यद्विद्युत्पताकैᳶ प्रजविनि मरुति क्षुण्णपर्य्यन्तभागैर्ग्गर्ज्जद्भिर्व्वारिवासै(है)रालिकुलमलिनं व्योम यातं कदा वा ॥ लब्ध्वा

§ Two letters here are almost illegible and very doubtful. The first seems to be '*di*', '*dî*', '*ri*', or '*rî*', and the second some compound letter the first part of which is '*n*'.

¶ Two letters are illegible here.

* We have here, and in several places further on, the old form of the Visarga, called in this case Upadhmânîya, before '*p*' and '*ph*'. The sign is identical with the letter '*r*', and is called by Vôpadeva 'Gajakumbhâkriti', 'that which has the shape of the two projections on the forehead of an elephant which swell in the rutting season'. It is used sometimes where in classical Sanskrit '*sh*' is written, *e.g.* '*puṛpa*' for '*pushpa*.'

† The original here is quite distinct. '*Jâta*', *born*, is written by mistake for '*yâta*', *went to*; the date of the inscription is, I think, too early for this to be taken as even an early instance of writing and pronouncing '*j*', considered as a single letter, for '*y*'.

‡ This letter,—'*ya*',—was at first omitted in the original and then inserted above the line.

§§ The original has '*chitta*' in the line and '*vritta*' inserted below.

¶¶ We have here, and in several places below, the old form of the Visarga, called in this case *Jihvâmûlîya*, before '*k*' and '*kh*'. This sign is of frequent occurrence in the older inscriptions, and is identical in form with the letter '*n*'. Dr. Burnell, though referring to it as being called by Vôpadêva 'Vajrâkriti', 'that which has the shape of a thunder-bolt', does not notice it further in his *South-Indian Palæography*. It occurs in line 5 of Plate 20 of his book; where he reads '*samat-kalu-yâta-dharmma-yamkânti-kirtti*', &c., and proposes as a correction '*saṁkrânti*', *passage of the sun from one sign of the zodiac into another*. The proper reading is '*ya*[*śa*]*ḥ-kânti*', &c., the engraver having omitted the '*śa*' of '*yaśaḥ*' *fame*.

कालं भुवमुपगते जेतुमाप्पायिकाख्ये गोविन्दे च द्विरदनिकरैरुत्तराम्भोधिरथ्याः(थ्यः) य-
स्यानीकैर्युधि भयरसज्ञत्वमेकः प्रयातस्तत्रावाप्तम्फलमुपकृतस्या[9]परेणापि सद्यः ।(॥) वर-
दातुङ्गतरङ्गरङ्गविलसद्धंसानदीमेखलां वनवासीमवमृद्गतस्सुरपुरप्रस्पर्द्धनीं सम्पदा महता यस्य
वलार्ण्णवेन परितस्सञ्छादितोर्व्वीतलं । स्थलदुर्ग्गञ्जलदुर्ग्ग*तामिव गतं तत्तत्क्षणे पश्य-
ताम् [॥] गङ्गाम्बु पे(पी)त्वा व्यसनानि सप्त हित्वा पुरोपार्ज्जितसंपदो पि
गस्यानुभावोपनतास्सदासन्ना[10]सन्नसेवामृतपानशौण्डः(ण्डाः) [॥] कोङ्कणेषु यदादिष्टचण्डदण्डाम्बु-
वीचिभिः उदस्तास्तरसा मौर्य्यपल्वलाम्बुसमृद्धयः ।(॥) अपरजलधेर्ल्लक्ष्मीं यस्मिन्पुरीम्पुरभि-
त्प्रभे मदगजघटाकारैर्न्नावां शतैरवमृद्गति जलदपटलानीकाकीर्ण्णन्नवोत्पलमेचकञ्जलनिधिरिव व्यो-
मव्योम्नस्स[11]मो भवदम्बुभिः(धिः) [॥] प्रतापोपनता यस्य लाटमाळवगूर्ज्जराः दण्डो-
पनतसामन्तचर्य्या वर्य्या इवाभवन् ॥ अपरिमितविभूतिस्फीतसामन्तसेनामुकुटमणिमयूखाक्का(क्रा)-
न्तपादारविन्दः युधि पतितगज(जे)न्द्रानीकवी(बी)भत्सभूतो भयविगळितहर्षो येन चाकारि
हर्षः ॥ भवमुरुभिरनीकैश्शा[12]सतो यस्य रेवा विविधपुलिनशोभा वन्ध्य(न्ध्य)विन्ध्यो-
पकण्ठा अधिकतरमराजत्स्वेन तेजोमहिम्ना शिखरिभिरिभवर्ज्या वर्प्म(र्ष्म)णा(णां) स्पर्द्धयेव [॥]
विधिवदुपचिताभिश्शक्तिभिश्शक्क(क्र)कल्पस्तिसृभिरपि गुणौघैस्स्वैश्च महाकुलाद्यैः अनमदधिप-
तित्वं यो महाराष्ट्रकाणां नवनवतिसहस्रग्रामभाजां त्रयाणां [॥] गृहिणां स्व-
[13]स्व†गुणैस्त्रिवर्ग्गतुङ्गा विहितान्यक्षितिपालमानभंङ्गा(ङ्गाः) अभवन्नुपजातभीतिलिङ्गा यदनीकेन सको-
[स‡]लाX कलिङ्गा(ङ्गाः) [॥] पिष्टं पिष्टपुरं येन जातं दुर्ग्गमदुर्ग्गमञ्चित्रं यस्य
कलेर्वृत्तं जातं दुर्ग्गमदुर्ग्गमम् ॥ सन्नद्धवारणघटास्थगितान्तराळम् नानायुधक्षतनरक्षतजाङ्ग-
रागम् आसीज्जलं यदवमर्द्दितमभ्रगर्भाकौण(णा)ळम[14]म्बरमिवोर्ज्जितसान्ध्यरागम् ॥ उद्धूतामल-
चामरध्वजशतच्छत्रान्धकारैर्व्वलैः शौर्य्योत्साहरसोद्धतारिमथनैर्म्मौलादिभिष्षड्विधैः आक्का(क्रा)न्तात्मबलोन्न-
तिम्बलरजस्सञ्छन्नकाञ्चीपुरः प्राकारान्तरितप्रतापमकरोद्यः पल्लवानाम्पतिम् / ॥ कावेरी दृत-
शफरीविलोलनेत्रा चोळानां सपदि जयोद्यतस्य यस्य प्रश्च्योतन्मदगजसे[15]तुरुद्धनीरा
संस्पर्शं परिहरति स्म रत्नराशेः ॥ चोळकेरळपाण्ड्यानाम् यो भूत्तत्र महर्द्धये
पल्लवानीकनीहारतुहिनेतरदीधितिः ॥ उत्साहप्रभुमन्त्रशक्तिसहिते यस्मिन्समन्ता दिशो जित्वा
भूमिपतीन्विसृज्य महितानाराद्धय(ध्य) देवद्विजान् वातापीन्नगरीम्प्रविश्य नगरीमेकामिवोर्व्वीमिमाम्
चञ्चन्नीरधिनीलनीरपरिखां [16]सत्याश्रये शासति ॥ त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाह-
वादितः सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु शतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु [॥] पञ्चाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु
पञ्चशतासु च समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम् ॥ तस्याम्बुधित्रयनिवारि-
तशासनस्य [17]सत्याश्रयस्य परमाप्तवता प्रसादं शैलञ्जिनेन्द्रभवनम्भवनम्महिम्नान्निर्म्मापितम्म-
तिमता रविकीर्त्तिनेदम् ॥ प्रशस्तेर्व्वसतेश्चास्याः(स्या) जिनस्य त्रिजगद्गुरोX कर्त्ता का-

* Between '*durgga*' and '*tâmiva*' the original has '*ta-mituga*', engraved by mistake and then partially erased.

† This second '*sva*' is redundant and unmeaning.
‡ This letter,—'*sa*',—is omitted altogether in the original.

रयिता चापि रविकीर्त्तिχ कृती स्वयम् ॥ येनायोजितवेश्म स्थिरमर्त्थविधौ वि- वेकिना जिनवेश्म स वि§जयतां रविकीर्तिχ कविता[18]श्रितकाळिदासभारविकीर्त्तिः [॥] ¶ಮೂ ಶ್ರಿ(?)ವಳ್ಳ ಛೆ(?ವೆ)ಬ್ಬಿ(?ಯ್ಬಿ)ಕವಾಡಪರ್ವ್ವನೂಗ್ಗ ಗಜ್ಗ ವೃಷ್ಣ ಳಗೆಡೆಗಣ್ಣ ವಗ್ರಾಮ(ಮಾ) ಇತಿ ಅಸ್ಯ ಭುಕ್ತಿ- (ಕ್ತಿ:) [।] ಗಿರಿ(ರೇ)ಸ್ತಟಾತ್ಪಶ್ಚಿಮಾಭಿಗತ(ತಂ) ಭೀಮೂವಾರಿಯ್ಯಾವ(ವತೀ) ಮಹಾಪಥಾನ್ತಪುರಸ್ಸ ಸೀಮಾ ಉತ್ತರತ:(ತೋ) ದಕ್ಷಿಣತ: [॥] [19][ಅ?]ವ(?)ಸಾನ [॥]

*Translation.*

Victorious is the holy one, J i n ê n d r a; the whole world is as it were an island in the centre of the sea which is the knowledge of him, who was born from . . . . . .

And after that, victorious for a long time is the mighty ocean which is the C h a l u k y a family, a thorough acquaintance with (the greatness of) which is not to be attained; being the ornament of the diadem of the earth, it is the origin of jewels of men.

And victorious for a very long time is S a t y â ś r a y a*, who conforms to the truth even though it is not ordained by precept, bestowing charity and honour upon the brave and the learned at the same time and at the same place.

Many members of that race, desirous of conquest, whose title of 'favourite of the world' enjoyed for a long time the condition of being a title the meaning of which was obvious and suitable, having passed away:—

There was the descendant of the Chalukyas, the famous king J a y a s i ṅ h a v a l l a b h a, who, with his bravery, won for himself the goddess of fortune, as if it were through the fickleness that is known to exist in her, in warfare in which the bewildered horses and foot-soldiers and elephants were felled by the blows of many hundreds of weapons, and in which there flashed thousands of the rays of the swords of dancing and fear-inspiring headless trunks.

His son was he who bore the name of R a ṇ a r â g a, of god-like dignity, the sole lord of the world; verily, through the excellence of his body, mankind recognized, even while he was asleep, that he was of more than human essence.

His son was P u l i k ê ś î, who, even though he had attained the lustre of the moon, and though he was the favourite of the goddess of fortune, aspired to become the bridegroom of the bride which was the city of V â t â p i p u r î. † Even now no kings upon the earth can imitate his practice of the three pursuits of life‡; and the earth became radiant in being endowed by him, who performed horse-sacrifices, with the purificatory ablutions that are performed after sacrifices.

His son was K î r t t i v a r m â, the night of death to the N a ḷ a s and the M a u r y a s and the K a d a m b a s; though he withheld his thoughts from the wives of other men, yet his mind was attracted by the goddess of the fortunes of his enemies. Straightway the mighty Kadamba-tree which was the confederacy of the K a d a m b a s, was broken to pieces by him, the mighty one, a very choice elephant of a king, who had acquired the goddess of victory by his prowess in war. When he had concentrated his desires on the dominion of power and dignity of the lord§ of the gods|| :—

His younger brother M a ṅ g a l i ś a, whose horses were picketed on the shores of the oceans of the east and the west, and who covered all the points of the compass with a canopy through the dust of his armies, became king. Having with hundreds of scintillating torches, which were swords, dispelled the darkness, which was the race of the M â t a ṅ g a s, in the bridal pavilion of the field of battle he obtained as his wife the lovely woman who was the goddess of the fortunes of the K a ṭ a c h c h u r i s.¶ And again, when he wished quickly to capture the island of

§ In the original '*ja*' was at first written, then the '*j*' was erased and '*i*' inserted above the line and '*v*' below it.

¶ The characters here are of the same original type as those of the rest of the inscription; but they are larger and not so neat; in fact, they are fully developed Old Canarese letters, as if this portion was added later. Accordingly, I have here transcribed in the Canarese characters.

* P u l i k ê ś î II,—first mentioned under his proper name in line 7 of the text,—the reigning monarch at the time of this inscription.

† It is therefore to be inferred that it was Pulikêśî I. who first made V â t â p i p u r î the capital of his family, probably acquiring it by conquest from some other dynasty.

‡ The '*trivarga*' or *three pursuits of life* are '*dharma*', *religion* or *virtue*, '*kâma*', *pleasure*, and '*artha*', *wealth* or *that which is useful*. Another '*trivarga*' is *the three conditions of a king* or *kingdom*, viz., *progress*, *remaining stationary*, and *decline*.

§ Indra. || *i.e.*, 'when he died'.

¶ The second letter of this word is distinctly '*ṭa*' in the original. But most probably K a ḷ a c h c h u r i, by poetic license for 'Kaḷachuri', is intended,—'*ṭa*' and '*ḷa*' in this inscription being not very dissimilar in form, so that the engraver, if engraving from a copy, may perhaps have written '*ṭa*' by mistake for '*ḷa*'. Or, perhaps, *Kaṭachchuri* may be a second form of the original name. In the Yêwûr

Rêvatîdvîpa*, straightway his mighty army, which abounded in splendid banners, and which had beset the ramparts,—being reflected in the water of the ocean,—was as if it were the army of Varuṇa, that had come at his command. When his elder brother's son, named Pulikêśi, of dignity like that of Nahusha, was desired by the goddess of fortune†, and had his actions and his determination and his intelligence perverted by the knowledge that his uncle was enviously disposed towards him,—he, Maṅgalîśa, whose advantage of power was completely destroyed by the use of the faculties of counsel and energy that were accumulated by him‡, lost his mighty kingdom and his life in the attempt to secure the sovereignty for his own son.

The whole world, which then, in this interruption of the succession, was enveloped by the darkness of enemies, was lit up by the masses of the lustre of his unendurable splendour; otherwise, when was it that the dawn (again) bespread the sky, which was as black as a swarm of bees, by reason of the thunderclouds which had the glancing lightning for their banners, and the edges of which were bruised (by striking against each other) in the rushing wind? And when, having obtained an opportunity, Gôvinda, who bore the title of Âppâyika, came to conquer the earth with his troops of elephants§, then at the hands of the armies of him||, who was straightway assisted even by the western (ocean), the warrior, who was the ocean of the north, acquired in war a knowledge of the emotion of fear, the reward which he there obtained.¶ When he was laying siege to Vanavâsi, girt about by the river Haṁsânadî which disports itself in the theatre which is the high waves of the Varadâ**, and surpassing with its prosperity the city of the gods,—the fortress which was on the dry land, having the surface of the earth all round it covered by the great ocean which was his army, became as it were, in the very sight of those that looked on, a fortress in the middle of the sea. Even those, who, having drunk the water of the Gaṅgâ and having abandoned the seven sins, had already acquired prosperity, were always eager in drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him, being attracted by his dignity. In the countries of the Koṅkaṇa, the watery stores of the pools which were the Mauryas were quickly ejected by the great wave which was Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, who acted at his command. When he, who resembled the destroyer of cities††, was besieging that city, which was the goddess of the fortunes of the western ocean, with hundreds of ships that had the resemblance of elephants mad with passion, the sky, which was as blue as a newly opened lotus and which was covered with masses of clouds‡‡, became like the ocean, and the ocean was like the sky. Being subdued by his prowess, the Lâṭas and the Mâḷavas and the Gûrjaras became, as it were, worthy people, behaving like chieftains brought under subjection by punishment. Envious because his troops of mighty elephants were slain in war, Harsha,—whose lotuses, which were his feet, were covered with the rays of the jewels of the chiefs that were nourished by his immeasurable power,—was caused by him to have his joy melted away by fear. While he was governing the earth with his great armies, the Rêvâ, which is near to the venerable (mountain of) Vindhya and which is beauteous with its varied sandy stretches, shone the more by virtue of its own glory, though it was deserted by its elephants from envy of the mountains in the matter of their size. Being almost equal to Śakra§§ by the three constituents of kingly power that were properly acquired by him, and by his own virtues which were his high lineage and others, he acquired the sovereignty of the three countries called Mahârâshṭraka, which contain ninety-nine thousand villages. The Kaliṅgas and the Kôsa-

inscription given in Sir W. Elliot's *Essay on Hindu Inscriptions*, Maṅgalîśa is described as "seizing upon the princes of the earth, and ravishing the power of the Kaḷachuris like a thunder-bolt".

* An unknown locality. But Raivata is a patronymic of Kakudmî, the ruler of Ânarta, a country in the peninsula of Gujarat the capital of which was Dvârakâ or Kuśasthali. [*Rêvati* is also a name of Mount Girnâr, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, and perhaps Rêvatîdvîpa is the peninsula.—Ed.]

† *i.e.*, 'was preferred by the people to Maṅgalîśa and his son'.

‡ Pulikêśi.

§ The Gôvinda here referred to was in all probability a Râshṭrakûṭa monarch. The Râshṭrakûṭas were famous for the possession of elephants; thus in the Yêwûr inscription reference is made to a force of five hundred elephants belonging to Krishṇarâja destroyed by Jayasiṁhavallabha.

|| Pulikêśi.

¶ The meaning would seem to be that Gôvinda was the lord of the northern ocean, and that Pulikêśi in opposing and defeating him was helped by allies dwelling on the west coast.

** The Varadâ, modern Wardâ, flows close under the walls of the present town of Banawâsi; and Haṁsânadî is probably the old name of a tributary stream of some size that flows into it about seven miles higher up.

†† Śiva, or Indra.

‡‡ Compared to the ships on the ocean.

§§ Indra.

l a s,—who by possessing the good qualities of householders, had become eminent in the three pursuits of life, and who had effected the humbling of the pride of other kings,—manifested signs of fear at (the appearance of) his army. Being reduced by him, the fortress of P i s h ṭ a p u r a became not difficult of access; the actions of this hero were the most difficult of all things that are difficult of attainment. The water which was stirred up by him, having its interstices filled by his dense troops of elephants and being coloured with the blood of the men who were slain in his many battles, was like the sky, which has the hues of evening much intensified by the sun among the clouds. With his armies, which were darkened by the spotless *chowris* that were waved over them and hundreds of banners and umbrellas, and which annoyed his enemies who were inflated with valour and energy, and which consisted of the six constituents of hereditary followers, &c., he caused the leader of the P a l l a v a s, who aimed at the eminence of his own power, to hide his prowess behind the ramparts of the city of K â ñ c h î p u r, which was concealed under the dust of his army. When he prepared himself speedily for the conquest of the C h ô ḷ a s, the (river) K â v ê r î, which abounds in the rolling eyes of the carp, abandoned its contact with the ocean, having (the onward flow of) its waters obstructed by the bridge formed by his elephants from whom rut was flowing. There he caused the great prosperity of the Ç h ô ḷ a s and the K ê r a ḷ a s and the P â ṇ ḍ y a s, but became a very sun to (melt) the hoar-frost which was the army of the P a l l a v a s.

While he, S a t y â ś r a y a, possessed of energy and regal power and good counsel, having conquered the neighbouring countries, and having dismissed with honour the (subjugated) kings, and having propitiated the gods and the Brâhmaṇs, and having entered the city of V â t â p î n a g a r î, was governing the whole world, which is girt about by a moat which is the dark-blue water of the dancing ocean, as if it were one city,—three thousand seven hundred and thirty years having elapsed since the war of the Bhâratas, and (three thousand) five hundred and fifty years having elapsed in the Kali age, and five hundred and six years of the Śaka kings having elapsed,—this stone-temple of Jinêndra, the abode of glory, was constructed by the order of the learned R a v i k î r t t i, who had acquired the greatest favour of that same S a t y â ś r a y a whose commands were restricted only by the three oceans.|||| The accomplished R a v i k î r t t i himself is the composer of this eulogy and the person who caused to be built this abode of Jina, the father of the three worlds. Victorious be Ravikîrtti, who has attained the fame of K â ḷ i d â s a and of B h â r a v i by his poetry, and by whom, possessed of discrimination in respect to that which is useful in life, the firm abode of Jina has had a dwelling-place allotted to it.

The hamlet of Mûśrivaḷḷi, and the town of Bhêḻtikavâḍa, and the village of Parvanûr, and the village of Gaṅgavûr, and (the village of) Pûligeṟe, and the village of Gaṇḍavagrâma,—such is possession of this (god). To the south of the slope of the mountain, as far as Bhîmûvâri extends, there is the boundary of the city of M a h â p a t h â n t a p u r a, on the north and on the south. (This is) the termination.

### No. XIV.

This is from Plate No. 32 of Mr. Hope's collection. The original is a stone-tablet at H a m p i or V i j a y a n a g a r a on the Tuṅgabhadrâ in the Baḷḷâri District. The characters are Canarese, differing from the modern forms only very slightly, and chiefly in the absence of marks to denote the long '*ê*' and '*ô*'. Down to line 26 the language is Sanskrit; from line 27 to the end it is Canarese. There are no emblems at the top of the tablet.

The inscription is one of the Vijayanagara dynasty, of the time of K ṛ i s h ṇ a r â y a, and records the grant of the village Siṅgênâyakanahaḷḷi to the god Virûpâkshadêva, in the year of the Śâlivâhanaśaka 1431¶¶ (A.D. 1509-10), the Śukla *saṁvatsara*.

*Transcription.*

[1] ಕಾಂಚೀಶ್ರೀಶೈಲಶೋಣಾಚಲಕನಕಸಭಾವೆಂಕಟಾದ್ರಿಪ್ರಮುಖ್ಯೇಷ್ವಾವಶ್ಯಾರ್ವಶ್ಯ ಸ[2]ರ್ವೇಷ್ವಪ್ಯತನುತ ವಿಧವತ್(ದ್) ಭೂಯಸೇ ಶ್ರೇಯಸೇ ಯಃ [।] ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನೇಷು ತೀರ್ಥೇಷ್ವಪಿ ಕನಕತುಲಾ-

|||| *i.e.*, 'who was the king of the whole of the country bounded by the eastern, the western, and the southern oceans'.

¶¶ According to the original, "the year of the Śâlivâhanaśaka one thousand four hundred and *thirty* having expired".

ಪೂ[3]ರುಷಾದೀನಿ ಸಾನಾದಾನಾನ್ಯೈರ್ವೋಪದಾನ್ಯೈರಪಿ ಸಮಮುಖಿಲೈರಾಗಮೋಕ್ತಾನಿ ಶಾನಿ || ರೋಪಕೃತಿ ಪ್ರತಿ[4]ಪಾರ್ತ್ಥಿವದಂಡಃ ಶೇಷಭುಜಃ ಕ್ಷಿತಿರಕ್ಷಣಶೌಂಡಃ | ಭಾಷ(ಷೆ)ಗೆ ತಪ್ಪುವ ರಾಯರ* ಗಂಡ್ಡಃ ರಾಜ(ಡ)ಸ್ತ್ರೋಪಕೃ[5]ದರ್ತ್ಥಿಷು ಯೋ ರಣಚಂಡ್ಡಃ(ಡಃ) || ರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಇತ್ಯುಕ್ತೋ ಯೋ ರಾಜ. ಹಿಂದುರಾಯಸುರತ್ರಾಣೋ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರಃ | ಮೂಱುರಾಯ[6]ರ ಗಂಡ್ಡ(ಡ)ಶ್ಚ ಪರರಾಯಭಯಂಕರಃ || ಆಲೋಕಯ ದುಷ್ಟಶಾರ್ದ್ದೂಲಮರ್ದ್ದನಃ | ರಾ[7]ಜಾಘಗಂಡ್ಡ(ಡ)ಭೇರುಂಡ್ಡ(ಡ) ಇತ್ಯಾದಿಬಿರುದಾನ್ವಿತಃ || ಅಂಗವಂಗಕಳಿಂಗಾದ್ಯೈಃ(ದ್ಯೈ) ರಾಜಭಿಃ ಸೇವ್ಯತೇ ಚ ಮಹಾರಾಜ ಜಯ ಜೀವೇತಿ ವಾ[8]ದಿಭಿಃ | ಸ್ತುತ್ಯಾದಾರ್ಯ್ಯಸ್ತುದೀಭಿಸ್ಸ [9]ವಿಜಯನಗರೆ ರತ್ನಸಿಂಹಾಸನಸ್ಥಃ ಕ್ಷ್ಮಾಪಾಲಾನ್ ಕೃಷ್ಣರಾಯಃ || ಆ ಪೂರ್ವ್ವಾದ್ರೇರಥಾಸ್ತಕ್ಷಿತಿಧರಕಟಕಾದಾ ಚ ಯಕ್ಷಿತಿಪತಿರಧರೀಕೃತ್ಯ ನೀತ್ಯಾ ನೃ[10]ಗಾದೀನ್ | ಹೇಮಾಚಲಾಂತಾ † ದಾ ಸೇತೋರರ್ತ್ಥಿ(ರ್ತ್ಥಿ)ಸಾ[11]ರ್ತ್ಥ(ರ್ತ್ಥ)ಶ್ರಿಯಮಿಹ ಬಹಲೀಕೃತ್ಯ ಕೀರ್ತ್ಯಾ ಸಮಿಂಧೆ ||

ಇಹ ‡ ಕಿಲ ಜಗತಿ ನಿಖಿಲೇ ಕವಿಕುಲಾಭಿನಂ[12]ದ್ಯಮಾನೌದಾರ್ಯ್ಯಧೈರ್ಯ್ಯಶೌರ್ಯ್ಯಾದಿಜನಿತಯಶಃಪೂರಕರ್ಪ್ಪೂರಪೂರಿತಬ್ಬ(ಬ್ರ)ಹ್ಮಾಂಡ್ಡ(ಡ)[13]ಕರಂಡೇನ ಸಮರಚಂಡೇನ ವಿಹಸಿತನೃಗನಳನಹುಷನಾಭಾಗದುಂ(ಧುಂ)ಧುಮಾರಮಾಂಧಾತೃಭರತಭ[14]ಗೀರಥದಶರಥರಾಮಾದಿಚರಿತೇನ ಕೃತಭೂಸುರತ್ರಾಣೇನ ಪರಿಭೂತಸುರತ್ರಾಣೇನ ಗಜಪತಿಗಜಕೂಟ[15]ಪಾಕಲೇನ ವಿದಿತನಾನಾಕಲೇನ ವದನವಿಜಿತಾಂಭೋಜೇನ ಭೋಜೇನಾಪರೇಣ ಕಾವ್ಯನಾಂ(ನಾ)ಟಕಾಲಂಕಾರಮರ್ಮ್ಮ[16]ಜ್ಞೇನ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಜ್ಞೇನ ಪ್ರತಿವರ್ಷಪ್ರವರ್ತ್ತಿತಕನಕವಸಂತಮಹೋತ್ಸ(ವೇ)ನಸವೇನ ಕೃತಾರ್ತ್ಥೀ(ರ್ತ್ಥೀ)ತವಿಪ್ಪ(ಪ್ರ)ಸಾರ್ತ್ಥೇ(ರ್ತ್ಥೇ)[17]ನ ಸಾರ್ತ್ಥೇ(ರ್ತ್ಥೇ)ನ ನಿಖಿಲನೃಪತಿಮೂರ್ದ್ಧ(ರ್ದ್ಧ)ನ್ಯೇನ ಧನ್ಯೇನ ನಾಗಾಂಬಿಕಾನರಸನೃಪನಂದನೇನ ನಿ[18]ಖಿಲಹೃದಯಾನಂದನೇನ ಸಮರಮುಖವಿಜಯೇನ ವಿಜಯೇನ ದಿಶಾಂ ವಿಜಯ[19]ನಗರೇ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನಮಾರುಹ್ಯ ಶಾಸತಾ ಸಕಲಾಂ ಭುವಂ ಭುಜವಿಜಿತಸಾಂಪರಾಯೇ[20]ಣ ಕೃಷ್ಣದೇವಮಹಾರಾಯೇಣ ಭುವನಭರಣಸಾವಧಾನಾಯ ಶ್ರೀವಿರೂಪಾ[21]ಕ್ಷಾಭಿಧಾನಾಯ ವಿಶೀರ್ಣ್ನ(ರ್ಣ್ಣ)ವಿನತಜನಹೇಮಕೂಟಾಯ ಹೇಮಕೂಟಾಯತ[22]ನಶಾಲಿನೇ ಶೂಲಿನೇ ಮಧುರಫಲಘೃತಾದಿಹೃದ್ಯಾಯ ನೈವೇದ್ಯಾಯ ಸಿಂಗೇನಾಯಕ[23]ನಹಳ್ಳೀತಿವಿಖ್ಯಾತನಾಮಾ ಚತುಸ್ಸೀಮಾಭಿರಾಮೋ ಗ್ರಾಮೋ ದತ್ತೋ ವಿತ್ತೋಪಕಾರಿಣಾ [24]ರವಿತನಯಾನುಕಾರಿಣಾ ರಂಗ್ಗ(ಗ)ಮಂಡ್ಡ(ಡ)ಪೋ ಪಿ ವಿರಚಿತಸ್ತಸ್ಯೈವ ದೇವಸ್ಯ ತೇನೈವ ಪ್ರಕಟಿತ[25]ನರಜನುಷಾ ಪ್ಪ(ಪ್ರ)ಸೂನದ(ಧ)ನುಷಾ || ತದಿದಮವನೀವ ನೀಪಕವಿನುತಧರಾ ಯಸ್ಯ [26]ಕೃಷ್ಣರಾಯಸ್ಯ | ಶಾಸನಮತಿಖಲಿಶಾಸನತರುಕರದಾನಸ್ಯ ಸಾಪದಾನಸ್ಯ || [27]ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀವಿಜಯಾಭ್ಯುದಯಶಾಲಿವಾಹನಶಕವರ್ಷ ೧೪೩೦ ಸಂದು [28]ಮೇಲೆ ನಡವ ಶುಕ್ಲಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಮಾಘ ಶು ೧೪ಲು ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾರಾಜಾ[29]ಧಿರಾಜರಾಜಪರಮೇಶ್ವರಶ್ರೀವೀರಪ್ರತಾಪಶ್ರೀವೀರಕೃಷ್ಣರಾಯಮಹಾ[30]ರಾಯರು ಪಟ್ಟಾಭಿಷೇಕೋತ್ಸವಪುಣ್ಯಕಾಲದಲು ಶ್ರೀವಿರೂಪಾ[31]ಕ್ಷದೇವರ ಅಮೃತಪಡಿನಣ(ನೈ for ನಣ)ವೇದ್ಯ(ದ್ಯ)ಕ್ಕೆ ಸಿಂಗ್ಗೀ(ಗೀ)ನಾಯಕನಹಳ್ಳಿಯನೂ ಸ[32]ಮರ್ಪ್ಪಿಸಿ ದೇವರ ಸಂಮುಖದ ಮಹಾರಂಗಮಂಟಪವನೂ ಆಮುಂದ[33]ಣ ಗೋಪುರವನೂ ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿ ಆಮುಂದಣ ಹಿರಿಯ ಗೋಪುರವನೂ [34]ಜೀರ್ನ್ನೋ(ರ್ಣ್ಣೋ)ದ್ಧಾರವನೂ ಮಾಡಿಸಿ ಶ್ರೀವಿರೂಪಾಕ್ಷದೇವರಿಗೆ ನವ[35]ರತ್ನಖಚಿತವಾದ ಸುವರ್ನ್ನ(ರ್ಣ್ಣ)ಕಮಲವನೂ ನಾಗಾಭರಣವನೂ [36]ಸಮರ್ಪ್ಪಿಸಿದರು ದೇವರ ನೈವೇದ್ಯಅ(ದಾ for ದ್ಯಅ)ರೋಗ(ಪ)ಣೆ ಮಾಡುವದರೆ(ಕೆ) ಸಮ[37]ಪ್ಪಿ(ರ್ಪ್ಪಿ)ಸ್ತ(ಸಿದ) ಚಿಂನದ ಹರಿವಾಣ ೧ ಆರತೀಹಲಿಗೆ ೨ ಬೆಳೆಯ [38]ಆರತಿ ೨೪ ಇವ್ನೂ ಸಮರ್ಪ್ಪಿಸಿದರು || ೦ಬಾ ಧರ್ಮಕೆ [39]ತಪ್ಪಿದವರುಗಳು ಗೋಹತ್ಯಾಬ್ರಹ್ಮಹತ್ಯಾದಿಮಹಾ[40]ಪಾತಕಗಳ ಮಾಡಿದ ಪಾಪಕ್ಕೆ ಹೊ(ಹೊಂ)ದಲುಳ(ಳ)ವರು [ || ]

* These three words are Canarese.

† A mark of punctuation,— | ,—is unnecessarily placed in the original between the letters ಶಾ and ದಾ.

‡ This passage is an instance of *Gadya* or ornate alliterative prose.

*Translation.*

Again and again, for the sake of supreme happiness, at Kâñchî and Śrîśaila and Sôṇâchala and Kanakasabhâ and Veṅkaṭâdri and all other shrines and sacred places of pilgrimage, he§ performed according to due rite those many charities, commencing with gold weighed out against men, which, together with all propitiatory offerings, are prescribed by tradition. He punished the angry hostile kings; his arms were like (the coils of) the serpent Śêsha‖; he was earnest in protecting the earth; he was the punisher of kings who broke their promises; he satisfied those who begged of him; he was fierce in war. Being called the supreme king of kings, and being invested with the titles that commence with 'The supreme lord of kings; the punisher of the M û ṛ u r â y a s¶; he who is terrible to other kings; he who is a very Sultân among Hindu kings; he who destroys the tigers that are wicked people; he who is a very Gaṇḍabhêruṇḍa to the assemblage of (elephants which are) the kings',—he is served by the kings of A ṅ g a and V a ṅ g a and K a ḷ i ṅ g a and other countries, who say "Look upon us, O great king; be victorious and live long!" He, king K ṛ i s h ṇ a r â y a,—seated on a jewelled throne at the city of V i j a y a n a y a g a r a, and possessed of generosity that was worthy to be praised by the learned, and ever surpassing in the art of government Nṛiga and other kings,—having increased abundantly the possessions of both poor and rich men, shone radiantly with fame from the mountain of the east to the slopes of the mountain of the setting sun, and from the golden mountain to the Bridge (of Râma)*.

By the great king K ṛ i s h ṇ a d ê v a,—who, over the whole of this world, had filled the basket, which is the mundane egg, with the camphor of his fame, which was produced by his pride and generosity and firmness and bravery and other qualities, which were worthy to be applauded by poets; who was impetuous in war; who put to scorn the achievements of Naḷa and Nahusha and Nàbhâga and Dhundhumâra and Mândhâtâ and Bharata and Bhagîratha and Daśaratha and Râma and other kings; who effected the protection of Brâhmaṇs; who subdued Sultâns; who caused the fever of the elephants of (the king) G a j a p a t i; who had learned many accomplishments; who surpassed the Lotus-born† in power of speech; who was a second Bhôja‡; who was deeply versed in the drama and poetry and rhetoric; who was acquainted with religion; who every year celebrated the sacrifice of the lord§ of the great festival of the golden season of spring; who conferred contentment upon Brâhmaṇs and merchants; who was opulent; who was the highest of all kings; who was fortunate; who was the son of Nâgâmbikâ and king Narasa; who gladdened all hearts; who was victorious in the van of battle; and who, by conquest of the regions, had ascended the throne at the city of Vijayanagara, and, having put down warfare by (the strength of) his arm, was governing the whole earth,—the village that has the celebrated name of S i ṅ g ê n â y a k a n a h a ḷ ḷ i‖, and which was pleasing with its four boundaries, was granted, for the purposes of the oblation that is to be made with pitcherfuls of the fruit of the Madhura and other ingredients, to (the god) who has the name of Śrî-Virûpâksha¶, who is diligent in supporting the world, who has golden pinnacles bestowed by people who bow down before him, whose abode is on the altars of Hêmakûṭa**, and who is armed with the pike††; and by that

§ I have two long copper-plate inscriptions of the Vijayanagara dynasty,—one of H a r i h a r a II, dated Śaka 1301 (A.D. 1379-80), and one of K ṛ i s h ṇ a r â y a, dated Śaka 1434 (A.D. 1512-3),—and another of the same kind, of Krishnarâya, dated Śaka 1444 (A.D. 1522-3), is to be found in No. 6 of the photographs of copper-plate inscriptions at the end of Major Dixon's collection, and another, also of Krishṇarâya, dated Śaka 1449 (A.D. 1527-8), is given at pp. 39 *et seqq.* of Vol. III of the *Asiatic Researches*. The language of these is so similar, that they seem to have been taken from some handbook for the ready composition of inscriptions. The first six stanzas of the present inscription are drawn from the same source; hence the abruptness with which it opens, and the use in the original of the relative pronoun without an antecedent.

‖ The thousand-headed serpent, the emblem of eternity, which forms the couch and canopy on and under which Vishṇu sleeps during the intervals of creation.

¶ See Vol. IV, p. 332, note ‡. In line 8 of No. I of this series we have the phrase '*Mûṛurâyasthâna*', which I then translated, doubtfully, by 'he who has three royal halls of audience'. I am now inclined rather to take the expression as equivalent to '*Mûṛurâyasthâpanâchârya*', 'the establisher of the M û ṛ u kings'.

* The modern 'Adam's Bridge'.

† Brahma, who was born in the lotus that grew from the navel of Vishṇu.

‡ A sovereign of Malwâ, who flourished, it is considered, about the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, and was a great patron of learning.

§ Kâmadêva.

‖ *i.e.*, 'the hamlet of Siṅgênâyaka'.

¶ Śiva, 'who has an irregular number of eyes', the third eye being in his forehead.

** 'The golden-peaked',—one of the ranges of mountains dividing the known continent into nine plains, and supposed to be situated north of the Himâlayas.

†† The usual weapon and emblem of Śiva.

same king,—who conferred benefits by means of his wealth; who imitated the conduct of the son‡ of the sun; and who, (though) manifestly of human birth, was verily like him whose bow is formed of flowers,—the assembly-hall of that same god was constructed. This is the same charter of K ṛ i s h ṇ a r â y a, whose charities (acting like rain) produce the tree which is a most potent charter, who is of approved conduct, and for whom the earth is the famous bearer of Nîpaka-trees.

Hail! The year of the glorious and victorious and prosperous Śâlivâhanaśaka 1430 having expired, on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Mâgha of the Śukla *saṁvatsara*, which was then current, the great king, the brave and puissant Ś r î-V î r a-k ṛ i s h ṇ a r â y a, the glorious supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord of kings, at the holy time of the festival of his installation on the throne§, bestowed the hamlet of Singînâyakanahaḷḷi for the purposes of the oblation called *Amṛitapaḍi* of the god Śrî-Virûpâkshadêva, and caused to be built a great hall of assembly with a *Gôpura*‖ in front of it before the god, and caused to be repaired the older *Gôpura* which stood in front of that one, and bestowed upon the god Śrî-Virûpâkshadêva a golden lotus, inlaid with jewels of nine kinds, and an ornament called *Nâgâbharaṇa*.¶ And he gave, for the offering of the oblation of the god, one golden dish and two (golden) drums to be used in the ceremony of the *Ârati**, and twenty-four silver lamps to be used for the *Ârati*.

Those who transgress against this act of religion, fall into the sin of the slaughter of a cow, or the murder of a Brâhmaṇ, or the other great crimes!

‡ Karṇa, who was celebrated for his generosity.

§ Whether the anniversary day is intended, or whether this was the actual day of the coronation of king Krishṇarâya, is not clear.

‖ '*Gôpura*',—*the ornamented gateway of a temple.*

¶ An ornament fashioned like a cobra capella.

* '*Ârati*,'—*the ceremony of waving lamps before an idol.* This is usually a hereditary privilege, and frequent and violent disputes occur from time to time as to who is entitled to perform the ceremony.

## THE DHÂRÂSIṄVÂ ROCK TEMPLES.

BY THE EDITOR.

The town of Dhârâsiṅvâ,** 140 miles E. by S. of Puṇâ and 12 miles north of Tuljâpur, stands on the brow of the ghâṭs that separate the Solâpur Zillâ from Haidarâbâd, and which form the watershed between the basins of the Sena on the west, and the Têrṇâ, a large feeder of the Mânjirâ, on the east. It is fully 2,000 feet above the sea-level, and is the chief town of the tâlukâ of the same name. To the north-east of this town, in a ravine facing the west, is a group of caves known as Dabar Lena or Torlâ Lena, of some interest, though but very little known, and probably never before described.

There are six or seven of them,—four on the north side of the ravine, and three opposite to them facing the north-east. Beginning at the last to the west, on the north side of the gorge we shall take them in order.

The first cave is evidently only subsidiary to the next one, and does not seem ever to have been finished. It consists of a verandah 26 feet long by 7 wide, with two pillars in front each about 2′ 10″ square. Three doors pierce the back wall, and lead into what seem to have been intended for three apartments which have never been finished: the end ones are about 6′ 8″ wide each, and the extreme length of the one is 16′ 5″, and of the other 19′ 7″. The central room appears to have been meant for a shrine, but the dividing walls have been broken down.

On a level eight or ten feet higher we come to the great Lena of the group. Unfortunately, being cut in a reddish, loose, trap rock which has split down from above, the whole front, with the exception of a small fragment, has fallen down and now chokes up the entrance. Roughly speaking, the excavated area of this cave and its surrounding cells measures 105 feet in width by 115 in depth. It had in front a verandah nearly 80 feet in length by 10 feet wide, but all the pillars in front of it have fallen under the mass of rock from above, and only the pilaster at the east end remains: it had probably originally eight square pillars with massive bracket capitals. On the lower members of the bracket capital of the pilaster that still remains there is a good deal of leaf and roll ornamentation; the neck has twenty-four shallow flutes 6½ inches in length and 1½

** Latitude 18° 11′ N., longitude 76° 6′ E.

wide, with a small half-flower at each end, and a row of beading above and below. Under this is the usual belt of rich floral sculpture,—of a line of leaves, a second of arabesques, and a third of festooned garlands,—the three rows being divided from one another by lines of small beads. This style is found also at Bâdâmî, Ajaṇṭâ, Aurangâbâd, and other places. The central pillars in this verandah were doubtless also richly carved.

From the verandah five doors entered the great hall: of these all have disappeared in the ruin except one at each end, and the jamb of a third: the central and largest door was probably the only one with any sculpture upon it. The hall, now about three feet deep in mud and cowdung, is not quite square, but measures through the centre about 82 feet across by 79′ 3″ deep, and is about 10′ 2″ high in the middle, but 12½ feet in the black aisle, the roof being supported by thirty-two columns, arranged in two concentric squares. The inner square of twelve columns,—all octagonal, with square bases—measures very nearly 23½ feet each way inside. The outer twenty columns enclose a square measuring 55′ 2″ wide in front, and 59′ 2″ at the back, by 53′ 4″ deep, the pillars being all square with bracket capitals and carved necks, except four in front of the shrine which are round and with circular capitals. The spacing on the sides of this square, too, is unequal,—four pillars on each face, ranging with those in the inner square, are about 6 feet apart, while those at the corners are 13 feet each from the next in the line. The front aisle is not flat-roofed like the rest of the cave, but slopes upon each side to a ridge 5′ 9″ above the level of the roof.

On each side of the great hall are eight cells each about 8½ feet square, and at the back are six more and the shrine. In the cell in the north-west corner is a small hole in the floor, which is constantly filled with water. The second to the left of the shrine contains a small image which is worshipped as Hari Nârâyaṇ, and that next the shrine contains a black standing image of a nude Jina 6′ 1″ high, in a recess, with a triple plaster *chattrî* above his head. The recess and figure have all been carefully done up, some ten years or so ago, with plaster and paint (or pitch); and, without injuring it, it was impossible to say whether it belonged originally to the cave or not.

The shrine measures 19′ 3″ wide by fully 15′ deep, and 13′ high, and is occupied by a large black image seated on a *siṁhasana* with a passage five feet wide all round it. This image has also been carefully repaired with plaster and paint. It is exactly of the sort found in the larger Vihâra caves at Ajaṇṭâ and Aurangâbâd, and in one of those at Nâsik. The seat or throne is about 4 feet high and 6′ 10″ wide, supported at the corners by lions, and with antelopes or deer facing a wheel in the centre turned edgeways to the seat: this wheel, however, has been entirely broken away in this instance, but as it occurs in the next two caves there can be no doubt that it once occupied the same position here. Over the front of the seat hangs what is intended for the border of a rich cloth. The image sits with the legs turned up in front of the body, and the hands laid over them with the open palm turned upward: there is a large cushion behind his back, from behind which again issues the conventional griffin or *makara's* head. At each end of the *asana* and overlooking these figures stands a *chauri*-bearer with richly jewelled headdress and necklaces, and above each a fat cherub. All this, and the whole arrangements of the temple, answer exactly to the description of a Bauddha Vihâra. The image and attendant figures have been plastered and painted by Jains: it measures about 6 feet from knee to knee, 4′ 2¼″ across the shoulders, 3′ 6″ from the palm of the hand to the chin; the face is about 2′ 5½″ from ear to ear over the eyes, and 1′ 5″ in length to the hair, which is in curled folds with a topknot, and the ears are 7″ in length. But the body is—now at least—represented without the robe which can almost always be traced on Bauddha figures,—though this might have been obliterated by the black composition with which it has been covered, as it has probably altered the character and expression of the features,—but behind the head, instead of the nimbus, is a seven-hooded cobra with little crowns on each hood, all carefully painted to represent the natural colour of skin and spots. If this and the nudity of the figure are original,—then how came the Digambaras to imitate so closely the details of Bauddha images?

At a cistern, to which there was once access by a door in the west end of the verandah, now built up, and with a brick and lime basin in

front of the blocked-up door, are three loose sculptured stones, apparently of great age. The largest is a standing figure of a nude Jina with a serpent twisting up behind him, its seven hoods projecting behind his head.† The second, a short square pillar of very compact-grained stone, has a standing nude Jina on each face with a rude representation of triple *chattris* over their heads, and a couple of flowers or stars on the breast-bone. The third, a small slab of the same stone as the last, bears a seated Jina with canopy, a worshipping figure at each knee, and four in front of the seat, engaged apparently in music and worship, but rather time-worn. These and some other figures all seem to support the idea that this has for long, if not originally, been a Jaina temple.

The chamber in which these figures now stand is about 17 feet by 12, with two pillars in front, and two openings in the floor into a large cistern of water.

The fragment of the façade of the cave that is left, shows it to have been elaborately carved to a height of 7′ 4″, with the *chaitya* window ornament in the upper course, little imitations of temples with Jinas sitting inside, and other figures between, in the next; under them a line of lattice-work—such as occurs on the bases of some of the Nâsik caves,—then some smaller figures at intervals, and the usual quadrantal projecting member as the lower course.

Twenty-seven feet in advance of the cave, and on a considerably lower level than the floor, there has been a massive doorway 10 or 11 feet wide with carved pediment—cut apparently out of the rock *in sitû;* but it is now buried up to the lintel in the earth, and could not be excavated without giving trouble to the Brâhmaṇs attending on the modern temple of Mahâdeva that has been built just in front of it, and who seem to profit both by Śaiva and Śrâvak visitors to the place. On the centre of the pediment can be traced the almost obliterated lineaments of a seated Jina with a nimbus behind the head; on each side has been a large Nâga-headed figure with hands clasped in adoration, and the lower extremities carried out in wavy floral lines to the ends of the lintel;‡ there are also some subordinate figures almost quite obliterated.

From the west side of the water-cistern a passage enters the rock and, ascending, passes along above the front aisle of the cave; and another seems to have entered high up in the west gable end of the front aisle, and to have turned round and passed along above the front wall. What the object of these passages was I cannot conjecture, but by weakening the rock, they probably were the principal cause of its splitting along the line of the first, and falling down.

The second large cave is a little to the east of this, and, like it, faces the south. It is smaller, however, and, though in fair preservation, has been so long occupied, and is so cut up by stone and mud walls that it is not easily examined. It is about 59 feet square and 11 feet 3 inches high, the roof being supported by twenty columns, leaving an open hall of 35 feet square in the middle surrounded by an aisle. Two of the columns on each side are round, and somewhat of the pattern of those at Elephanta, but without the bracket, and flutings of the capital, and with a thinner and less projecting torus. The capitals are 3′ 7″ high, and round the neck of the shaft is a band of floral sculpture and festoons a foot in depth. The shafts taper from about 2′ 10″ to 2′ 7½″ in diameter, and stand on a low plinth. The square pillars have also square capitals very similar to those just described. On each side the cave and in the back are four cells, each about 8½ feet square. The shrine in the back is about 18 feet square, and contains a sitting Jina of very nearly the same dimensions as that in the first cave. An attempt has been made to cover and restore it with some black composition, but apparently this has been stopped after an abortive attempt on the face. And here again we have the attendant figures and the snake-hoods, exactly the same as in the other cave but without the plaster, and with the wheel in front of the *siṅhasana* almost entire.

In the cell to the left, or west, of the shrine is a figure of a sitting Jina on a high throne, with figures behind, similar to those already described, only the place of the cobra-heads is supplied by a plain *nimbus;* the wheel in front of the throne rests on a lotus-flower, the deer appear to have been omitted, while the lions are much damaged.

† A similar figure is carved on the wall of the Jaina Cave at Bâdâmi.—See *Archæol. Report for West. India,* 1874, Pl. xxxvi, fig. 3.

‡ Compare the *makara* figure on the old Jain temple at Paṭṭadkal in *Archæol. Rep.* 1874, Pl. xlv. fig. 2.

In the cell at the east end of the back wall a similar figure has been begun but never finished.

The verandah in front is 8′ 8″ wide, and supported by six plain octagonal pillars with bracket capitals, and the cave is entered from it by a central and four smaller doors. At the east end of the verandah a rough excavation has been made, leaving a large rough square block in the centre, perhaps intended for an image. Outside is a chamber 18½ by 8½ feet. The façade of the verandah has been ornamented by a line of *chaitya* windows enclosing circular flowers, with *fleur de lis* finials, and a flying figure at the side of each. The member on which these are projects, and is supported by elephants' heads with floral scrolls between.

Cave IV,—the third large one (close to this on the east side) is a hall 28 feet deep by from 26 to 27 wide, of which the roof has been supported by four round columns, now all gone except the capitals, which have supported a sort of square canopy. There is one cell on each side near the front of the cave—one of them unfinished; two in the back, but the partition between that on the east and the shrine has been broken through; and the door of a cell has been commenced on the right side. The shrine is about 9 feet 6 inches deep, and the Jina is very much disfigured by the crumbling away of the rock and the soot of ages. The floor is filled up, I know not how deep, with earth and cowdung, and the walls are encrusted with soot. The central door is surrounded by three plain facias, a roll moulding, and a border of leaves, while above it is a semicircular recess such as is also to be seen over the door of one of the *chaitya* caves at Junnar.

Crossing the head of the ravine, where there is a small torrent during the rains, and in the course of which there is a water-cistern cut in the rock, we come to the fourth cave,§ the front broken away, and the first compartment measuring 13′ 10″ by 9′, with the roof slanting up at an angle of about 30°. A door in the back leads into an inner room 9 feet square, very roughly hewn out; on the right side of it is a cell about 7 feet square, while on the left a similar one has been begun but left unfinished.

Cave VI., at some distance to the south-west from the last, is a large unfinished excavation nearly filled up to the roof with earth. The verandah is 44½ feet long by 8′ 8″ wide, and has had four octagonal pillars with bracket capitals in front. Inside, the cave is about 43¼ feet wide and 38 deep; but the pillars are only roughly blocked out. In the shrine, however, is a Jina with snake-hoods behind the head.

Cave VII. is well to the south of this, at the turn of the hill, and is only a verandah, fully 60 feet long, but quite choked up with earth. On the frieze over the front pillars, however, are several compartments containing scenes that seem to identify it as a Vaishṇava rather than a Jaina excavation. In one compartment are a group of cows with milkmaids, one churning, and Kṛishṇa with his brother. In another is a person of consequence seated on a low platform, with a story-teller in front relating some narrative, while a little behind is a rather corpulent *danseuse* making her habiliments fly up behind her head like the tail of a peacock; an attendant leans on a staff a little further back; and behind the principal figure are three women and a child. In another an elephant appears as the rear figure, whilst two figures on a raised seat occupy the other extremity, but the seven or eight intermediate figures are too much decayed to be recognizable. *Makaras* with floral terminations occupy the intermediate divisions.

Near the base of a hill to the south of this, crowned by a temple of Hâtlâ Devî—a form of Bhavânî—I found the trace of a cave on the east side; but after two days' excavation it turned out to be a water-cistern. I had been assured that thirty or forty years ago there was a large cave in this hill with cells, and was in hopes I had found it here. Some of the natives thought it was on the south side, but could not point it out when I took them all over that part of the hill.

To the east of this hill and south-west of Dhârâsiṅva are the Châmar Lena, excavated in a low ledge of rock. Of the largest cave, or group—for it is difficult to say which, the front having all fallen down—only irregular fragments remain. At the west end, and facing east, is a cell with moulding round the door, at each side of which there has been a figure with a high cap, and on the façade has been a line of figures, of which the right-hand one—Gaṇeśa—only can be made out. A little east from this is another cell that has once been at the back of a larger

§ That is, reckoning the first-mentioned small one as an appendage of the largest one, which may be called Cave I.

it has three plain facias round the door, and a thin partition, now broken through, divides it from a larger apartment apparently intended for a four-pillar cave, but the two on the west side are scarcely separated from the walls. Crawling along between the *débris* of the fallen front and the remaining walls we find two more cells, in one of which is a broken linga, and separated from it by a thick wall is another fragment of a four-pillared chamber. All the pillars are square with bracket capitals roughly blocked out. At the east end, facing west, is another cell but without any figure sculptures. The whole frontage is about thirty-five yards.

To the east of this and also facing north is another cave, varying in width from 26′ to 31′ 7″, and in depth from 25′ to 28′ 6″,—for none of its walls are straight nor at right angles. The front is supported by two octagonal pillars and corresponding pilasters, and the roof inside by eight pillars in two rows across, the four at the ends of the rows being unfinished square masses, the intermediate pair in the front row of sixteen sides, and in the back row octagons. The bracket capitals are only about 7″ deep, and but roughly finished. The door of the shrine has a moulded architrave with pilasters on each side, very similar to the doors to the shrines at Bâdâmi, or to the fourth cave at Elephanta. The shrine measures 7′ 10″ by 7′ 8″, and contains an altar 4′ 5″ by 2′ 8″ with a hole a foot square in the middle, and with the spout to the west. This is sufficient to decide that the cave is Brâhmaṇical, and, judging from analogies with other instances, I have little doubt but this was a Vaishṇava shrine. And it may be remarked here that all over this part of India we find Śaiva, Vaishṇava, and Jaina caves closely grouped together, as at Elora, Momînâbâd, Karusâ, Aihoḷe, and Bâdâmi.

At Nâganâth, a few hundred yards to the north-west of this, a fragment of an old cave or caves has been so built over by a Bhairâgi that it is impossible to make out what it has originally been. Outside stand a snake-stone and a bearded figure seated cross-legged with the palms of the hands placed together in front of his breast,—both very old.

A little up the river from this, and just above a pool at the foot of a small waterfall, is the Lâchandar Lena, consisting of two rude cells, and on the opposite bank, a cave nearly filled up, consisting of three chambers one behind the other, the first two about 20 feet from end to end and from 7′ 3″ to 8′ 4″ deep, and the innermost measuring 9′ 1″ by 8′ 1″. It is impossible to say what these small plain caves have been—probably the dwellings of Jogîs of olden times, without much regard to sects.

The question of age is still a difficult one with regard to rock-excavations. As yet almost the only fixed date we have found on a Brâhmaṇical cave is that of Mańgalîśa on the great cave at Bâdâmi.¶ On the Dhârâsiṅva caves I could not find any inscription except a trace of a few letters on a pilaster of the well at the Nârâyaṇ Bhau or Torlâ Lena first described: but of these the only syllable legible was the initial *Śrî* with the long downstroke found at Bâdâmi, Paṭṭadkal, and Aihoḷe of the sixth and seventh centuries. On architectural grounds I would tentatively assign the Jaina caves in Dâbarwali or Torlâ Lena to a date not later than the middle of the seventh century, and the Châmar Lena caves to the early half of the sixth, if not earlier.

*Karusâ*, 1*st January* 1876.

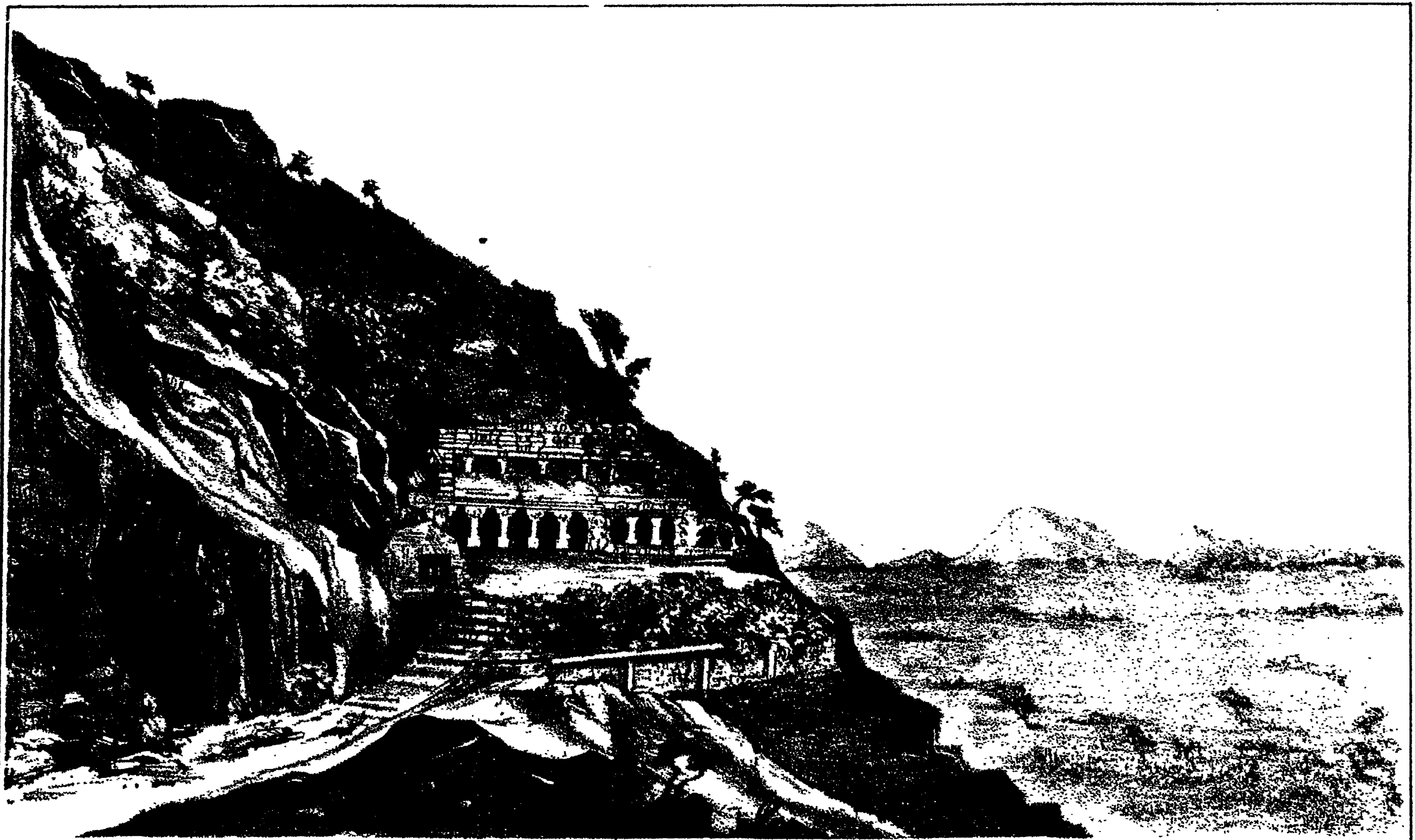
## NOTICE OF A SCULPTURED CAVE AT UṆḌÂPAḶḶI, IN THE GAṆṬÛR DISTRICT.

BY SIR WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I.

In looking through an old portfolio of drawings I came upon some sketches of a sculptured cave-temple in the Northern Sarkârs, which, as such works are rare in Southern India, may prove interesting to readers of the *Antiquary*.

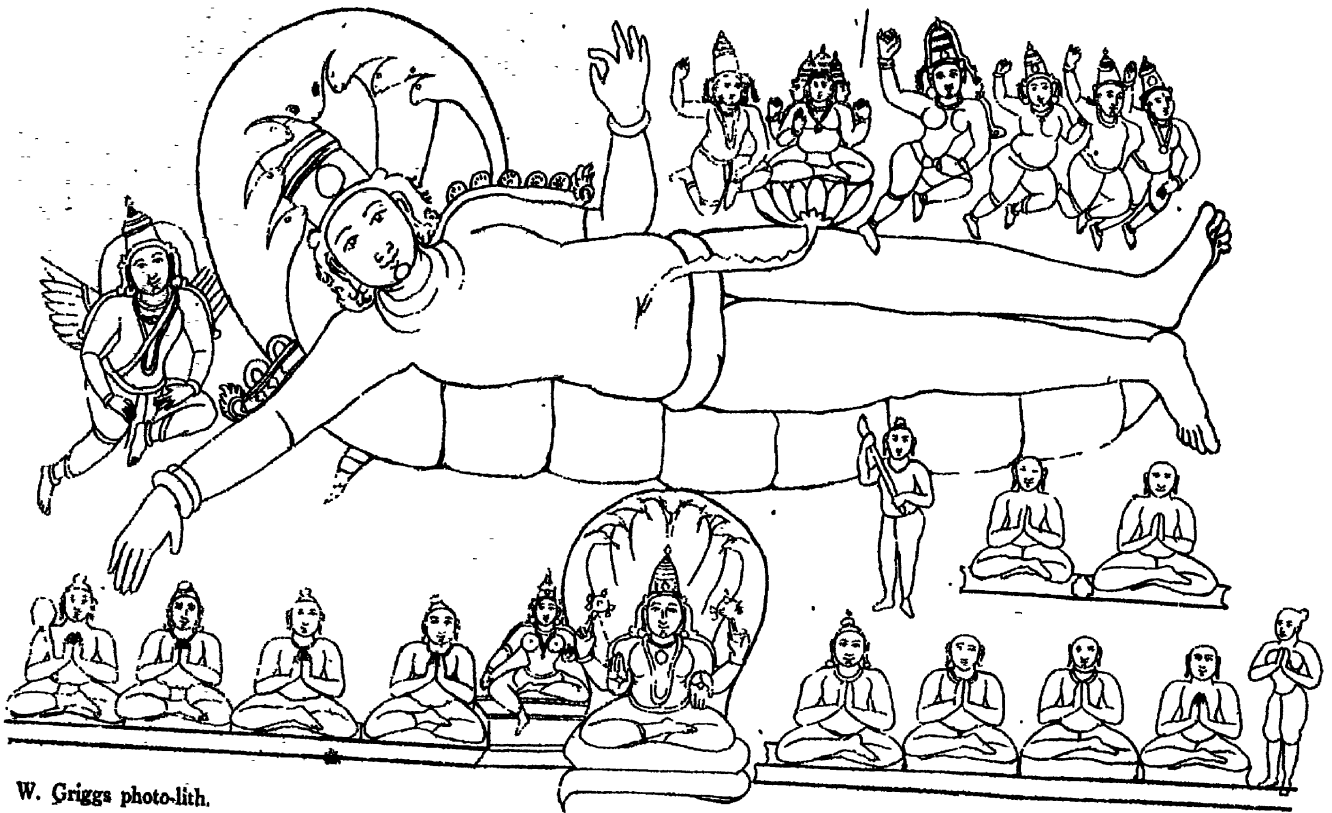
Uṇḍâpaḷḷi, or Vundapalle as it appears in the Gt. Trigonometrical Survey 4-inch scale sheet No. 94, is situated at the foot of a low range of rocky hills running nearly north and south opposite Bezwara (Bejavâḍâ) and the *ânikaṭ* across the Krishṇâ, from which it is distant about one and a half miles. The cave, which is easy of access, is excavated in the face of the rock about half-way up the hill, and appears to have been intended to consist of two stories. On the

¶ *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 305.



From a drawing by Lady Elliot — W. Griggs lith.

UNDILLE CAVES NEAR BEJWARA.



W. Griggs photo-lith.

SCULPTURE IN THE CAVE-TEMPLE AT UNDAVALLE. THE BIRTH OF BRÁHMA.

wall of the lower chamber is a representation of Nârâyaṇa with Brahmâ seated on a lotus issuing from his navel. There is nothing remarkable either in the design or execution of the group, which is one not unfrequently met with in figures of Hindu mythology. The sculpture has suffered somewhat from age, the connection of the lotus on which Brahmâ is seated with the recumbent figure being hardly perceptible. No inscription was found from which an opinion could be formed of the period to which the work might be assigned.

On the destruction of the Warangal State by the Muhammadans, in the middle of the 14th century, a local family of note—the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍâviḍu—seized on the lower valley of the Krishṇâ, and exercised independent authority over it for some seven generations, until it fell under the sway of Vidyânagar, about the end of the 15th century. Remains of buildings and other works on the hill-fort of Koṇḍâpiḷḷi exhibit considerable architectural merit, and a *maṇṭapam* at Bejavâḍâ, of which I possess a sketch, claims attention for its elegance of design. But I am disposed to refer the cave to an earlier period. In style and general character it bears a striking resemblance to the sculptures at Mamaḷḷaipuram, commonly called the Seven Pagodas, on the sea-shore to the south of Madras. One of the caves there* contains a representation of the same subject as that at Uṇḍâpaḷḷi, and treated much in the same manner. In another place† I have stated reasons for assigning a date anterior to the sixth century to the works at Mamaḷḷaipur. But where no direct evidence can be brought to bear on the subject I am unwilling to hazard dogmatic assertion. This notice will serve to direct attention to the place, and further investigation may be rewarded by the discovery of more certain data.

* No. 19 in the plan of Mamaḷḷaipur given in vol. XIII. of the *Madras Jour. of Lit. and Sc.*

† *Madras Jour.* XIII. p. 52. It should be added that the notes made at Uṇḍâpaḷḷi in 1851 were lost with my other papers, and these observations written from memory may not be accurate in all particulars.

## CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

### ŚRÂDDHA CEREMONIES AT BANÂRAS AND GAYÂ.

An account of some *śrâddhas* I saw performed at Banâras and Gayâ may possibly be acceptable to those who were interested in my description of a funeral ceremony at Bombay, in the present volume of the *Indian Antiquary* (p. 26). At Banâras *śrâddhas* are constantly performed near the Maṇi-karnikâ-kuṇḍa—a well, or rather small pool, of fetid water, not more than three feet deep, and perhaps not more than twenty feet long by ten broad, lying at a considerable depth below the surface of the ground, and declared in the *Kâśî-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purâṇa* to have been originally created by Vishṇu from the perspiration which exuded from his body. Its highly sacred character in the eyes of the orthodox Hindû may therefore be easily understood. It is said to have been named Maṇi-karṇikâ because Mahâdeva on beholding Vishṇu's well was so enraptured that his body thrilled with emotion, causing an earring to fall from his ear into the water. It is also called Mukti-kshetra, 'holy place of emancipation,' and Pûrṇa-śubhakara, 'cause of complete felicity.' This wonderful well is on the ghâṭ, called from it, Maṇi-karṇikâ, and is resorted to by thousands of pilgrims, who may be seen all day long descending the flight of steps by which the shallow pool is surrounded on all four sides. Eagerly and with earnest faces they crowd into the water, immersing their whole bodies repeatedly, while Brâhmaṇs superintend their ablutions, repeat and make them repeat *mantras*, and receive handsome fees in return. In a niche upon the steps on the north side are the figures of Brahmâ, Vishṇu, and Śiva, to which the pilgrims, after bathing, do honour by bowing down and touching the stones underneath with their foreheads. The bathers, though manifestly much dirtier from contact with the foul water, go away under the full conviction that they are inwardly purified, and that all their sins, however heinous, have been washed away for time and for eternity. There is another well of almost equal sanctity, named the Jnâna-vâpî, or 'pool of knowledge,' situated under a handsome colonnade in the interior of the city between the mosque built by Aurangzeb on the site of the original Viśveśvaranâth temple and the present Golden Temple. It is a real well of some depth, and not a pool, but the water is so abominably offensive, from the offerings of flowers and rice continually thrown into it and left to putrefy, that I found it impossible to do more than take a hasty glance into the interior of the well, or even to remain in the neighbourhood long enough to note all the particulars of its surroundings. All the day long a Brâhmaṇ stands near this well and ladles out putrid water from a receptacle

before him into the hands of pilgrims, who either lave their faces with the fetid liquid, or drink it with the greatest reverence. The supposed sanctity of this well is owing to the circumstance that the idol of Śiva was thrown into it when the original temple of Viśveśvaranâth was destroyed by the Musalmâns. Hence the water of the pool is thought to be the habitation of Mahâdeva himself, or at least to be permeated by his presence.

Close to the pool of Maṇi-karṇikâ, on the day I visited the ghâṭ, a man was performing a *śrâddha* for his mother, under the guidance of a nearly naked and decidedly stout Brâhmaṇ. The ceremony was the *daśmaśrâddha*, performed on the tenth day after death, and was evidently *ekoddishṭa*. The officiating Brâhmaṇ began by forming a slightly elevated piece of ground with some sand lying near at hand. This is supposed to constitute a small *vedi* or altar. It was of an oblong form, but only about eight or ten inches long by four or five broad. Across this raised sand he laid three stalks of *kuśa* grass. Then taking a number of little earthenware platters or saucers, he arranged them round the *vedi*, putting *tila* or sesamum seed in one, rice in another, honey in a third, *areca* or betel-nut in a fourth, *chandana* or sandal in a fifth. Next, he took flour of barley (*yava*) and kneaded it into one large *piṇḍa*, rather smaller than a cricket-ball, which he carefully deposited in the centre of the sand *vedi*, scattering over it jasmine flowers, *khaskhas* grass, and wool, and placing on one side of it a betel-leaf with areca-nut and a single copper coin. Then having poured water from a *loṭa* into his hand, he sprinkled it over all the offerings, arranged in the manner I have just described. Other similar operations followed:—Thus, for instance, an earthenware platter, containing a lighted wick, was placed near the offerings; ten other platters were filled with water, which was all poured over the *piṇḍa;* another small platter with a lighted wick was added to the first, then some milk was placed in another platter and poured over the *piṇḍa*, and then once more the *piṇḍa* was sprinkled with water. Finally the Brâhmaṇ joined his hands together and did *pûjâ* to the *piṇḍa*. The whole rite did not last more than ten or fifteen minutes, and while it was proceeding, the man for whose mother it was performed continued to repeat *mantras* and prayers under the direction of the officiating Brâhmaṇ, quite regardless of much loud talking and vociferation going on around him.

The *śrâddha* ceremony was concluded by what is commonly called the *Brâhmaṇa-bhojana*, or feeding of a Brâhmaṇ,—that is to say, another Brâhmaṇ was brought and made to sit down near the oblations, while the man for whose mother the *śrâddha* was celebrated fed him with flat cakes, *ghî*, sweetmeats, vegetables, and curds placed in a plate of *palâśa* leaves. I observed that these eatables were devoured with the greatest avidity by the man for whom they were prepared, as if he had been nursing his appetite with the intention of doing full justice to the feast.

MONIER WILLIAMS.

## PHALANDI, JODHPUR, JESALMER, AND POKRAN.

The town of Phalandi is an interesting place to come across in such a desert country. The stone tracery of the houses in its principal streets is very beautiful, and it possesses a large and well-built fort, the walls of which are over forty feet high. This fort has a small garrison, and its armament consists of a few antiquated field-pieces, which seemed quite unserviceable from rust and general neglect: in the centre of it there is a deep and capacious reservoir for water. The fort is commanded, but at a distance of 5600 yards, by the Ekka Hill, on which one of my stations is situated.

The city of Jodhpur lies at the foot of the hill on which the fort is situated, and at its southern side; the greatest length from north to south is about 2½ miles, and the greatest breadth ¾ of a mile. It is closed in on the north side by the fort, and on the east, south, and west by a high wall capable of mounting guns, having six gateways. It is a good specimen of a native city, and is kept fairly clean; there are many wells and three tanks: one of the latter, an artificial one (only completed last year), is very fine and large, its bed and sides being of *pakâ* masonry.

The fort is built on a hill, the highest in the neighbourhood, rising 420 feet above the surrounding country. There are two roads leading up to the fort, which unite a few yards distant from the gateway, and turn a sharp corner before reaching the gate; both roads are well protected by guns. Besides this there are two other gates to be passed before the fort is gained,—the first a small yet strong one in a narrow pass between two rocks, and the second a large one approached by a steep ascent, well commanded by guns, and, like the outer one, made difficult by being placed round a corner. Access to the fort from any other direction would be impossible, as the sides are sheer precipices of from two to three hundred feet. The country below is commanded on all sides by the guns of the fort. There is a good-sized tank in the fort.

The city of Jesalmer is much smaller than Jodhpur, its reported number of inhabitants being 10,000; but, from all I could see and hear, the place was once in a far more flourishing state, and the ruins of its former greatness are yet to be seen.

The water-supply for the city is obtained from an adjoining lake, and when this fails, which is generally the case early in June, good water has to be brought from the small village of Kisan Ghâṭ, which is about three miles distant. There are numerous wells in the city, but the water is not good. The city used to be closed in by a rampart, now useless, as the wall is rapidly crumbling to pieces, and has fallen in in many places.

The fort, once strong, is now in a dilapidated state, and would ill stand an assault; it contains no tank, but many wells. The Jaina temples in the fort are very fine, the carving in stone being exquisite: in fact this may be said of most of the houses in the city,—the doors, windows, and walls having more or less carving about them. The greater number of the inhabitants, who reside within the walls of the fort, consist chiefly of a mixture of Bhâti Râjpûts and Jains, and are, as a rule, great opium-eaters.

The town of Pokran is on low ground, closed in by hills to the north, south, and west, and high ground to the east. Water is very plentiful in the neighbourhood, and very good; the town possesses three tanks, fine large ones, reported to contain water throughout the year; besides these there are many wells. There is a small fort in the town, well built and strong in appearance, but quite commanded by the adjacent hills.

Close to the town is a large salt marsh about five or six miles in diameter, into which the drainage of the surrounding hills finds its way during the rains. From the water of this marsh, as also from that of another, somewhat larger in dimensions, near the village of Lowa (eight miles south-east), a small quantity of salt is reported to be obtained. —Mr. C. P. Torrens in *Genl. Report, Gt. Trig. Survey*, 1873-74.

## BHÎLLS IN THE ḌÂNGS.

The aboriginal Bhîlls are now very few in number, and rarely met with except in the retinue of their chiefs: since, if warned of the approach of a stranger, they will desert their habitations at once, and if surprised in the woods will flee and hide, almost before one is aware of their presence. They are slighter and smaller than the other races, and are chiefly noticeable from their extreme blackness, wild appearance, and scantiness of clothing. They live chiefly in bough huts, which may often be met with deserted, the Bhîlls having strange superstitions, and at once migrating if they think their locality is unlucky or haunted. They will seldom remain a fortnight in one place. They feed on all sorts of vermin and garbage,—many roots, and all fruits, coming with them under the head of food. They are a dirty and most degraded race, having no notions of equity or honour. Their one happiness is to get drunk. At Pimprî I saw the Bhîll Râjâ or Nâyak of that Ḍâng. He is said to be the best of the lot, but even he is only sober in the early morning; he possesses an elephant, but the state he keeps up is very small. Besides the inhabitants proper, there are parties of Hindu and Musalmân traders, called Banjârâs, who are continually bringing in salt and taking out rice, *nâglî*, and the like, carried in double bags by large droves of bullocks. The whole of a family marches together, and they encamp at night within walls built up with the bags. The women are very well dressed, and have a sort of head-dress peaked at the back, over which the *sârî* passes.—Lieut. T. E. Gibbs, R.E., in *Genl. Report, Gt. Trig. Survey*, 1873-74.

## TIBETAN FESTIVAL.

It is the custom in Tibet for every monastery to have once a year a commemoration festival, during which all the Lamas attached to it go through a performance which rather oddly combines the most seriously religious worship with great theatrical display, and even a certain amount of comic acting. On these occasions the Lamas wear a series of costly costumes, usually rich Chinese silks, curiously and handsomely embroidered, which they continually change as the performance progresses. They also disguise themselves in masks to represent the heads of various animals.

# BOOK NOTICE.

La Langue et Littérature hindoustanies en 1875. Revue Annuelle, par M. Garcin de Tassy, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur à l'Ecole Spéciale des Langues Orientales vivantes, &c.

This year the Annual Review is, as usual, replete with useful and interesting information. Lahor, Dehli, and Laknau are the principal centres of Hindustâni literature; and the *Mushâ'ara*, or poetical section of the *Anjuman*, in the first-mentioned place, where a committee of men skilled in grammar and rhetoric has been appointed to examine the productions submitted to the *Anjuman* of the Panjâb (whose patron is the Prince of Wales), has considerably increased its activity by holding numerous meetings where poets recite *ghazals*, which are printed.

A debt of gratitude is due to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjâb, as well as to Major Holroyd, the Director of Public Instruction, both of whom have zealously encouraged the establishment of this *Mushâ'ara*. To prepare and to keep up

this poetical *réunion* the Maulawi Husain Azâd, Professor at the Government College of Lahor, has, by the vigour and purity of his compositions and by the energy of his efforts, contributed more aid than any one else. Although Dehli is no longer the capital of India, it retains considerable literary importance; still that of Laknau is at present greater, because since the end of the last century the decadence of the Mogul empire attracted to that city numerous poets and men of letters to obtain the patronage of the Nawab of Oudh. Hence the boast of the inhabitants of Laknau that their language is more pure than that of Dehli, and that their poets are more eminent.

Urdû poets are as numerous as ever,—there are seventy-four in the Panjâb alone. New works likewise abound, which are not, however, all poetic: one of the most important is the *Nazm ulmamâlik*, a translation from the Arabic on "The organization of States," made at the desire of the Patiâlâ Government and printed at Laknau. Religious literature is well represented, not only from the Muhammadan, but also from the Christian point of view, by devotional and polemic writings; and the Shâhzâdah Mirza Naçir-uddin Haidar of Dehli will soon publish his *Târikh-i Panjâb*, an historical work of some pretensions, with detailed accounts of the successive governments. The *Mirat us-salâtin*, or "Mirror of Sultans," has been carefully printed in Dehli. Minor works on different subjects have also been published, and the list of Urdû newspapers is as copious as in former years. Old works are being republished, *e.g.* the Hindi version of the *Mahâbhârata*, the *Yajur-veda*, &c.

The latest Hindustâni books published in the Bombay Presidency were all printed in the city itself, except two Hindu mythological pamphlets—the *Śivarâtri Mâhâtmya*, "Greatness of the night of Śiva," printed at Ahmadâbâd, and the *Kiça-i Śrî Yal* at Puṇâ. M. Garcin de Tassy is justly indignant at the fantastic edition of the *Diwân* of Wali published at Bombay in 1290 (1873-74) by Kâzi Ibrâhim and Nuruddin, who, he says, were apparently not aware of his edition, printed at Paris in 1833, and, as he believes, the only one ever published before theirs. "In their preface they state that the copyists of this *Diwân* have committed many errors, but that this edition has been produced from several MSS. (*from two to four*, دو چہار), and that the text has been *corrected*," that is to say *altered*, as may be easily seen. This pretended correction is in part owing to the opinion of the new editors that the *Diwân* of Wali contains obsolete expressions, which, considering its date, is not surprising, and is incorrect, which may be true with reference to the present dialect of the north, but is certainly false with respect to the archaic dialect of the Dekhan, or *Dakhanî*. It is precisely this archaic style which imparts to the poetry of Wali a philological interest that adds to the intrinsic value of these *ghazals*, resembling those of Hâfiz, as much on account of the mystic thoughts abounding in them as on account of the frequently extravagant but varied figures of speech accompanying them. The editors seem, moreover, to have confounded the Wali surnamed *Babai rekhta*, 'the father of piebald poetry' (*i.e.* mixed with Indian and Persian words)—*i.e.* Shâh Wali ullah, *Dakhanî* of Aurangâbâd—with Wali uddin of Ahmadâbâd, a poet not mentioned by the original biographers whom M. de Tassy consulted in his *Histoire de la Littérature hindoui et hindoustanie.*

"When I produced my edition of Wali," he says, "I had at my disposal six MSS. of his *Diwân*, some of them very good, and I have given *facsimiles* of them. Since that time I have acquired *four* more, one of which is excellent, coming from the imperial library of Dehli, and bears the seal of the Moghul emperor Muhammad Shâh. These last MSS. agree with the first, and confirm the lections adopted by me. Thus my edition may be said to be authentic: for, contrary to the proceedings of the new editors, I was careful not to change anything in the text, and to assure myself of its exactness by an attentive scansion of each verse; and I have scrupulously retained the archaisms and peculiar expressions of the south; the Hindustâni of the Dekhan is, moreover, a distinct dialect, the peculiar rules and expressions whereof are given in special grammars.

"The new editors have followed a method entirely opposed to mine; they wished to *modernize* and to *septentrionalize* the original text, and thus denaturalized it. Not only have they adopted modern grammatical forms, but they have supplanted a great number of Indian words by Persian ones current in the north. They have left not a single verse without some change, and but few pieces in the order generally adopted in my MSS. They have also omitted many pieces, my edition containing 453, whilst theirs has only 373, so that they have 80 less, although there are some which do not occur in my edition." M. Garcin de Tassy then proceeds to give three pages of the new and of his own edition, and shows how impudently the new editors have altered the original to suit their own notions.

Like so many others, M. Garcin de Tassy is displeased with the wholesale importation of English words into Hindustâni where there is not the least necessity for them, *e.g.* "It is time for you to go to office," rendered by *Tumhari offis* (for *daftar-khânâ*) *jâneki ṭaim* (for *wakt*) *hai.* Natives ought to be like the ancient Arabs, who retained

only those Greek words which they could not render exactly; nevertheless Sayyid Ahmad Khân and some other writers in journals use many English expressions, just as if Arabic and Sanskṛit could not in the sciences and arts supply many words not existing in the colloquial, and even the formation of Persian or Sanskṛit compounds would be better than to borrow from English. It is rather surprising that this intrusion of English words has not met with any resistance yet, and thus neither the Aligaḍh, the Bihâr, the Panjâb, the Ajmir, nor other literary societies have taken measures to stop this torrent, which may ultimately so overwhelm Hindustâni (Hindi and Urdû) that the labour of purification will be insurmountable, but which, if now undertaken, would not be more arduous than that of the Germans, who have, since the last war, redoubled their efforts to extirpate French words from their language, and have well-nigh succeeded, at least in books.

The Review terminates, as usual, with obituary notices of the past year, and the first of them is naturally devoted to M. Garcin de Tassy's personal loss in his own wife, an amiable and virtuous lady, a true *pativratá*, whose unchanging gentleness and attachment, proof against all trials, constituted his happiness during more than fifty-two years. After this little tribute to the memory of his spouse, the mortuary notices of a few scholars follow:—The poet Mir Babar-i Ali Anis died at Laknau in Dec. 1874, at the age of about eighty years. Iltudus Prichard died Jan. 1875 at Dhera Dhun, aged 49; he was the son of the celebrated ethnographer, but himself produced several works to facilitate the study of Hindustâni, and co-operated in the translation of a work on *The Roman Laws*. His career was at first a military one,—he fought in the campaign of the Panjâb,—and afterwards he became editor of the *Dehli Gazette;* he wrote *The Administration of India from* 1859 *to* 1868, *the first ten years of administration under the Crown*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1860. Mirzâ Salâmat 'Alî Dabir of Laknau, known as a wit and poet, died there in March 1875. Lord Hobart, the patron of Muhammadan education, and General John Briggs, editor of the Persian text of Ferishtah, and translator of it, as well as of several other works, died on the same day, April 27, 1875. F. G. Eichoff, a distinguished Indianist, author of *Parallèle des Langues de l'Europe et de l'Inde*, and of many more books, died May 10, 1875, aged 76 years; and on the 26th of the same month Dr. R. Sinclair, Director of Public Instruction in Berâr, expired. His zeal in the cause of education was so great that during six years he raised the number of schools from 33 to 500, and his memory will long be cherished in Berâr. Lastly, M. A. Sédillot expired in Paris on Dec. 2, aged 67. He occupied various positions at the Collége de France, as the administrator of which he died, but his works on the sciences, and especially on the astronomy of the Arabs, secured him many admirers in France as well as abroad, among whom the celebrated Alexander von Humboldt was one.

E. R.

---

## TRANSLATION OF THE INDICA OF ARRIAN.*

BY J. W. M'CRINDLE, M.A., PATNA.

I. The regions beyond the river Indus on the west are inhabited, up to the river Cophen, by two Indian tribes, the Astaceni and the Assaceni, who are not men of great stature like their brethren on the other side of the Indus, nor so brave, nor yet so swarthy as most Indians. They were in old times subject to the Assyrians, then after a period of Median rule submitted to the Persians, and paid to Cyrus the son of Cambyses the tribute from their land which Cyrus had imposed. The Nysæans, however, are not an Indian race, but descendants of those who came into India with Dionysus,—perhaps not only of those Greeks who had been disabled for service in the course of the wars, which Dionysus waged against the Indians, but perhaps also of natives of the country whom Dionysus, with their own consent, had settled along with the Greeks. The district in which he planted this colony he named Nysæa, after Mount Nysa, and the city itself Nysa. But the mountain close by the city, and on the lower slopes of which it is built, is designated Meros, from the accident which befell the god immediately after his birth. These stories about Dionysus are of course but fictions of the poets, and we leave them to the learned among the Greeks or barbarians to explain as they may. In the dominions of the Assaceni there is a great city called Massaca, the seat of the sovereign power which controls the whole realm. And there is an-

* From Teubner's edition—Leipzig, 1867.

other city, Peucelaïtis, which is also of great size and not far from the Indus. These settlements lie on the other side of the river Indus, and extend in a westward direction as far as the Cophen.

II. Now the countries which lie to the east of the Indus I take to be India Proper, and the people who inhabit them to be Indians. The northern boundaries of India *so defined* are formed by Mount Taurus, though the range does not retain that name in these parts. Taurus begins from the sea which washes the coasts of Pamphylia, Lycia, and Cilicia, and stretches away towards the Eastern Sea, intersecting the whole continent of Asia. The range bears different names in the different countries which it traverses. In one place it is called Parapamisus, in another Emodus, and in a third Imaus, and it has perhaps other names besides. The Macedonians, again, who served with Alexander called it Caucasus,—this being another Caucasus and distinct from the Scythian, so that the story went that Alexander penetrated to the regions beyond Caucasus.

On the west the boundaries of India are marked by the river Indus all the way to the great ocean into which it pours its waters, which it does by two mouths. These mouths are not close to each other, like the five mouths of the Danube, but diverge like those of the Nile, by which the Egyptian delta is formed. And so in like manner does the Indus make an Indian delta, which is not inferior in area to the Egyptian, and is called in the Indian tongue Pattala.

On the south-west, again, and on the south, India is bounded by the great ocean just mentioned, which also forms its boundary on the east. The parts toward the south about Pattala and the river Indus were seen by Alexander and many of the Greeks, but in an eastern direction Alexander did not penetrate beyond the river Hyphasis, though a few authors have described the country as far as the river Ganges and the parts near its mouths and the city of Palimbothra, which is the greatest in India, and situated near the Ganges.

III. *I shall now state the dimensions of India*, and in doing so let me follow Eratosthenes of Cyrene as the safest authority, for this Eratosthenes applied himself to descriptive geography. He states, then, that if a line be drawn from Mount Taurus, where the Indus has its springs, along the course of that river and as far as the great ocean and the mouths of the Indus, this side of India will measure 13,000 stadia. But the contrary side, which diverges from the same point of Taurus and runs along the Eastern Sea, he makes of a much different length, for there is a headland which projects far out into the sea, and this headland is in length about 3,000 stadia. The eastern side of India would thus by his calculation measure 16,000 stadia, and this is what he assigns as the breadth of India. The length, again, from west to east as far as the city of Palimbothra he sets down, he says, as it had been measured by *schœni*, since there existed a royal highway, and he gives it as 10,000 stadia. But as for the parts beyond they were not measured with equal accuracy. Those, however, who write from mere hearsay allege that the breadth of India, inclusive of the headland which projects into the sea, is about 10,000 stadia, while the length measured from the coast is about 20,000 stadia. But Ctesias of Cnidus says that India equals in size all the rest of Asia, which is absurd; while Onesicritus as absurdly declares that it is the third part of the whole earth. Nearchus, again, says that it takes a journey of four months to traverse even the plain of India; while Megasthenes, who calls the breadth of India its extent from east to west, which others call its length, says that where shortest the breadth is 16,000 stadia, and that its length—by which he means its extent from north to south—is, where narrowest, 22,300 stadia. But, whatever be its dimensions, the rivers of India are certainly the largest to be found in all Asia. The mightiest are the Ganges, and the Indus from which the country receives its name. Both are greater than the Egyptian Nile and the Scythian Danube even if their streams were united into one. I think, too, that even the Acesines is greater than either the Danube or the Nile where it joins the Indus after receiving its tributaries the Hydaspes and the Hydraotes, since it is at that point so much as 300 stadia in breadth. It is also possible that there are even many other larger rivers which take their course through India.

IV. But I am unable to give with assurance of being accurate any information regarding the regions beyond the Hyphasis, since

the progress of Alexander was arrested by that river. But to recur to the two greatest rivers, the Ganges and the Indus. Megasthenes states that of the two the Ganges is much the larger, and other writers who mention the Ganges agree with him; for besides being of ample volume even where it issues from its springs, it receives as tributaries the river Caïnas, and the Erannoboas, and the Cossoanus, which are all navigable. It receives, besides, the river Sonus and the Sittocatis, and the Solomatis, which are also navigable, and also the Condochates, and the Sambus, and the Magon, and the Agoranis, and the Omalis. It further receives the Commenases, which is a very considerable stream, and the Cacouthis, and the Andomatis, which flows from the dominions of the Madyandini, an Indian tribe. In addition to all these, it is joined by the Amystis, which flows past the city Catadupa, and the Oxymagis from the dominions of a tribe called the Pazalæ, and the Errenysis from the Mathæ, an Indian tribe. Regarding these streams Megasthenes asserts that none of them is inferior to the Mæander, even at the navigable part of its course; and as for the Ganges, why, it has a breadth where narrowest of one hundred stadia, while in many places it spreads out into lakes, so that when the country happens to be flat and destitute of elevations the opposite shores cannot be seen from each other. The Indus presents also, he says, similar characteristics. The Hydraotes, flowing from the dominions of the Cambistholi, falls into the Acesines after receiving the Hyphasis in its passage through the Astrybæ, as well as the Saranges from the Cecians, and the Neudrus from the Attaceni. The Hydaspes, again, rising in the dominions of the Oxydracæ, and bringing with it the Sinarus, received in the dominion of the Arispæ, falls itself into the Acesines, while the Acesines joins the Indus in the dominions of the Malli, but not until it has received the waters of a great tributary, the Toutapos. Augmented by all these confluents the Acesines succeeds in imposing its name on the combined waters, and still retains it till it unites with the Indus. The Cophen, too, falls into the Indus, rising in Peucelaïtis, and bringing with it the Malantus, and the Soastus, and the Garroia. Higher up than these, the Parenus and Saparnus, at no great distance from each other, empty themselves into the Indus, as does also the Soanus, which comes without a tributary from the hill-country of the Abissareans. According to Megasthenes most of these rivers are navigable. We ought not, therefore, to distrust what we are told regarding the Indus and the Ganges, that they are beyond comparison greater than the Danube and the Nile. In the case of the Nile we know that it does not receive any tributary, but that, on the contrary, in its passage through Egypt its waters are drawn off to fill the canals. As for the Danube, it is but an insignificant stream at its sources, and though it no doubt receives many confluents, still these are neither equal in number to the confluents of the Indus and Ganges, nor are they navigable like them, if we except a very few,—as, for instance, the Inn, and Save which I have myself seen. The Inn joins the Danube where the Noricans march with the Rhætians, and the Save in the dominions of the Pannonians, at a place which is called Taurunum. Some one may perhaps know other navigable tributaries of the Danube, but the number certainly cannot be great.

V. Now if anyone wishes to state a reason to account for the number and magnitude of the Indian rivers let him state it. As for myself I have written on this point, as on others, from hearsay; for Megasthenes has given the names even of other rivers which beyond both the Ganges and the Indus pour their waters into the Eastern Ocean and the outer basin of the Southern Ocean, so that he asserts that there are eight and fifty Indian rivers which are all of them navigable. But even Megasthenes, so far as appears, did not travel over much of India, though no doubt he saw more of it than those who came with Alexander the son of Philip: for, as he tells us, he resided at the court of Sandracottus, the greatest king in India, and also at the court of Porus, who was still greater than he.* Well, then, this same Megasthenes informs us that the Indians neither

* The original cannot be otherwise rendered. The following slight emendation of the text, however (suggested by Schwanbeck), removes at once the *bull*, and the error in chronology whereby Porus and Sandracottus are made contemporaries—καὶ Πώρου ἔτι τούτῳ μέζονι—"who was a greater king even than Porus."

invade other men, nor do other men invade the Indians: for Sesostris the Egyptian, after having overrun the greater part of Asia, and advanced with his army as far as Europe, returned home; and Idanthyrsus the Scythian, issuing from Scythia, subdued many nations of Asia, and carried his victorious arms even to the borders of Egypt; and Semiramis, again, the Assyrian queen, took in hand an expedition against India, but died before she could execute her design: and thus Alexander was the only conqueror who actually invaded the country. And regarding Dionysus many traditions are current how he also made an expedition into India, and subjugated the Indians before the days of Alexander. But of Hercules tradition has but little to say. Of the expedition, however, which Bacchus led, the city of Nysa is no mean monument, while Mount Meros is yet another, and the ivy which grows thereon, and the practice observed by the Indians themselves of marching to battle with drums and cymbals, and of wearing a spotted dress such as was worn by the Bacchanals of Dionysus. On the other hand, there are but few memorials of Hercules, and it may be doubted whether even these are genuine: for the assertion that Hercules was not able to take the rock Aornus, which Alexander seized by force of arms, seems to me all a Macedonian vaunt, quite of a piece with their calling Parapamisus—Caucasus, though it had no connexion at all with Caucasus. In the same spirit, when they noticed a cave in the dominions of the Parapamisadæ, they asserted that it was the cave of Prometheus the Titan, in which he had been suspended for stealing the fire. So also when they came among the Sibæ, an Indian tribe, and noticed that they wore skins, they declared that the Sibæ were descended from those who belonged to the expedition of Hercules and had been left behind: for, besides being dressed in skins, the Sibæ carry a cudgel, and brand on the backs of their oxen the representation of a club, wherein the Macedonians recognized a memorial of the club of Hercules. But if anyone believes all this, then this must be another Hercules, for he can neither be the Theban Hercules, nor the Tyrian, nor the Egyptian, nor even any great king† who belonged to the upper country which lies not far from India.

VI. Let me here digress to show that the accounts seem to be incredible which some other writers have given regarding the Indians beyond the Hyphasis, for the information about India up to the Hyphasis given by those who were in Alexander's expedition is not to be altogether distrusted: Megasthenes, for instance, tell us this wonderful story about an Indian river:—that the name of it is the Silas; that it flows from a fountain called after the river through the dominions of the Silæans, who again are called after the river and the fountain; that the water of the river manifests this singular property—that there is nothing which it can buoy up, nor anything which can swim or float in it, but everything sinks down to the bottom, so that there is nothing in the world so thin and unsubstantial as this water. But *to proceed.* Rain falls in India during the summer, especially on the mountains Parapamisus and Emodus and the range of Imaus, and the rivers which issue from these are large and muddy. Rain during the same season falls also on the plains of India, so that much of the country is submerged: and indeed the army of Alexander was obliged at the time of midsummer to retreat in haste from the Acesines, because its waters overflowed the adjacent plains. So we may by analogy infer from these facts that as the Nile is subject to similar inundations, it is probable that rain falls during the summer on the mountains of Æthiopia, and that the Nile swollen with these rains overflows its banks and inundates Egypt. We find, at any rate, that this river, like those we have mentioned, flows at the same season of the year as they, with a muddy current, which could not be the case if it flowed from melting snows, nor yet if its waters were driven back from its mouth by the force of the Etesian winds which blow throughout the hot season,‡ and that it should flow from melting snow is all the more unlikely as snow cannot fall upon the Ethiopian mountains, on account of the burning heat; but that rain should fall on them, as on the Indian mountains, is not beyond probability, since India in other respects besides is not unlike Æthiopia. Thus the Indian rivers, like the Nile in Æthiopia and Egypt, breed crocodiles, while some of them have fish and monstrous creatures such as are found in the Nile,

† The words would bear another rendering—"or possibly he may be some great king."

‡ Cf. Herodotus, II. 20-27.

with the exception only of the hippopotamus, though Onesicritus asserts that they breed this animal also. With regard to the inhabitants, there is no great difference in type of figure between the Indians and the Æthiopians, though, to be sure, the Indians who live in the south-west bear a somewhat closer resemblance to the Æthiopians, being of black complexion and black-haired, though they have not the nose so flat nor the hair so curly; while the Indians who live further to the north are in person like the Egyptians.

VII. The Indian tribes, Megasthenes tells us, number in all 118. And I so far agree with him as to allow that they must be indeed numerous, but when he gives such a precise estimate I am at a loss to conjecture how he arrived at it, for the greater part of India he did not visit, nor is mutual intercourse maintained between all the tribes. He tells us further that the Indians were in old times nomadic, like those Scythians who did not till the soil, but roamed about in their wagons, as the seasons varied, from one part of Scythia to another, neither dwelling in towns nor worshipping in temples; and that the Indians likewise had built neither towns nor temples of the gods, but were so barbarous that they wore the skins of such wild animals as they could kill, and subsisted on the bark of trees; that these trees were called in Indian speech *tala*, and that there grew on them, as there grows at the tops of the palm-trees, a fruit resembling balls of wool; that they subsisted also on such wild animals as they could catch, eating the flesh raw,—before, at least, the coming of Dionysus into India. That Dionysus, however, when he came and had conquered the people, founded cities and gave laws to these cities, and introduced the use of wine among the Indians, as he had done among the Greeks, and taught them to sow the land, himself supplying seeds for the purpose,—either because Triptolemus, when he was sent by Demeter to sow all the earth, did not reach these parts, or this must have been some Dionysus who came to India before Triptolemus, and gave the people the seeds of plants brought under cultivation. It is also said that Dionysus first yoked oxen to the plough, and made many of the Indians husbandmen instead of nomads, and furnished them with the implements of agriculture; and that the Indians worship the other gods, and Dionysus himself in particular, with cymbals and drums, because he so taught them; and that he also taught them the Satyric dance, or, as the Greeks call it, the *cordax*; and that he instructed the Indians to let their hair grow long in honour of the god, and to wear the turban; and that he taught them to anoint themselves with unguents: so that even up to the time of Alexander the Indians were marshalled for battle to the sound of cymbals and drums.

VIII. But when he was leaving India, after having established the new order of things, he appointed, it is said, Spatembas, one of his companions and the most zealous of his imitators,§ to be the king of the country, and that when Spatembas died his son Boudyas succeeded to the sovereignty; that the father reigned over the Indians fifty-two years, and the son twenty; that the son of the latter, whose name was Cradeuas, duly inherited the kingdom, and that thereafter the succession was generally hereditary, but that when a failure of heirs occurred in the royal house the Indians elected their sovereigns on the principle of merit; but that Hercules, who is currently reported to have come *as a stranger* into the country, is said to have been in reality a native of India; that this Hercules is held in especial honour by the Souraseni, an Indian tribe possessing two large cities, Methora and Cleisobora, while a navigable river called the Iobares flows through their country. But the dress which this Hercules wore, Megasthenes tells us, resembled that of the Theban Hercules, as the Indians themselves admit. It is further said that he had a very numerous progeny of male children born to him in India (for, like his Theban namesake, he married many wives), but that he had only one daughter; that the name of this child was Pandæa, and that the land in which she was born, and with the sovereignty of which Hercules entrusted her, was called after her, Pandæa, and that she received from the hands of her father 500 elephants, a force of cavalry 4000 strong, and another of infantry consisting of about 130,000 men. Some Indian writers say further of Hercules that when he was going over the world and ridding land and sea of whatever evil monsters infested them, he found in the sea an ornament for women, which even

§ Or 'the most conversant with Bacchic matters.'

to this day the Indian traders who bring their wares to our markets eagerly buy up as such and carry away, while it is even more greedily bought up by the wealthy Romans of to-day, as it was wont to be by the wealthy Greeks long ago. This article is the sea-pearl, called in the Indian tongue *margarita*. But Hercules, it is said, appreciating its beauty as a wearing ornament, caused it to be brought from all the sea into India, that he might adorn with it the person of his daughter.

Megasthenes informs us that the oyster which yields this pearl is there fished for with nets, and that in the same place the oysters live in the sea in shoals like bee-swarms: for oysters, like bees, have a king or a queen, and if any one is lucky enough to catch the king he readily encloses in the net all the rest of the shoal, but if the king makes his escape there is no chance that the others can be caught. The fishermen allow the fleshy parts of such as they catch to rot away, and keep the bone, which forms the ornament: for the pearl in India is worth thrice its weight in refined gold, which is a metal Indian mines produce.

IX. Now in that part of the country where the daughter of Hercules reigned as queen, it is said that the women when seven years old are of marriageable age, and that the men live at most forty years, and that on this subject there is a tradition current among the Indians to the effect that Hercules, whose daughter was born to him late in life, when he saw that his end was near, and he knew no man of equal rank with himself to whom he could give her in marriage, had incestuous intercourse with the girl when she was seven years of age, in order that a race of kings sprung from their common blood might be left to rule over India; that Hercules therefore made her of suitable age for marriage, and that in consequence the whole nation over which Pandæa reigned obtained this same privilege from her father. Now to me it seems that, even if Hercules could have done things so marvellous, he must also have made himself longer-lived, in order to have intercourse with his daughter when she was of mature age. But in fact, if the age at which the women there are marriageable is correctly stated, this is quite consistent, it seems to me, with what is said of the men's age,—that those who live longest die at forty; for where men so much sooner become old and die, it must needs be that they attain their prime sooner, the sooner their career of life is to end. It follows hence that men would there at the age of thirty be turning old, and young men would at twenty be past the season of puberty, while the stage of full puberty would be reached about fifteen. And, quite compatibly with this, the women might be marriageable at the age of seven. And why not, when Megasthenes declares that the very fruits of the country ripen faster than fruits elsewhere, and decay faster?

From the time of Dionysus to Sandracottus the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years, but among these a republic was thrice established * * * * and another to 300 years, and another to 120 years. The Indians also tell us that Dionysus was earlier than Hercules by fifteen generations, and that except him no one made a hostile invasion of India,—not even Cyrus the son of Cambyses, although he undertook an expedition against the Scythians, and otherwise showed himself the most enterprising monarch in all Asia; but that Alexander indeed came and overthrew in war all whom he attacked, and would even have conquered the whole world had his army been willing *to follow him*. On the other hand, a sense of justice, they say, prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India.

X. It is further said that the Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life, and the songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death. But of their cities it is said that the number is so great that it cannot be stated with precision, but that such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood instead of brick, being meant to last only for a time,—so destructive are the heavy rains which pour down, and the rivers also when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains,—while those cities which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud; that the greatest city in India is that which is called Palimbothra, in the dominions of the Prasians, where the streams of the Erannoboas and the Ganges unite,—the Ganges being the greatest of all rivers, and the Erannoboas being perhaps the third largest

of Indian rivers, though greater than the greatest rivers elsewhere; but it is smaller than the Ganges where it falls into it. Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round, which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates. The same writer tells us further this remarkable fact about India, that all the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. The Lacedæmonians and the Indians are here so far in harmony. The Lacedæmonians, however, hold the Helots as slaves, and these Helots do servile labour; but the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own.

XI. But further: in India the whole people is divided into about seven castes. Among these are the Sages, who are not so numerous as the others, but hold the supreme place of dignity and honour,—for they are under no necessity of doing any bodily labour at all, or of contributing from the produce of their labour anything to the common stock, nor indeed is any duty absolutely binding on them except to perform the sacrifices offered to the gods on behalf of the state. If anyone, again, has a private sacrifice to offer, one of these sages shows him the proper mode, as if he could not otherwise make an acceptable offering to the gods. To these sages the knowledge of divination among the Indians is exclusively restricted, and none but a sage is allowed to practise that art. They predict about such matters as the seasons of the year, and any calamity which may befall the state; but the private fortunes of individuals they do not care to predict,—either because divination does not concern itself with trifling matters, or because to take any trouble about such is deemed unbecoming. But if anyone fails thrice to predict truly, he incurs, it is said, no further penalty than being obliged to be silent for the future, and there is no power on earth able to compel that man to speak who has once been condemned to silence. These sages go naked, living during winter in the open air to enjoy the sunshine, and during summer, when the heat is too powerful, in meadows and low grounds under trees of such vast size that, as Nearchus tells us, the shadow which but one of them casts, has a circumference of five hundred feet, and is capable of sheltering ten thousand men. They live upon the fruits which each season produces, and on the bark of trees,—the bark being no less sweet and nutritious than the fruit of the date-palm.

After these, the second caste consists of the tillers of the soil, who form the most numerous class of the population. They are neither furnished with arms, nor have any military duties to perform, but they cultivate the soil and pay tribute to the kings and the independent cities. In times of civil war the soldiers are debarred by use and wont from molesting the husbandmen or ravaging their lands: so that while the former are fighting and killing each other as they can, the latter may be seen close at hand tranquilly pursuing their work,—perhaps ploughing, or gathering in their crops, pruning the trees, or reaping the harvest.

The third caste among the Indians consists of the herdsmen, both shepherds and neatherds; and these neither live in cities nor in villages, but they are nomadic and live on the hills. They also are subject to tribute, which they pay in cattle. It may be added that they scour the country in pursuit of fowl and wild beasts.

XII. The fourth caste consists of handicraftsmen and retail-dealers. These have to perform gratuitously certain public services, and to pay tribute from the products of their labour. An exception, however, is made in favour of those who fabricate the weapons of war,—and not only so, but they even draw pay from the state. In this class are included shipbuilders, and the sailors employed in the navigation of the rivers.

The fifth caste among the Indians consists of the warriors, who are second in point of numbers to the husbandmen, but lead a life of supreme freedom and jollity. They have military duties, and these only, to perform. Others make their arms, and others supply them with horses, and they have others to attend on them in the camp, who take care of their horses, clean their arms, drive their elephants, prepare their chariots, and act as their charioteers. But they fight as long as there is need to fight, and when peace returns they abandon themselves to enjoyment,—the pay which they receive from the state being so liberal that they can main-

tain not only themselves, but others also, and that with ease.

The sixth class consists of those called superintendents. They oversee what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king where the people have a king, and to the magistrates where the people are self-governed, and it is against use and wont for these to give in a false report;—but indeed no Indian is accused of lying.

The seventh caste consists of the councillors of state, who advise the king, or the magistrates of self-governed cities, in the management of public affairs. In point of numbers this is a small class, but it is distinguished by superior wisdom and justice, and hence enjoys the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy-governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers, and commissioners who superintend agriculture.

The custom of the country prohibits intermarriage between the castes:—for instance, the husbandman cannot take a wife from the artizan caste, nor the artizan a wife from the husbandman caste. Custom also prohibits any one from exercising two trades, or from changing from one caste to another. One cannot, for instance, become a husbandman if he is a herdsman, or become a herdsman if he is an artizan. It is permitted that the sage, and the sage alone, be from any caste: for the life of the sage is not an easy one, but the most miserable of all.

XIII. The Indians hunt all wild animals in the same way as the Greeks, except the elephant, which is hunted in a mode altogether peculiar, since these animals are not like any other animals. The mode may be thus described:—The hunters having selected a level tract of arid ground, dig a trench all round, enclosing as much space as would suffice to encamp a large army. They make the trench with a breadth of five fathoms and a depth of four. But the earth which they throw out in the process of digging they heap up in mounds on both edges of the trench, and use it as a wall. Then they make huts for themselves by excavating the wall on the outer edge of the trench, and in these they leave loopholes, both to admit light, and to enable them to see when their prey approaches and enters the enclosure. They then station within the trap some three or four of their best-trained she-elephants, and leave only a single passage to it by means of a bridge which they throw across the trench, and the framework of this they cover over with earth and a great quantity of straw, to conceal the bridge as much as possible from the wild animals, which might else suspect treachery. The hunters then go out of the way, and retire to the cells which they had made in the earthen wall. Now the wild elephants do not in the day-time go near inhabited places, but in the night-time they wander about everywhere, and feed in herds, following as leader the one who is biggest and boldest, just as cows follow bulls. As soon, then, as they approach the enclosure, on hearing the cry of the females and catching scent of them they rush at full speed in the direction of the fenced ground, and being arrested by the trench they move round its edge until they fall in with the bridge, along which they force their way into the enclosure. The hunters meanwhile, perceiving the entrance of the wild elephants, hasten, some of them, to take away the bridge, while others, running off to the nearest villages, announce that the elephants are within the trap. The villagers, on hearing the news, mount their most spirited and best-trained elephants, and as soon as mounted ride off to the trap; but though they ride up to it they do not immediately engage in a conflict with the wild elephants, but wait till they are sorely pinched by hunger and tamed by thirst; but when they think they have been reduced to feebleness, then they set up the bridge anew and ride into the trap, when a fierce assault is in the first place made by the tame elephants upon those caught in the trap; then, as might be expected, the wild elephants, through loss of spirit and faintness from hunger, are overpowered. On this the hunters, dismounting from their elephants, bind with fetters the ends of the feet of the wild ones, which are by this time quite exhausted. Then they instigate the tame ones to chastise them with repeated blows, until, worn out with their sufferings, they fall to the ground. The hunters meanwhile, standing near them, slip nooses over their necks and mount them while they are yet lying on the ground; and, in order to prevent them shaking off their riders, or doing mischief otherwise, they make an incision all round their neck with a sharp knife and fasten the noose round in the

incision, so that they keep their head and neck quite steady by means of the wound, for if they become restive and turn round, the wound is galled by the action of the rope. Thus they shun all violent movements, and, knowing that they have been vanquished, are now led in fetters by the tame ones.

XIV. But such as are feeble, or through viciousness not worth keeping, their captors allow to escape to their old haunts; while those which they retain they lead to the villages, where at first they give them green stalks of corn and grass to eat. The creatures, however, having lost all spirit, have no wish to eat; but the Indians standing round them in a circle, soothe and cheer them by chanting songs to the accompaniment of the music of drums and cymbals, for the elephant is of all brutes the most intelligent. Some of them, for instance, have been known when their riders were slain in battle to have taken them up and carried them away for burial; others have covered them, when lying on the ground, with a shield; and others have borne the brunt of battle in their defence when fallen. There was one even that died of remorse and despair because it had killed its rider in a fit of rage. I have myself actually seen an elephant playing on cymbals, while other elephants were dancing to his strains: a cymbal had been attached to each foreleg of the performer, and a third to what is called his trunk, and while he beat in turn the cymbal on his trunk, he beat in proper time those on his two legs. The dancing elephants all the while kept dancing in a circle, and as they raised and curved their forelegs in turn they too moved in proper time, following as the musician led.

The elephant, like the bull and the horse, engenders in spring, when the females emit breath through the spiracles beside their temples, which open at that season. The period of gestation is at shortest sixteen months, and never exceeds eighteen. The birth is single, as in the case of the mare, and is suckled till it reaches its eighth year. The elephants that live longest attain an age of two hundred years, but many of them die prematurely of disease. If they die of sheer old age, however, the term of life is what has been stated. Diseases of their eyes are cured by pouring cows' milk into them, and other distempers by administering draughts of black wine; while their wounds are cured by the application of roasted pork. Such are the remedies used by the Indians.

XV. But the tiger the Indians regard as a much more powerful animal than the elephant. Nearchus tells us that he had seen the skin of a tiger, though the tiger itself he had not seen. The Indians, however, informed him that the tiger equals in size the largest horse, but that for swiftness and strength no other animal can be compared with it: for that the tiger, when it encounters the elephant, leaps up upon the head of the elephant and strangles it with ease; but that those animals which we ourselves see and call tigers are but jackals with spotted skins and larger than other jackals. In the same way with regard to ants also, Nearchus says that he had not himself seen a specimen of the sort which other writers declared to exist in India, though he had seen many skins of them which had been brought into the Macedonian camp. But Megasthenes avers that the tradition about the ants is strictly true,—that they are gold-diggers, not for the sake of the gold itself, but because by instinct they burrow holes in the earth to lie in, just as the tiny ants of our own country dig little holes for themselves, only those in India being larger than foxes make their burrows proportionately larger. But the ground is impregnated with gold, and the Indians thence obtain their gold. Now Megasthenes writes what he had heard from hearsay, and as I have no exacter information to give I willingly dismiss the subject of the ant.|| But about parrots Nearchus writes as if they were a new curiosity, and tells us that they are indigenous to India, and what like they are, and that they speak with a human voice; but for my part, since I have myself seen many parrots, and know others who are acquainted with the bird, I will accordingly say nothing about it as if it were still unfamiliar. Nor will I say aught of the apes, either touching their size, or the beauty which distinguishes them in India, or the mode in which they are hunted, for I should only be stating what is well known, except perhaps the fact that they are beautiful. Regarding snakes, too, Nearchus tells us that they are caught in the country, being spotted, and nimble in their movements, and that one which Peitho the

|| Cf. Herod. III. 102, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. (August 1875) p. 225.

son of Antigenes caught measured about sixteen cubits, though the Indians allege that the largest snakes are much larger. But no cure of the bite of the Indian snake has been found out by any of the Greek physicians, though the Indians, it is certain, can cure those who have been bitten. And Nearchus adds this, that Alexander had all the most skilful of the Indians in the healing art collected around him, and had caused proclamation to be made throughout the camp that if anyone were bitten he should repair to the royal tent; but these very same men were able to cure other diseases and pains also. But with many bodily pains the Indians are not afflicted, because in their country the seasons are genial. But in the case of an attack of severe pain they consult the sages, and these seemed to cure whatever diseases could be cured not without divine help.

XVI. The dress worn by the Indians is made of cotton, as Nearchus tells us,—cotton produced from those trees of which mention has already been made. But this cotton is either of a brighter white colour than any cotton found elsewhere, or the darkness of the Indian complexion makes their apparel look so much the whiter. They wear an under-garment of cotton which reaches below the knee halfway down to the ankles, and also an upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders, and partly twist in folds round their head. The Indians wear also earrings of ivory, but only such of them do this as are very wealthy, for all Indians do not wear them. Their beards, Nearchus tells us, they dye of one hue and another, according to taste. Some dye their white beards to make them look as white as possible, but others dye them blue; while some again prefer a red tint, some a purple, and others a rank green. Such Indians, he also says, as are thought anything of, use parasols as a screen from the heat. They wear shoes made of white leather, and these are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated, and made of great thickness, to make the wearer seem so much the taller.

I proceed now to describe the mode in which the Indians equip themselves for war, premising that it is not to be regarded as the only one in vogue. The foot-soldiers carry a bow made of equal length with the man who bears it. This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow, having drawn the string far backwards: for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot,—neither shield nor breast-plate, nor any stronger defence if such there be. In their left hand they carry bucklers made of undressed ox-hide, which are not so broad as those who carry them, but are about as long. Some are equipped with javelins instead of bows, but all wear a sword, which is broad in the blade, but not longer than three cubits; and this, when they engage in close fight (which they do with reluctance), they wield with both hands, to fetch down a lustier blow. The horsemen are equipped with two lances like the lances called *saunia*, and with a shorter buckler than that carried by the foot-soldiers. But they do not put saddles on their horses, nor do they curb them with bits like the bits in use among the Greeks or the Celts, but they fit on round the extremity of the horse's mouth a circular piece of stitched raw ox-hide studded with pricks of iron or brass pointing inwards, but not very sharp: if a man is rich he uses pricks made of ivory. Within the horse's mouth is put an iron prong like a skewer, to which the reins are attached. When the rider then pulls the reins, the prong controls the horse, and the pricks which are attached to this prong goad the mouth, so that it cannot but obey the reins.

XVII. The Indians are in person slender and tall, and of much lighter weight than other men. The animals used by the common sort for riding on are camels and horses and asses, while the wealthy use elephants,—for it is the elephant which in India carries royalty. The conveyance which ranks next in honour is the chariot and four; the camel ranks third, while to be drawn by a single horse is considered no distinction at all.¶ But Indian women, if possessed of uncommon discretion, would not stray from virtue for any reward short of an elephant, but on receiving this a lady lets the giver enjoy her person. Nor do the Indians consider it any disgrace to a woman to grant her favours for an elephant, but it is rather regarded as a high compliment to the ladies that their charms should be deemed worth an elephant. They marry without either

¶ Or perhaps "is considered a disgrace."

giving or taking dowries, but the women, as soon as they are marriageable, are brought forward by their fathers and exposed in public, to be selected by the victor in wrestling or boxing or running, or by some one who excels in any other manly exercise. The people of India live upon grain, and are tillers of the soil; but we must except the hillmen, who eat the flesh of beasts of chase.

It is sufficient for me to have set forth these facts regarding the Indians, which, as the best known, both Nearchus and Megasthenes, two men of approved character, have recorded. And since my design in drawing up the present narrative was not to describe the manners and customs of the Indians, but to relate how Alexander conveyed his army from India to Persia, let this be taken as a mere episode.

XVIII. Alexander, then, as soon as the fleet had been built for him upon the banks of the Hydaspes, having selected all the Phœnicians and all the Cyprians or Egyptians who had followed him in the previous part of the expedition, manned the ships with them, and chose the hands that were skilled in seamanship to be sailors and rowers. There were also islanders not a few in the squadron who had been bred to a seafaring life, together with men from Ionia and the Hellespont. The following officers were appointed to the command of triremes in this fleet:—

Hephæstion, the son of Amyntor; Leonnatus, the son of Anteas; Lysimachus, the son of Agathocles; Asclepiodorus, the son of Timander; Archon, the son of Clinias; Demonicus, the son of Athenæus; Archias, the son of Anaxidotus; Ophelas, the son of Silenus; and Timanthes, the son of Pantiades. These all belonged to Pella.

From Amphipolis came—Nearchus, the son of Androtimus, who wrote a narrative of the voyage; Laomedon, the son of Larichus; and Androsthenes, the son of Callistratus.

From Orestis came—Craterus, the son of Alexander; and Perdiccas, the son of Orontes.

From Eordæa came—Ptolemæus, the son of Lagus; and Aristonous, the son of Pisæus.

From Pydna came—Metron the son of Epicharmus; and Nicarchides, the son of Simus.

There were in addition to these—Attalus the son of Andromenes, from Tymphæa; Peucestas, the son of Alexander, from Mieza; Peithon, the son of Crateuas, from Alcomenæ; Leonnatus, the son of Antipater, from Ægæ; Pantauchus, the son of Nicolaus, from Alorus; and Mylleas, the son of Zoïlus, from Berœa.—These were all of them Macedonians.

The following commanders were Greeks:—Medius, the son of Oxythemis, from Larissa; Eumenes, the son of Hieronymus, from Candia; Critobulus, the son of Plato, from Cos; Thoas, the son of Menodorus, from Magnes; Mæander, the son of Mandrogenes, also from Magnes; and Andron, the son of Cabelas, from Teos.

There were two commanders besides from Cyprus—Nicoclеës, the son of Pasicrates of Soli; and Nithaphon, the son of Pnutagoras, of Salamis.

There was also one Persian commander—Bagoas, the son of Pharnouchas.

The pilot of the ship which carried Alexander himself was Onesicritus, an Astypalæan, and the general secretary of the expedition was Euagoras, the son of Eucleon, a Corinthian, while Nearchus, the son of Androtimus, was appointed admiral of the whole fleet. He was by descent a Cretan, but settled in Amphipolis, which is on the river Strymon. And when all these arrangements had been made by Alexander, he sacrificed to the gods of his country, and those to whom the oracle had directed him to sacrifice, and to Poseidon and Amphitrite, and the Nereids, and Oceanus himself; and to the river Hydaspes, from which he was setting forth on his enterprise; and to the Acesines, into which the Hydaspes pours its waters; and to the Indus, which receives the waters of both; and he also gave an entertainment at which prizes for skill in music and gymnastics were contended for, and a distribution was made, to all the divisions of the troops, of the victims sacrificed on the occasion.

XIX. But when every preparation had been made for departing, Alexander ordered Craterus, with a force consisting of horse and foot, to go to the one side of the Hydaspes; while Hephæstion, in command of a still larger force, marched in a parallel line on the other side. Hephæstion took with him the elephants also, which were two hundred in number. Alexander himself took under his immediate command the body of footguards called the hypaspists and all the archers, and those called the

companion-cavalry,—a force consisting in all of 8,000 men. Orders had been given to the troops under Craterus and Hephæstion prescribing where, after marching in advance of the fleet, they were to wait its arrival. And Philip, whom he had appointed Satrap of this part of the country, he despatches to the banks of the Acesines, sending with him also a numerous force; for by this time 120,000 fighting men followed his banner, including those whom he had led up from the sea into the interior, and also the recruits who from time to time were sent to his levies when he began to receive all sorts of barbaric tribes, however diversely armed. Then he weighed anchor and sailed down the Hydaspes as far as to its junction with the Acesines. Now the ships numbered altogether 1800, including the long narrow ships of war, the round-shaped roomy merchantmen, and the transports for carrying horses and provisions to feed the army. But how the fleet sailed down the rivers, and what tribes Alexander conquered in the course of the voyage, and how he was in jeopardy among the Malli, and how he was wounded in their dominions, and how Peucestas and Leonnatus protected him with their shields when he fell,—all these incidents have been recorded by me in the separate narrative written in the Attic dialect. My present object is, therefore, but to describe the voyage made by Nearchus, with the expedition which sailed under his command, from the mouths of the Indus through the great ocean as far as the Persian Gulf, or, as others call it, the Erythræan Sea.

XX. Now of this voyage the following account has been given by Nearchus. He states that Alexander had a great desire to have all the coast of the sea which extends from India to Persia circumnavigated, but that he hesitated to take the necessary steps, as he reflected on the length of the voyage, and feared lest the fleet coming, as might happen, to some desolate coast either destitute of harbours or incapable of furnishing adequate supplies, might thus be destroyed, and a great stain attaching itself thereby to his mighty deeds might tarnish all his good fortune; but that his eagerness to be ever doing something new and marvellous prevailed over all his scruples; that he was, however, at a loss what officer to choose as not an incompetent hand to execute his designs, and at a loss, too, about the men put on board the fleet,—how, on their being despatched on such an enterprise, he could take away their fear that they were recklessly sent into open peril. Here Nearchus tells us that Alexander consulted with him whom he should select to lead the expedition, and that when Alexander had mentioned one officer after another, rejecting them all, some because they did not show readiness to face danger; some because they were of a weak, irresolute temper; some because they were yearning after home,—making this and that objection to each in turn,—he then proffered his own services in these terms:—"I, then, O king! undertake to lead the expedition, and, if God but help me, I will conduct the ships in safety, and the men, all the way to Persia, provided of course that the sea is navigable that way, and the task not beyond human capacity." To this, we are told, Alexander answered, in mere pretence, that he did not wish to expose any one for whom he had an affection to so much hardship and so much danger, but that Nearchus did not on that account withdraw his offer, but pressed its acceptance with the greater urgency; that Alexander was, of course, much pleased with the ready devotion of Nearchus, and appointed him to take the chief command of the expedition; that then, too, the troops destined for the voyage, and the oarsmen, alike were still more cheered in heart, feeling assured that Alexander would not send into palpable danger *such a favourite as* Nearchus unless he was to be restored to him in safety. At the same time the great splendour with which the preparations were conducted, the gallant trim of the ships, and the obvious rivalries between the captains about their oarsmen and their crews, had roused to energy even those who formerly altogether shrunk back, and also inspired them with more salutary hopes of the whole enterprise. And it much helped also, he adds, to give the men good heart, that Alexander himself, taking the ships from both the mouths of the Indus, sailed out into the open main, and slew victims to Poseidon and all the other sea-deities, and presented magnificent gifts to propitiate the sea; and so the men, trusting to the immeasurable good fortune which had attended all the other projects of Alexander, deemed there was nothing he might not dare, nothing but would to him be feasible.

XXI. Now when the south-west monsoon calmed,—which prevails throughout all the hot season, blowing from the sea towards the land, and rendering navigation in these seas impracticable,—it was then that the expedition started on the voyage in the year when Cephisidorus was Archon at Athens, on the 20th day of the month Boëdromion, according to the Athenian mode of reckoning, but as the Macedonians and the Asiatics reckoned * * * in the 11th year of the reign of Alexander. But Nearchus, before putting to sea, sacrifices to Zeus the Saviour, and also, *as Alexander had done*, celebrates a gymnastic contest. Then clearing out of harbour, they come the first day to moorings in the Indus near a great canal; and there they remain for two days. The place was called Stura, and was distant about 100 stadia from the harbour they had left. Clearing from this on the third day, they sailed on till they came to another canal, 30 stadia further down, in which the water was salt: for the sea, it seems, ran up into it, especially in flood-tides, and its waters at ebb-tides still remained mixed with those of the river. This place was called Caumara. Sailing thence a distance of 20 stadia down the stream, they reach Coreëstis, and anchor, being still in the river. After clearing from this, they did not make much way, for a sunken reef revealed its presence at that part of the mouth of the Indus, and the waves were heard dashing with loud roar upon the beach, which was wild and rugged. They dug, however, a passage five stadia long through the reef where it was found to be soft, and through this steered the ships when the flood-tide came in from the sea. Then by a winding course of 120 stadia they gain Crocala, a sandy island, where they anchor and remain till next day. Near this place dwells an Indian tribe called the Arabii, whom I have mentioned in my larger narrative, stating that they derive their name from the river Arabis, which flows through their country to the sea parting them from the Oritæ. On launching from Crocala they had on their right hand a mountain which the inhabitants called Iros, and on their left a flat island. As this island lay near the mainland shore it helps to form a narrow bay. Having quite cleared this passage they come to moorings in a harbour of great security, which Nearchus, on finding it to be both spacious and otherwise convenient, designates 'Alexander's Haven.' There is an island at the mouth of the harbour, about two stadia off. Its name is Bibacta, but the entire district is called Sangada. That the place makes a harbour is all due to the island, which shelters it by forming a barrier against the sea. Here strong gales blew from seaward for a long time continuously, and Nearchus, fearing lest some of the barbarians might combine with a view to plunder the camp, fortified his position with a stone wall. Here they had to tarry four-and-twenty days. The soldiers—so Nearchus tells us—fished for mussels and oysters, and what is called the razor-fish, all of these being of extraordinary size as compared with the specimens to be found in our sea. He adds that they were here obliged to drink salt sea-water.

XXII. As soon as the stormy weather was over they again put to sea, and having run fully 60 stadia they drop anchor off a sandy beach, not far from which lay a desert island, and here they anchored in such a position that they were sheltered by this island, the name of which was Domae. Water was not procurable on the beach, but the men on going into the interior about 20 stadia found very good water. The voyage was resumed next day towards evening, when they sailed 300 stadia and reached Saranga, where they anchor near the beach, and find water some eight stadia inland from it. Making from this they put into Sacali, a desert place, and anchor there. When again under weigh they sailed through between two cliffs which were so near each other that the blades of the oars grazed the rocks on either side, and then they drop anchor in Morontobari, having run 300 stadia. The harbour here was roomy, circular in shape, deep and well sheltered, but the entrance to it was narrow. It was called, in the language of the country, 'Women's Haven,' because a woman had been the first sovereign of the place. But when they were steering between the rocks we have mentioned they encountered heavy waves and a boisterous sea: for indeed it appeared a great feat to have steered their way through between the rocks and got safe beyond them. When they put to sea they sailed on till the next day, having on their left hand an island making a barrier against the sea and lying so close to the shore that the channel between the

shore and the island looked like a canal. The length of this passage was altogether 70 stadia. Thickets of trees grew all along the beach, while the island was well shaded with wood of every description. . Towards morning they were clearing the island, having but scanty sea-room, as it was still ebb-tide. After running 120 stadia they drop anchor at the mouth of the river Arabis. At its mouth there was a spacious and very fine haven, but the water was not drinkable, for where the Arabis discharges itself its waters become mixed with brine. They went therefore about 40 stadia higher up, and came upon a tank from which they supplied themselves with water, and then returned. The island near the harbour is high and bare. All round it oysters and fish of every kind are caught. This place marks the border where the dominions of the Arabii, the last people of Indian descent settled in this direction end, and where those of the Oritæ begin.

XXIII. On sailing away from the mouth of the Arabis they coasted along the shores of the Oritæ, and after making a way of 200 stadia drop anchor at Pagali, near a surf-beaten shore, where, however, a place was found affording good anchorage. Here while one part of the crew was told off to remain on board, another part went on shore to fetch water. Next day they unmoored at dawn, and making 400 stadia drew to shore as evening fell, at Cabana, where they anchor off the beach, which was quite barren. Here there was a heavy surf, and the ships were tossed up and down by great surging billows. In the course of this last voyage the fleet had been caught in a heavy gale which blew from seaward, when two ships of war and one of the light craft were totally lost. All the hands on board, however, saved themselves by swimming, as the vessels at the time of the disaster were closely hugging the shore. They cleared from Cabana about midnight, and sailed on till they gained Cocala, 200 stadia distant from the last port. The ships rode at their moorings off shore, but Nearchus having ordered the crews to disembark allowed them to bivouac on the beach, for as they had suffered much distress at sea they longed for some repose. The camp was fortified for defence against the barbarians. It was in this part of the country that Leonnatus, whom Alexander had appointed to reduce and govern the Oritæ, overcomes these barbarians, and the neighbouring tribes who helped them, in a great battle, wherein he slew 6,000 of them, and all their leaders. But fifteen of the horsemen who were with Leonnatus, and some of the foot-soldiers, though not very many, were slain. Among the number was Apollophanes, the Satrap of the Gedrosians. But all this has been recorded in my other history, and also how Leonnatus for this service was crowned by Alexander with a golden crown in presence of the Macedonians. In this place grain was, by Alexander's orders, distributed to victual the fleet, and sufficient stores were put on board to last for ten days. Here also the ships damaged during the voyage were repaired, while all the sailors that Nearchus considered to be too slack at their work he made over to Leonnatus to be led on foot into Persia; but at the same time he made good his complement of hands by taking in exchange efficient men from the troops under Leonnatus.

XXIV.—From this port they bore away with a fresh breeze, and having run 500 stadia drop anchor near a river much swollen with rain. This river was called the Tomerus, and there was an estuary at its mouth. The flats lying near the shore were peopled with men, who lived in close stifling huts. The savages when they saw strangers sailing towards them were filled with astonishment, and spreading along the beach marshalled themselves as if to repel by force any who should attempt to land. They carried thick spears about six cubits in length—which were not tipped with iron heads, but were hardened at the sharp end by being charred, which served the same purpose. The number of the enemy was about 600. Now when Nearchus saw them keeping their ground and arrayed for battle, he ordered the ships to keep riding at anchor within shot of them, so that the arrows discharged from on board might carry to land; for the spears of the barbarians, which were thick, were evidently adapted for close fight, but not at all formidable if used as missiles. Then he gives orders that such of the soldiers as were lightest and most lightly equipped, and expert in swimming, should swim to shore at a preconcerted signal. Orders were given that when any one had swum so far that he could stand in the water, he was to wait for his next neighbour, and not set forward to attack the barbarians, until a phalanx could be

formed of three men deep. That done they were to rush forward shouting the war-cry. Then those who were told off for this service at once threw themselves from the ships into the sea, and swam fast, and stood in order, and forming themselves into a phalanx rushed to the charge with loud shouts; while those on board shouted in concert and attacked the barbarians, with arrows and missiles shot from engines. Then the barbarians, terrified by the bright flashing of the arms and the rapidity of the landing, and hit by the arrows and other missiles, since they were half-naked, fled without making the least attempt at resistance. Some perished in the flight, others were taken prisoners, and some escaped to the mountains. Those captured were thickly covered with hair all over the body as well as the head, while their nails resembled the claws of wild beasts, for they were said to use their nails like iron, and to be able to rip up fish with them, and split the softer kinds of wood. Harder things they cut with sharp stones, for they had no iron. As clothing they wore the skins of wild beasts, and some even the thick skins of large fishes.

XXV. After this action they haul the ships to shore, and repair all the damaged ones. On the sixth day they launched again, and sailing 300 stadia reach a place which lay on the furthest confines of the Oritæ, called Malana. Now the Oritæ who dwell in the interior dress like the Indians, and use similar weapons, though they differ from them in language and customs. The length of the voyage along the coast of the Arabii was 1000 stadia, reckoning from the place from which they had started; and the length of the voyage along the coast of the Oritæ was 1600 stadia. Nearchus informs us that the shadows of those who sail along the Indian coast (for after this Indians are no longer met with) fall differently, for when they happened to sail a great distance southward their shadows were observed to fall to southward also. But when the sun had gained the meridian, nothing was seen to cast any shadow at all. And of those stars which they had seen before high above the horizon, some vanished altogether out of sight, while others—that is those which had always before been visible—seemed to be near the earth, now setting, and, immediately after, rising again.* And Nearchus here appears to me to be stating what is not unlikely: for at Syene also, which is in Egypt, a well is shown where at the time of the summer solstice no shadow is cast at noon; and in Meroë, too, objects are shadowless at that season of the year. It is therefore likely that similar phenomena occur also among the Indians, as they live to the south, and this would be more especially the case in the Indian Sea the further south it goes. This may be taken as the real truth of the matter.

XXVI. Next to the Oritæ in the interior live the Gedrosians, through whose country Alexander had the greatest difficulty in leading his army, and where his sufferings surpassed all he had experienced in all the rest of his expedition. But all the details concerning this I have set down in my larger work. Below the Gedrosians and along the sea-coast lives a people called the Ichthyophagi. Along their coasts they were now steering. On the first day, about the second watch, they set sail, and put into Bagisara. The distance run was 600 stadia. In the place they found a harbour with good anchorage, and a small town called Pasira, distant 60 stadia from the sea, the people living thereabout being called Pasirians. But unmooring early next morning they double a headland which projected far out into the sea, and was high and precipitous. Here having dug wells and found but a scanty supply of water which was bad, they rode at anchor that day, because there was a high surf along the shore. They leave the place next day and sailed till they reached Colta, having run 200 stadia. Weighing thence at morning-tide they made Calybi, after sailing 600 stadia, and there cast anchor. There was a village near the beach, around which grew a few palm-trees, the dates on which were still green. There was an island about 100 stadia off the shore, called Carnine. The villagers, by way of showing their hospitality, bring presents of sheep and fish to Nearchus, who says that the mutton had a fishy taste, like the flesh of sea-birds: for the sheep fed on fish, there being no grass in the place. Next

* As Nearchus could not possibly have witnessed this phenomenon, and yet is a writer of unquestionable veracity, the passage is a puzzling one, and various explanations of it have been offered. One is to the effect that Arrian may have had before him a text of the work by Nearchus interpolated or otherwise corrupted by the Alexandrian geographers, who, following Eratosthenes, believed that India lay between the tropics.

day, having sailed 200 stadia, they cast anchor near the shore, where there was a village 30 stadia off, named Cissa. The coast was, however, called Carbis. There they find little boats such as might belong to fishermen of scanty means, but the men they did not see, for they had taken to flight on seeing the ships anchoring. There was no grain in the place, and the stock of provisions for the expedition had run short. So they put some goats on board and sailed away. After doubling a steep promontory which projected about 150 stadia into the sea, they drew to land and cast anchor in a well-sheltered haven. They found water in the place, which was inhabited by fishermen. The harbour was called Mosarna.

XXVII. From this place they took on board, Nearchus tells us, as pilot of the fleet, a Gedrosian called Hydraces, who undertook to conduct them as far as Carmania. Thenceforth until they reached the Persian Gulf their course was not difficult, and lay in parts more spoken of. Departing at night from Mosarna they sail 750 stadia, and reach the coast of Balomon. They touched next at Barna, a village which lay at a distance of 400 stadia. Many palm-trees were found there, and a garden wherein grew myrtles and other flowers, from which wreaths were woven by the villagers. Here for the first time they saw trees under cultivation, and the people somewhat better than mere savages. Leaving this they reach Dendrobosa, by a circuitous course of 200 stadia, and anchor out at sea. They sailed again about midnight, and running about 400 stadia made the haven of Cophas. The inhabitants were fishermen, and the boats they used were small, sorry things. They did not row in the Greek style with oars fixed to the side by means of thole-pins, but, as in a river, with paddles which they thrust into the water, now on this side and then on that, like men digging the ground. There was much water in the haven, and it was quite pure. But about the first watch they bore away from the place, and having run a course of 800 stadia put into Cyiza, where the strand was bare and rugged. They did not, therefore, land, but dined on board ship. They set forth again, and having sailed 500 stadia came to a little town built on a rising ground not far from the beach. And Nearchus having observed that the land bore signs of cultivation, he turns to Archias (the son of Anaxidotus of Pella, who was accompanying Nearchus on the voyage, being a Macedonian of high rank) and says to him that the place must be captured, for the inhabitants, he thought, would not of their own free-will supply the fleet with provisions, while it would not be possible to take what they required by open force, but a siege would be necessary, which would cause delay, and they were already short of provisions. He added that the land must undoubtedly produce corn, as they could see a luxuriant crop growing not far from the beach. When this proposal was agreed to, he orders all the ships except one to be made ready as if for sailing, and Archias made all the arrangements for this; but he himself being left behind with a single ship went to take, as he pretended, just a look at the town.

XXVIII. But when he approached the walls the inhabitants hospitably brought out to him a present of tunny-fish broiled in pans: for though they were the last of the Ichthyophagi, yet they were the first of them they had met who did not eat fish raw; and they brought also little cakes and dates. He told them that he accepted their gifts with much pleasure, but wished to have a look at their town, and they accordingly gave him leave to enter. But when he was within the gates he ordered two of his archers to seize the postern by which they had entered, while he himself, with two others and an interpreter, mounting to the top of the wall, made thence a signal to Archias and his men, for it had been arranged that the one party should make a signal, and the other, on seeing it, execute the given orders. Now the Macedonians, when they saw the signal, at once ran their ships ashore and quickly jumped into the sea; while the barbarians, alarmed at these movements, ran to arms. The interpreter thereupon who was with Nearchus ordered them to give provisions to the army if they wished to save their town, But they said they had none, and at the same time attacked the wall. But the archers who attended on Nearchus kept them in check by shooting down arrows upon them from above. When they came to know, however, that their town was already occupied, and could in a short time be pillaged, they then entreated Nearchus to take the corn they had, and go off without destroying the town. But Nearchus orders Archias to take

possession of the gates and the adjacent parts of the wall, while he himself despatches men to look after the grain, and see whether the people would show it without any attempt at evasion. And they showed a great quantity of flour made by grinding roasted fish, and also a little wheat and barley, for they dieted upon fish, to which they added wheaten loaves by way of a relish. But when they showed their stores the soldiers supplied themselves therefrom. They then returned to the ships, put out to sea, and cast anchor near a promontory which the people of the place considered sacred to the Sun, and the name of which was Bagia.

XXIX. They set sail from this place about midnight, and after a voyage of 1000 stadia put into Talmena, where they found a harbour with good anchorage. They sailed thence to Canasis, a deserted town 400 stadia off, where they discover an artificial well, and where palms were growing wild. These they cut down, and used the pith as food, since provisions were short in the fleet; and being now sore pinched with hunger they sailed all day and all night, and then drop anchor off a desolate coast. But Nearchus, fearing lest the men, if they landed, would in despair desert the fleet, ordered the ships to be moored at a distance from shore. From this they sailed away and reached Canate, when they anchor, after making 850 stadia. This place has a spacious beach and some small canals. They sailed again, and having made 800 stadia reach Troës, where they anchor. They found in the place some miserable little villages. The inhabitants deserted their huts, and the soldiers found a little food and dates of the palm-tree. Seven camels had been left behind, which they killed for food. Launching again about the dawn of day, they made 300 stadia, and come to anchor at Dagasira. The people thereabouts were nomads. Putting again to sea, they sailed all night and all day without taking any rest. Having thus accomplished a voyage of 1100 stadia, they left behind them the shores of the Ichthyophagi, where they suffered greatly from the want of necessary food. They did not anchor on the beach, on account of the heavy surf, but rode at anchor out in deep water. The length of the voyage along the coast of the Ichthyophagi was not much short of 10,000 stadia. These Ichthyophagi subsist on what their name is derived from,—fish. Yet only a few of them fish out in the deep, for boats to do it with are scarce, and the art of fishing is unknown. Generally speaking, they are indebted for their fish to the ebb-tide. To take advantage of it, they make for themselves nets which are mostly two stadia in length. These they weave from the bark of the palm-tree, twisting the fibres like flax. Now when the sea retires from the land, the parts left dry are generally found to be without fish, while the hollows, which of course retain some water, swarm with them. The fish are generally small, though some are of considerable size: these they catch with their nets. The more delicate kinds they eat raw as soon as they are taken out of the water, but the large and coarser kinds they dry in the sun, and when sufficiently dried grind into a sort of flour, from which they make bread. They bake also cakes from this flour. The cattle, as well as the men, eat the dry fish, for there are no meadows in the country, nor grass at all. But in many parts they fish also for crabs and oysters and mussels. Natural salt is found in the land * * * from these they make oil. Some of the tribes inhabit desolate tracts which are so utterly sterile that they bear neither trees nor even wild fruits. These poor wretches have nothing but fish to live on. A few of them, however, sow some part of their land, and use the produce to eat for zest along with their fish, which forms the staple of their diet. The better classes build houses of whalebone, which they collect from the carcases of whales cast ashore, and use instead of wood. The doors are formed of the broadest bones they can find. The poorer members, who form the great majority of the population, construct their houses with the backbones of fish.

XXX. Whales of vast size frequent the outer ocean, and other fish larger than those kinds which are found in the Mediterranean Sea. Nearchus gives this relation: when they were bearing away from Cyiza, the water of the sea was seen one morning about dawn blown up into the air as if forced up by a violent gust of wind; being greatly alarmed, they asked the pilots the nature and cause of this phenomenon, when it was explained that the whales in swimming through the sea spout up the water into the air; on hearing this the rowers, through terror, let the oars drop from their hands, but he himself coming up to the men

allayed their fears and reanimated their courage, and then gave orders that the prows of such ships as were sailing near him should be turned towards the point of danger, as in a sea-fight, while the rowers should at the same time raise the battle-cry, and swell the sound by pulling quick strokes as noisily as possible. The men, thus emboldened, sailed as they were directed, when the signal agreed on was given, and when they were now nearing the monstrous creatures they shouted as loud as they could bawl, and blew the trumpets, and made all the noise they could with the oars in rowing; the whales, accordingly, which were seen near the prows of the ships, being terror-struck, dived down into the abyss, and then soon after rose again to the surface, emerging behind the fleet, all the while spouting up the waters most lustily. There was great exultation among the men at their unexpected deliverance, and Nearchus was praised for his boldness and presence of mind. He adds that whales are sometimes stranded on many parts of the coast where the ebb-tide leaves them in shallow water, preventing their escape; but that some are also forcibly cast out on land by violent storms, and so perish and rot away, till their flesh gradually drops off, and leaves the bones bare, which are applied to building purposes. Their larger ribs make suitable bearing-beams for houses, while the smaller ones serve for rafters; and as for the jaw-bones, doors are made of them, as they are often found so big as to measure five-and-twenty cubits.

XXXI. When they were sailing along the coast of the Ichthyophagi they hear a report about an island which is distant from the mainland about 100 stadia and uninhabited. The people in the parts about said that it was sacred to the Sun and called Nosala, but that no one was willing to go to the island and land on it, and that whoever was unawares carried to it was never more seen. But Nearchus mentions that one small boat belonging to his fleet, manned with an Egyptian crew, disappeared not far from this island, and that the commanding officers thereupon declared that they had disappeared, because they had landed on the island in ignorance of the danger of so doing. Nearchus, however, despatches a galley of thirty oars to sail round the island, ordering the men not to land upon the island, but to sail as close by the shore as they could, and to call out to the men, shouting aloud the name of the steersman or any one else they chanced to remember. Nearchus then tells us that, as no one answered to their call, he sailed to the island and compelled the sailors, much against their will, to land, and that he landed himself, and proved that the story about the island was an empty myth. He states also that he heard another story about the island.—It had been at one time the abode of one of the Nereids, whose name, he says, he could not learn. It was her wont to have intercourse with any man who approached the island, when she changed him from a man to a fish and then cast him into the sea. The Sun, however, being displeased with the Nereid, ordered her to remove from the island, and she agreed to do so, but begged to be cured of her malady, and the Sun granted her request. Thereupon she took pity on the men whom she had changed to fish, and changed them again from fish into men, and from these men the race of the Ichthyophagi descended in unbroken succession down to the time of Alexander. Now Nearchus, to my thinking deserves no credit for expending so much time and talent in proving the falsehood of these stories, which is no hard thing to do, aware as I am what a sorry task it is to select old-world stories for the purpose of refuting them.

XXXII. Beyond the Ichthyophagi, in the interior, the Gedrosians inhabit a region which is a baleful desert of sand. Here the army of Alexander, and Alexander himself, suffered many hardships, as has been already related in my other narrative. But when the expedition reached the first port in Carmania, after leaving the Ichthyophagi, they rode at anchor out at sea, when they moored for the first time in Carmania; because a violent surf spread along the shore and far out to sea. Thereafter they no longer sailed as before, towards the setting sun, but the prows were pointed rather to the north-west. Carmania is better wooded and produces better fruit than the country of the Ichthyophagi and the Oritæ, and is more grassy and better supplied with water. They anchor next at Bados, a place in Carmania, with inhabitants, where grew many sorts of cultivated trees, though not the olive, and where also the vine throve well and corn was

produced. Sailing thence they ran a course of 800 stadia, and anchor off a barren coast, whence they descry a headland projecting far out into the sea. The extreme point of this seemed to be about a day's sail off. Those who knew these parts said that this cape belonged to Arabia and was called Maceta, whence cinnamon and similar products are exported to the Assyrians. And from this coast where the fleet was now riding at anchor, and from the headland which they saw right opposite projecting into the sea, the Gulf (in my opinion, which is also that of Nearchus) extends up into the interior, and is probably the Erythræan Sea. Now when they saw this headland, Onesicritus, *the chief pilot*, advised that they should direct their course towards it, so that they might not be exposed to hardships in making their way along the Gulf; but Nearchus replied that Onesicritus had but little sense if he did not know for what object Alexander had despatched the expedition: for he had not sent it because it would be impossible for him to preserve the army if the whole of it marched by land, but because he wished them to examine the shores which the ships would visit in the course of the voyage, and the harbours *also*, and the islets, and to sail round the coast of any bay that might be discovered, and to ascertain how many seaport towns there were, and whether any parts were fertile, or any desert. They ought not, therefore, to lose sight of this object, considering that they were now near the end of their toils, and especially that they were no longer ill provided for the voyage. He feared, moreover, since the headland stretched towards the south, lest they should find the country there a mere desert, without water, and scorched with a blazing sun. This argument prevailed, and it appears to me that by this counsel Nearchus saved the expedition, for by all accounts that headland and the regions adjacent are desert and without water.

XXXIII. So then they quitted that shore and kept sailing close to land, and after they had made about 700 stadia they came to anchor on another shore called Neoptana, and towards morning they put again to sea, and after sailing 100 stadia anchor at the mouth of the river Anamis. The surrounding country was called Harmozia. It was a charming place, and bore every product except only the olive. Here they disembarked and gladly reposed from their manifold toils, bethinking them of what they had suffered at sea and on the coasts of the Ichthyophagi, and recalling the utter sterility of the region, and how savage the inhabitants were, and the straits to which they had themselves been reduced. And some of them, leaving the shore, advanced into the interior, straggling from the main body, in search one of this thing and another of that, when lo! a stranger appeared in view wearing a Grecian mantle and dressed in other respects as a Greek, and who spoke the Greek tongue. Those who met him declared that on first seeing him they actually wept, so strange did it appear to them, after so many sufferings, to see once more a man from Greece, and to hear the speech of Greece. Thy asked him whence he came, and who he was. He replied that he had straggled from the army of Alexander, and that the army and Alexander himself were not far off. This man they lead with shouts of exultation to the presence of Nearchus, to whom he told everything, and reported that the army and the king were a five days' march distant from the sea. He stated also that he would introduce the governor of the district to Nearchus, and he introduces him accordingly. And Nearchus consults with him how he can go up to meet the king. Then, before setting out, he returned to the fleet, and next morning ordered the ships to be hauled up on the beach, partly that such as were damaged might be repaired, and partly as he thought of leaving here the greater part of his squadron. He therefore fortified the roadstead with a double palisade, and also with a rampart of earth, and a deep trench extending from the banks of the river to that part of the beach where the ships had been hauled up.

XXXIV. But while Nearchus was making all these arrangements, the governor having learned that Alexander was very anxious about the fate of this expedition, made no doubt that he would receive some great boon from Alexander should he be the first to bring him the news that the fleet was safe, and that Nearchus would soon appear in person before him. Accordingly he rode off by the shortest route, and announces to Alexander that Nearchus is on his way from the ships. Then Alexander, though he doubted the report, naturally enough rejoiced to hear such tidings; but as day after day passed

by *without bringing Nearchus*, and Alexander, on comparing the time since the news was brought, no longer thought the tidings credible, while those that were sent out one after another to the rescue of Nearchus, after going a short distance and finding nothing, had returned without news, and those who had gone further and had missed Nearchus and his companions had not yet returned, then Alexander, forsooth, orders the man to be put under arrest, on the ground that he had brought baseless intelligence, and raised joyful hopes only to disappoint them. But Alexander, as his looks evidently showed, was struck to the heart with great sorrow. In the mean time, however, some of those who had been despatched in search of Nearchus, taking with them horses and wagons for the conveyance of himself and his escort, fall in on the way with him and Archias and five or six others, for he had taken so many to accompany him. And when they met the band they recognized neither Nearchus himself nor Archias, so much changed did they appear: for their hair had grown long, they were filthy, and all over encrusted with brine, shrivelled in body and sallow in complexion from want of sleep and other severe hardships. But when they asked where Alexander was, they replied, giving the name of the place. But Archias, perceiving who they were, says to Nearchus, "I fancy, Nearchus, these men are riding through the desert by the same road as ourselves, for no other reason than that they have been sent in search of us. True, they did not know us, but that does not at all surprise me, for we are such miserable-looking objects that we are past all recognition. Let us tell them who we are, and ask them why they are travelling this way." Nearchus thought there was reason in what he said. So they asked the men whither they were bound. They replied that they were searching for Nearchus and the fleet. Then he said, "Here is your man: I am Nearchus, and this is Archias. But do you be our guides, and we will give Alexander all the news about the expedition."

XXXV. So, having mounted the party on the wagons, they ride back *the way they came*, and some of them, wishing to be beforehand in carrying the tidings, run on before and tell Alexander that the man they sought for—Nearchus—and with him Archias and five others, are being brought on to him; but about the expedition generally they had no information to give. Alexander, concluding from this that while those who were coming had been in some extraordinary way saved, all the rest of the expedition had perished, did not so much feel joy at the safety of Nearchus as he was afflicted to think of the total loss of the expedition. Before all the inquiries had yet been made, both Nearchus and Archias were seen approaching. But Alexander had great difficulty in recognizing them, and as he saw them long-haired and dressed in miserable rags his grief was the more vehement for his lost fleet. At length, grasping Nearchus by the hand and leading him apart both from his attendants and his guards, he gave way to a long fit of weeping. At last after a long time, having recovered himself, he said, "Ah, well! since you have returned to me safe, and Archias here along with you, that should be to me some consolation after the loss of all; but tell me now in what manner the ships and the troops on board perished."—"O king!" he replied, "the ships are safe, and the troops also, and we have come in person to report their safety." Alexander now wept all the more as the safety of the squadron was unhoped for, and then inquired where the ships were detained. "They are hauled up," he replied, "for repairs, on the beach of the river Anamis." Then Alexander swears by Zeus of the Greeks and Ammon of the Libyans that in all sincerity he rejoices more at these tidings than in being the master of all Asia, since his grief for the loss of the expedition (*had it happened*) would have counterbalanced all his other good fortune.

XXXVI. But the governor, whom Alexander had arrested for bringing idle news, seeing Nearchus present, falls down at his knees and says, "I am the man who announced to Alexander that you had arrived safe. You see how I am situated." Nearchus thereupon entreated Alexander to let the man go, and he is let go accordingly. Then Alexander presents thank-offerings for the safety of the expedition to Zeus the saviour, and Heracles, and Apollo the averter of evil, and Poseidon, and all the other sea-deities, and he celebrated a contest in gymnastics and music, and conducted a solemn procession. A foremost place in the procession was assigned to Nearchus, who was

pelted by the army with fillets and flowers. When, the king had brought all these demonstrations to an end, he says to Nearchus, "I wish you not, Nearchus, to incur again any risk of your life, or to be exposed to hardships, and some other officer will conduct the expedition from this to Susa." But Nearchus answered and said, "I wish, O king! in all things to obey you, and it is only my duty; but if you wish to do me any favour, pray do not so, but permit me to lead the expedition all throughout, until I bring your ships safe to Susa. Let it not be that while the difficult and dangerous part of the enterprise has been entrusted to me, the easy part which fame is now ready to crown, is taken from me and given into the hands of another." Alexander stops him while he is still speaking, and acknowledged the debt of gratitude which he owed him. And so he sends him down to the coast, giving him but a small escort, as one whose road would be through a friendly country. But neither was his march to the sea made without toil and trouble, *any more than the former march:* for the barbarians, having mustered from all the parts around, possessed themselves of all the strongholds in Carmania, which they did because their satrap had been put to death by Alexander's orders, and Tlepolemus, who had but recently succeeded, had not yet secured his authority. And so they had to fight twice or thrice the same day, with successive bands of barbarians who came suddenly in view. And thus, without any respite from fighting, with pain and difficulty, they reached the coast in safety. Nearchus there and then offers a sacrifice to Zeus the saviour, and celebrates a gymnastic contest.

XXXVII. But when the religious ceremonies had been duly performed they put out again to sea, and after coasting along a desolate and rocky island anchor on the shores of another island, a large one with inhabitants, and distant 300 stadia from the last port. The desert island was called Organa, and the island where they anchored Oäracta: it produced vines and palm-trees and corn. The length of the island is 800 stadia, and the chief of the island, Mazenes, sailed along with them to Susa, having volunteered to be pilot of the fleet. In this island they professed to point out the tomb of the very first sovereign of the country, and said that his name was Erythres, from whom the sea receiving its name was called the Erythræan. Weighing thence they sailed along the shores of the same island and anchor on it again, and descry another island distant from this large one about 40 stadia. It was said to be sacred to Poseidon and inaccessible. Next morning they were putting out to sea, when the ebb-tide caught them with such violence that three of the ships were stranded on the beach, while the rest of the fleet escaped with difficulty from the surf into deep water. But the stranded vessels were floated off at the return of the tide, and on the second day put into the port where all the other ships had anchored. This was in another island, distant from the mainland somewhere about 300 stadia, which they had reached after sailing 400 stadia. They departed thence towards morning, passing a desert island which lay on their left. It was called Pylora, and they drop anchor off Sisidone, which was a mere hamlet, and could supply nothing but water and fish. The people subsisted on fish, for the barrenness of the soil left them no choice of diet. After taking water on board they bore away, and after running 300 stadia anchor at Tarsia, which is a projecting headland. They touch next at Catæa, an island both bare and flat. It was said to be sacred to Hermes and Aphrodite. The distance run was 300 stadia. To this island every year sheep and goats are sent by the neighbouring tribes as sacred offerings to Hermes and Aphrodite, and these were to be seen running about in a wild state,—the effect of time and the barrenness of the land.

XXXVIII. Up to this point they were in Carmania, and the realms beyond belonged to the Persians. The length of the voyage along the Carmanian coast was 3700 stadia. The people live after the manner of the Persians, who are their next neighbours, and their military system is quite similar. Weighing anchor they bore away from this sacred island, and now sailed along the coast of Persis, and first drew to land at a place called Ila, where there is a harbour in a small and desolate island known by the name of Cæcander. The distance run was 400 stadia. Towards morning they reached another island, which proved to be inhabited, and there dropped anchor. Here, as Nearchus tell us, pearls are fished for, just as in the Indian Sea. Having sailed along the ex-

treme part of this island for a distance of about 40 stadia, they anchored upon it. The next place where they cast anchor was near a lofty mountain (called Ochus), in a secure haven. The inhabitants of the place were fishermen. And sailing thence, after running 450 stadia they anchor at Apostana. Many boats were riding there at anchor, and there was a village at a distance of 60 stadia from the sea. Having left this place during the night, they sail into a bay where the shores were studded with numerous villages. The distance they had run was 400 stadia. They moored at the base of a hill where palm-trees grew, and all kinds of fruit-trees which are found in Greece. Launching thence they sail along the coast somewhere about 600 stadia and reach Gogana, an inhabited part, where they anchor at the mouth of a mountain-stream swollen with rain, called Areon. Anchoring there proved a matter of some difficulty, for the passage by which the mouth of the river is entered is a narrow one, the tide at ebb leaving shallows in every direction. They left this and anchor next at the mouth of another river, after a long run of 800 stadia. The name of the river was Sitacus. Here also they found it difficult to anchor. Indeed, the whole of this voyage along the coast of Persis was amid shoals and shallows and breakers. There they take on board a large stock of provisions, which had been sent thither by order of the king to victual the fleet. They remained in this place one-and-twenty days in all, and having hauled up on shore such of the ships as had been damaged, they repaired them, and the others they put into proper trim.

XXXIX. Sailing thence they came to Hieratis, a place containing inhabitants. The distance they had made was 750 stadia. They anchored in a canal filled with water, which was drawn from a river and flowed into the sea, and which was called Heratemis. But at sunrise they sail away and come at length to a mountain-stream called Padagron. Here the entire district formed a peninsula. In this there were many gardens wherein grew all manner of fruit-trees. The name of the place was Mesambria. But launching from Mesambria and making about 200 stadia, they come to anchor at Taöce, on the river Granis. Inland from this place lay the royal city of the Persians, situated at a distance of 200 stadia from the mouth of the river. Nearchus relates that on the way a whale had been seen cast up on the strand. Some of the sailors rowing up to it took its measure, and reported that it was fifty cubits long, that its skin was armed with scales about the thickness of a cubit, and that great quantities of shells and sea-weeds were clinging to it. He states also that dolphins were to be seen in great numbers swimming around the whale, which were larger than the dolphins of the Mediterranean Sea. After leaving this they put into the Rogonis, a mountain-stream swollen by rain, where they anchor in an excellent haven. The distance they had sailed was 200 stadia. Having sailed thence and run 400 stadia, they bivouac on the banks of another torrent, which bore the name of Brizana. Here they found difficulty in anchoring, because there were shoals and breakers and sunken rocks which showed their ridges above the surf. They succeeded, however, in anchoring when the tide was full, though the ships were left high and dry when it ebbed again. But with next high-water they sailed out and anchored in the stream. The name of this river was the Oroatis, the greatest of all the rivers, as Nearchus tells us, which he found in the course of this voyage falling into the outer ocean.

XL. Up to this point the inhabitants were Persians; beyond it Susians. Beyond the Susians, dwells an independent tribe called the Uxii, whom I have described in my other narrative as freebooters. The length of the voyage along the shores of Persis was 4400 stadia. According to general report, Persis has three different climates, for that part of it which is formed by the peopled district lying along the Erythræan Sea is sandy and barren on account of the heat; while the part beyond this enjoys a delightful temperature, as the mountains there stretch towards the pole and the north wind, and the region is clothed with verdure and has well-watered meadows, and bears the vine, which is widely cultivated, and all fruits except the olive, while it blooms with all manner of pleasure-gardens and parks, and is traversed by clear streams and studded with lakes, and lake and stream alike are the haunts of aquatic birds in endless variety; and it is also a good country for horses, and affords

pasturage to these and other beasts of burden, while it is also everywhere well-wooded, and abounds with wild animals. The part, however, which lies still further to the north is said to be bleak and cold and covered with snow, so that, as Nearchus tells us, certain ambassadors from the Euxine Sea having gone a very little way met Alexander going on to Persis, who was surprised at seeing them, when they explained to him how short the road was. I have already stated that the next neighbours to the Susians are the Uxians; just as the Mardians, who are a set of robbers, are neighbours to the Persians, and the Cossæans to the Medes. And all these tribes Alexander subdued, falling upon them in the winter-time, when they considered their dominions were inaccessible; and he founded cities with a view to wean them from roving habits and attract them to the plough and agricultural life, and put rulers over them to deter them from inflicting injuries on each other. The fleet sailed away from the Oroatis, and so left behind the dominions of the Susians. The rest of the voyage Nearchus says he cannot describe with such minuteness as before, for he has nothing to record but the names of the havens at which they touched, and the length of the voyage from one of them to another: for the land along the coast was covered with shoal-water and the surf extended far out to sea, rendering it a dangerous matter to seek the shore for anchorage, so that the rest of the voyage lay mainly in the open sea. They sailed away, he also tells us, from the mouth of a certain river where they had landed, and bivouacked on the borders of Persis, taking there on board a supply of water to last for five days, as the pilots informed them that no water would be found on the way.

XLI. After having sailed on for 500 stadia, they drop anchor at the mouth of an estuary which abounded with fish, the name of which was Catadderbis, having an islet lying at its mouth called Margastana. They sailed from this at dawn of day, with the ships in single file through shallow water. The existence of the shoal was indicated by stakes fastened on this side and on that, in the same way as sign-posts are exhibited in the isthmus between the island of Leucadia and Acarnania, to warn seafarers against running their ships aground on the shoals. But the shoals of Leucadia are sandy, and on that account stranded vessels can be readily floated again. In the present case, however, there was mud both deep and tenacious on both sides of the passage, so that if vessels were once stranded they were hopelessly lost: for it was of no avail to thrust poles into the mud to move them away, nor could the men jump out and push them into navigable water, for they would themselves sink in the mud up to the very waist. Having thus with great difficulty made their way for 600 stadia, they came to anchor, each crew remaining in its own ship, and then thought of dining. But during the night and all the next day, even till eventide, they were sailing in deep water, and completed a course of 900 stadia, anchoring at the mouth of the Euphrates near a village in Babylonia, called Diridotis, which was the emporium of the sea-borne trade in frankincense and all the other fragrant products of Arabia. The distance from the mouth of the Euphrates up to Babylon, as Nearchus gives it, is 3300 stadia.

XLII. Here word is brought that Alexander was marching towards Susa; so they sailed back from this place to join him by sailing up the Pasitigris; and they sailed back, with Susis on their left hand, along the shores of the lake into which the river Tigris empties itself, which, flowing from Armenia and passing the city of Nineveh—so great and flourishing in the olden times—encloses a region between itself and the Euphrates, which is on that account called Mesopotamia. The distance from where they entered the lake to where they entered the river was 600 stadia. This was at a point where a village belonging to Susis is situated called Aginis, the same being 500 stadia distant from Susa. The length of the voyage along Susis to the mouth of the Pasitigris is 2000 stadia. They sailed thence up the Pasitigris through a well-peopled and fertile country, and having proceeded 150 stadia drop anchor, and there wait the return of messengers whom Nearchus had despatched to find out where the king was. Nearchus then sacrificed to the gods who had preserved their lives, and celebrated games, and great was the rejoicing of all who

belonged to the expedition. When word was brought back that Alexander was approaching, they sailed again up the river, and anchor in the neighbourhood of the bridge by which Alexander intended to lead his army to Susa. In that same place the troops were reunited, when sacrifices were offered by Alexander for the safety of his ships and his men, and games were celebrated. Nearchus, whenever he was seen among the troops, was pelted with flowers and fillets. There also both Nearchus and Leonnatus were crowned by Alexander with golden crowns,—Nearchus on account of the safety of the expedition by sea, and Leonnatus for the victory which he had gained over the Oritæ and the neighbouring barbarians. It was thus that the expedition which had started from the mouths of the Indus was brought in safety to Alexander.

XLIII. Now the parts which lie to the right of the Erythræan Sea beyond the realms of Babylonia belong principally to Arabia, which extends in one direction as far as the sea that washes the shores of Phœnicia and Syrian Palestine, while towards sunset it borders on the Egyptians in the direction of the Mediterranean Sea. But Egypt is penetrated by a gulf which extends up from the great ocean, and as this ocean is connected with the Erythræan Sea, this fact proves that a voyage could be made all the way from Babylon to Egypt by means of this gulf. But, owing to the heat and utter sterility of the coast, no one has ever made this voyage, except, it may be, some casual seafarers. For the troops belonging to the army of Cambyses which escaped from Egypt and reached Susa in safety, and the troops sent by Ptolemy the son of Lagus to Seleucus Nicator to Babylon, traversed the Arabian isthmus in eight days altogether. It was a waterless and sterile region, and they had to cross it mounted on camels going at full speed, while they carried water with them on camels, travelling only by night, for by day the heat was so fierce that they could not expose themselves in the open air. So far are the parts lying beyond this region, which we have spoken of as an isthmus extending from the Arabian Gulf to the Erythræan Sea, from being inhabited, that even the parts which run up further to the north are a desert of sand. Moreover, men setting forth from the Arabian Gulf in Egypt, after having sailed round the greater part of Arabia to reach the sea which washes the shores of Persis and Susa, have returned, after sailing as far along the coast of Arabia as the water they had shipped lasted them, and no further. But those adventurers whom Alexander sent from Babylon with instructions to sail as far as they could along the right-hand coast of the Erythræan Sea, with a view to explore the regions lying in that direction, discovered some islands lying in their route, and touched also at certain points of the mainland of Arabia. But as for that cape which Nearchus states was seen by the expedition projecting into the sea right opposite to Carmania, there is no one who has been able to double it and gain the other side. But if the place could possibly be passed, either by a sea-route or a land-route, it seems to me that Alexander, being so inquisitive and enterprising, would have proved that it could be passed in both these ways. But again Hanno the Libyan, having set out from Carthage, sailed out into the ocean beyond the Pillars of Hercules, having Libya on his left hand, and the time until his course was shaped towards the rising sun was five-and-thirty days; but when he steered southward he encountered many difficulties from the want of water, from the scorching heat, and from streams of fire that fell into the sea. Cyrene, no doubt, which is situated in a somewhat barren part of Libya, is verdant, possessed of a genial climate, and well watered, has groves and meadows, and yields abundantly all kinds of useful animals and vegetable products. But this is only the case up to the limits of the area within which the fennel-plant can grow, while beyond this area the interior of Cyrene is but a desert of sand.

So ends my narrative relating to Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian.

# INSCRIPTIONS FROM KÂVÎ.

BY G. BÜHLER.

Some months* ago Râosâheb Gopâljî G. Desai, Deputy Educational Inspector, Bharuch, sent me impressions of two copper-plates, of which he had obtained the temporary loan, when visiting on his official tour the ancient town of Kâvî, situated not far from the Gulf of Cambay, a few miles to the south of the river Mahî. He informed me that, besides the two specimens sent, there were several other grants in the possession of the Kapila Brahmans of that town. I soon ascertained that one of the impressions had been taken from the second half of a grant issued by king Jayabhaṭa of the Gurjara dynasty, the father of Śrîmat Dada or Dadda, whose grants have been deciphered by Professors Dowson and Bhâṇḍârkar; while the second showed the well-known genealogy of the Châlukya kings of Aṇahillapâṭhaka or Aṇhilvâḍ-Pâṭhan. As shortly afterwards I was obliged to visit Âmod and Jambûsar in the course of my official tour, I used this opportunity for spending a day at Kâvi, and for looking personally after the plates and the antiquities of the place. After a considerable amount of palavering, and a certain show of resistance, which are *de rigueur* in dealings between inquisitive antiquarians and Orientals, the Bhaṭṭas of the Kapila Brahmans allowed themselves to be persuaded by Râosâheb Gopâljî and myself to hand over five copper-plates, viz.:

1. The second half of a grant of Jayabhaṭa of Bharuch,

2, 3, and 4. Three plates (the second of which is inscribed on both sides) with a grant of a Râshṭrakûṭa king, called Govindarâja,

5. A grant of one of the Châlukya kings of Aṇhilvâḍ-Pâṭhaṇ, probably of Abhayapâla.

The history of these plates is stated to be as follows:—Five or six hundred years ago a small *ṭâṅk*, or receptacle for water, attached to the outside of a house behind a temple of Gaṅgeśvara Mahâdeva at Kâvî was cleaned, and, among the rubbish at the bottom, *seven* inscribed copper-plates were found. These were taken possession of by the caste of the Kapilas. During the times of the Musalman rule, in the reign of Mahmud Bigarhâ, the Kapilas were sorely oppressed. A portion of the community fled to Gaṅgâsâgara in Bengal, and took away two of the plates. The others remained in Kâvî. A few years ago, when a late Munsiff of Jambûsar and Râosâheb Mohanlâl Raṇchhoḍdâs, Deputy Educational Inspector of Surat, visited the town, some of them were lent to the former gentleman, and were forwarded for inspection to Mr. Justice Newton.†

The plates are now held in great reverence. Their possessors refuse to sell them at any price. But it would seem that formerly they were not esteemed so highly. For No. 2 has lost a large circular piece out of the centre, which, the owners say, was cut out in order to mend a copper pot that had lost its bottom. The Kapilas suppose that all the plates were issued by a king called Mûnj or Munja, who, according to their tradition, was cured of leprosy by bathing in the water of the Pâtâla Gaṅgâ, raised by their *heros eponymos* Kapila, and that they contain something in their favour. In confirmation of their statement they appeal to their *Mâhâtmya*, which celebrates the glories of the Kapila Kshetra, the coast between the Narmadâ and the Mahîsâgara. The latter work, of which I got the loan for a few hours, confirms, however, a portion of their story only. It describes the foundation of the Kapila caste by the Ṛishi, who is said to have assembled two thousand learned followers of each of the four Vedas, and to have thus established a new caste. It also contains the story of the raising of the water of the Pâtâla Gaṅgâ, which is said to have been brought to the Ṛishi in a small cup by the king of the Nâgas, and afterwards to have increased through the power of Kapila's *tapas*. It finally mentions that by its means a king was cured of leprosy; but his name appears to have been Karkaṭaka (or something like it, the MS. being nearly illegible in the passage), and there is no mention of his having granted Śâsanas to the Kapila community. The sequel will show

* Written in June 1875.

† From Râosâheb Mohanlâl's statements I gather that Nos. 2 and 5 only were produced and sent to Bombay. They are the least interesting and worst preserved pieces in the collection. No. 2 bears traces of having had the letters filled in with ink to make them more legible.

that the contents of the inscriptions are still more than the *Máhâtmya* at variance with the tradition current in our day.

*I.—The Grant of Jayabhaṭa.*

The plate recording a grant of Jayabhaṭa contains, as stated above, its second half only. Originally it measured ten inches in height by thirteen in breadth. But not inconsiderable pieces have been broken off from the right and left hand sides, so that the latter have assumed a nearly semicircular shape. The losses, fortunately, fall chiefly on the unimportant honorific epithets of the grantor, and on the well-known verses from the *Mahâbhârata* which pronounce blessings on those who give lands, and curses on those who resume them. It is, however, to be regretted that the date, the name of the writer, and the signature of the grantor have suffered mutilation. The plate seems to have undergone very rough treatment, as it is full of indentations. A few letters of the 20th and 22nd lines have been incised with such violence that the punch has penetrated to the other side of the plate. At the back some lines of illegible letters appear, as if the engraver had first begun his work there, but had afterwards abandoned his attempt. The plate is free from verdigris and oxidization.

The letters resemble both those of the grants of the later Valabhî kings, *e.g.* Dharasena IV, and of the Gurjara plates published by Professors Dowson and Bhâṇḍârkar. With the former they agree in the prevalence of round strokes instead of angular ones, and in the size of the letters. They bear a resemblance to the latter in many details, viz. in the immoderate length of the *mâtrâs* in the superscribed *e, ai, o,* and *au,* which curl over three and even four *aksharas;* in the shape of the initial *i,* which consists of two little united semicircles with the open end turned downwards and two dots below; in the peculiar way in which the *ṛi* is attached to the horizontal stroke of the letter *k,* instead of to the vertical one; in the exclusive use of the form ᑭ for the uncombined *l;* and in the peculiar forms of the letters used in the grantor's signature, regarding which more will be said below. They are distinguished from the cognate plates by the extreme slovenliness of the execution, which, especially towards the end, makes the work of deciphering very troublesome; by a peculiar form of the letter *t* (ᛏ) which occurs in the word *anvito* (l. 3), *mâtâ* (l. 9), [*pati*]*ta* (l. 11), and by the modern form of *n* ᛏ in the groups *ndh* and *nth* ᛏ in *gandha* (l. 10) and in *panthâ* (l. 12). The disregard displayed by the engraver of the rules of Sanskrit grammar is as profound in this plate as in all other Gurjara śâsanas.

In spite of its mutilated state, Jayabhaṭa's grant is one of the most important inscriptions which have turned up of late. For, besides giving authentic information regarding the second chief of the Gurjara dynasty known to us, it connects the history of the Gurjara kingdom with that of Valabhî; it contains most interesting geographical information; it goes far to discredit the speculations regarding the origin of the era of Vikramâditya, which of late have obtained the sanction of some of the most eminent antiquarians, and it affords an important contribution towards the history of the Indian alphabets.

As regards the first point, there can be, I think, no reasonable doubt that the grantor, Jayabhata, belonged to the Gurjara dynasty, which ruled over Bharuch during the 5th century after Christ. For the two Gurjara grants of Dadda published by Professor Dowson,‡ as well as the grant published by Professor Bhâṇḍârkar,§ and a new grant of the same king discovered lately by the Rev. J. Taylor at Umetâ, in the Kheḍâ Zillâ, || all state that Dadda or Dada I. was succeeded by Jayabhaṭa, whose son was Dadda or Dada II, the grantor of the four śâsanas. If, therefore, in the Bharuch districts a grant is found which shows the name Jayabhaṭa, a strong presumption arises that it belongs to the father of Dadda II, even though its genealogical portion may be missing. To this conclusion point also several other circumstances. Firstly, Jayabhaṭa's grant shows several of the phrases which are peculiar to those of Dadda, *e.g. puṇyayaśobhivṛiddhaye* (l. 9), *utsarpaṇârthaṁ* (l. 11), *ajñânatimirapaṭalâvṛitamatiḥ* (l. 18). The fragment of the śloka *yânîha dattâni purâ nare* . . . . .

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* New Series, vol. I. pp. 248 *et seqq.*

§ *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. X. pp. 19 *et seqq.*

|| The Umetâ Śâsana, which nearly literally agrees with Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's Ilâo plates, has considerable interest, as it is apparently the prototype of a forged Valabhî grant ascribed to Dharasena, the son of Guhasena, which is preserved in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

(l. 22) allows us to conclude that it contained the reading *narendrairdânâni dharmârthayaśaskarâṇi*, and agreed thus with D a d d a 's plates,¶ while it differed from the version of the Valabhî plates, *yanîha dâridryabhayânnarendrairdânâni dharmâyatanîkṛitani*. It also shows, like the other Bharuch grants, in the second half-verse of this śloka the incorrect reading *nirbhuktamâlya*°, instead of *nirmâlyavânta*°.

Secondly, J a y a b h a ṭ a, the grantor of the K â v î plate, shows that he, like the two D a d d a s, held his dominions under a supreme ruler, and not as an independent king. In Professor Dowson's plates D a d d a II does not call himself Mahârâja, but simply states that he had received the five great *śabdas* or titles. On Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's and the Umetâ plates, which are considerably later than the former two, D a d d a II assumes the title Mahârâja, but retains the epithet *adhigatapanchamahâśabda*. Many years ago Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî already observed that this epithet is used only by dependent chiefs, not by lords paramount. As far as my knowledge of inscriptions goes, he is right. It would also seem from the manner in which the term *mahâśabda* is used in the *Râjatarangiṇî*, *e.g.* IV. 143-44, IV. 684, that it meant not simply 'great title,' but 'title of a great court official,' and could therefore not be applied with propriety to an independent sovereign.* In the case of D a d d a I, the first ruler of the family, it is even more evident that he was nothing but a *Thâkur*. For in Professor Dowson's plates he is simply called *Sâmanta*, 'the feudal chief,' and in the other plates he receives no epithet at all beyond the customary *Śrî* or *Śrîmat*, 'the illustrious.' On the Kâvi plate J a y a b h a ṭ a gives to himself the epithets *samadhigatapanchamahâśabda* and *mahâsâmantâdhipati*, 'the lord of the great feudal chiefs,' which prove that his position was not different from that of D a d d a I. and D a d d a II.

Thirdly, it seems that Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's grant, as well as the Umetâ plates, contain an allusion to the war with the Lord of Valabhî which is mentioned in our grant. For in the description of J a y a b h a ṭ a's virtues the first grant calls him (according to Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's corrected reading) *payonidhikrita ubhayataṭaprarûḍhavanalekhâvihṛitanirankuśadânapravâhapravṛittadigdantivibhramaguṇasamûhaḥ;* which compound Professor Bhâṇḍârkar renders by "who by *his diversions on both sides of the sea*, and the unstinted flow of his bounty, realized in himself the qualities of the guardian elephants of the quarters." This translation is in the main correct, though a various reading given by the U m e t â grant makes the connexion of the parts of the compound clearer.† Now if it is said of a ruler of Bharuch that he made expeditions on *both shores of the sea*, the obvious interpretation is that he fought *on the eastern and western shores of the Gulf of Cambay*. But that is just what the K â v î plate alleges J a y a b h a ṭ a to have done, when it is stated that "he quieted the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhî."

If it is thus evident that the J a y a b h a ṭ a of Dadda's grants and of the Kâvî plate are one and the same person, it follows that the date given in the latter cannot be referred to the same era as those of the former. Dadda's plates are dated *Saṁvatsara* 380, 385 (Dowson), *Śakanṛipakâla Saṁvatsara* 400 (Umetâ), *Śakanṛipakâla Saṁvatsara* 417 (Bhâṇḍârkar).

Professor Bhâṇḍârkar has shown that the Śakanṛipakâla of his plate is the Śaka or Śâlivâhana era, which begins 78-9 A.D., and that Professor Dowson's dates have to be referred to the same era. Now as J a y a b h a ṭ a, the father of D a d d a, dates his grant in Saṁvatsara 486, it is evident that he used some era which begins earlier than the Śâlivâhana Śaka. It appears, therefore, natural to assume that the Vikrama era is meant; and this conjecture is, as Professor Bâpudeva Śâstrî of Banâras informs me, confirmed by the astronomical data contained in the grant, viz. the statement that Ashâḍha Śudi 10

¶ *Jour. R. As. Soc. loc. cit.* 270.

* The M a h â ś a b d a s seem to have been usually five, but not always the same. In the first passage of the *Râjatarangiṇî*, quoted above, the offices are stated to have been Mahâpratîhara, Mahâsaṁdhivigraha, Mahâśvaśâlâ, Mahâbhâṇḍâgâra, Mahâsâdhanabhâgya, and K a l h a ṇ a distinctly says that these names were invented by L a l i t â d i t y a. In the grant of D h r u v a s e n a I. published in the *Ind. Ant.* the titles partly differ,

† The Umetâ grant reads *payonidhîkṛita*, etc., and the text should be corrected to "*payonidhîkṛitobhayataṭaprarûḍhavanalekhâprakṛitanirankuśadânapravâhapravṛittadigdantivibhramaguṇasamûhaḥ*." The exact translation of the compound would be "who made an ocean of, *i.e.* possessed in the highest degree, the sportive qualities of the guardian elephants of the quarters, that roam in the jungles on both shores (of the ocean) and are engaged in shedding copious streams of ichor." The king's resemblance to the elephants consists in his 'roaming on both shores of the ocean,' and in his *dâna*, which word, as Professor Bhâṇḍârkar has pointed out, contains the usual pun.

of 486 fell on Sunday, and that on that day the sun entered the sign of Karkaṭa.‡ Professor Bâpûdeva states that the grant must have been issued on July 10, 429 A.D. This result agrees perfectly with what we know of the time of Dadda II. For as the earliest grant of the latter is dated Śaka 380, or 458-9 A.D., the interval between this and the date 429 in his father's grant is by no means too long.

The discovery of a grant older than the year 445 A.D. and dated in the Vikrama era is fatal to the theory, now held by some Orientalists, that the Vikrama era is (*sit venia verbo!*) a forgery, and has been invented after the battle of Korur,§ by a Vikramâditya who wished to add the glories of a more ancient hero to his own. I, for my part, must confess that I have never doubted that the Vikrama era, which begins 57 B.C., was really established by a king of that name who lived before the beginning of the Christian era, though I do not think that any reliance can be placed on the legends told by the Hindus regarding him, or on the modern attempts at reconstructing the history of his times. As regards the use of his era, Dr. Bhâû Dâjî's statement, that it does not occur before the tenth century, is certainly erroneous. One of the Râshṭrakûṭa plates|| of the eighth century is dated both in it and in the Śâlivâhana Śaka, and the Pâṭhaṇ inscriptions of Saṁvat 802,¶ recording the accession of Vanarâja, can be referred to no other era.*

The geographical data of Jayabhaṭa's inscriptions are as interesting as the chronological ones. As in the case of Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's grant, it is possible to identify almost all the villages mentioned. The village of Kemajju is the present Kimôj or Kîmaj.† Straight to the west from Kîmaj at a distance of five or six hundred yards there is the temple of Âsameśvar, the Âśramadeva of our grant. The present temple is a small brick building erected a few years ago; but it contains an ancient Linga, and near it to the east are an old well and a depression in the ground which looks like the remnant of a small tank. To the west of the village lies Sîgâm or Śîgâm, the Sîhugrâma of the grant; towards the south-west there is the village of Jâmaḍi,‡ called also Sâmaḍî, which corresponds to Jambhâ; and to the north we have the ruins of Golel (on the Trigonometrical map erroneously called Galol), the Goliavali of our plate. Chhîrakaha is not to be traced. Solepur Sagari occupies the position assigned to it.§ The old roads mentioned in the grant, or rather their representatives (for every monsoon effaces them completely), still exist, and it is not difficult to find the limits of the field assigned to the temple in the śâsana. Golel, which has been entirely deserted of late years in favour of Degâm, as well as Kâvî, Ruṇâḍ, and four other villages show remnants of ancient brick *wâvs* of a very peculiar construction. These structures, whose distinguishing marks are double front-walls adorned with fighting lions and elephants, and with peacocks in chunam relievos, further attest the great age of the villages. The people ascribe them to the king Mûnj or Munja, who has been mentioned above. The whole district abounds in ancient temples, *lingas*, and *mûrtis*, and would, I think, repay a visit of our Archæological Surveyor.||

Jayabhaṭa's grant shows, also, that the whole of the coast country up to the Mahî belonged to the dominions of the Gurjara chiefs, and that the northern part of the Bharuch Zillâ, probably comprising the tâlukâs of Bharuch, Vâ-

‡ I must state that Professor Kero L. Chhatre of Puṇâ, who kindly calculated the date for me, and a Joshî of Surat, dissent from Professor Bâpudeva's statement. Both assert that in 486 Vikrama the Karkasaṁkrânti fell on the 13th of Ashâḍha Śudi, and that Ash. Śu. 10 fell on a Tuesday. Both agree, also, that the calculation for 486 Śâlivâhana Śaka gives even less satisfactory results. Tatra bahuvidaḥ pramâṇam. But, even if the Bombay authorities should prove to be right, the error in the grant's statements is so small that it may be put down to negligence.

§ Or Korûr—*vide* Mr. Fergusson's Notes on the Śâka Saṁvat, and Gupta Eras, in *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. VII, pp. 8-19.—Ed.

|| The Sâmangaḍh plate of 754 A.D.: see *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. II. pp. 371 *seqq.*

¶ See *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* 1873-74.

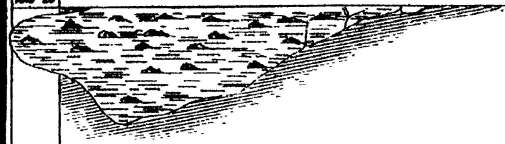
* Having examined this latter, I am in doubts of its genuineness: possibly, however, it may be a copy of an older one; but if a copy, may the mode of dating not possibly be an interpolation?—Ed.

† The first form occurs on the maps, the second I heard used by the villagers themselves. On an old Pâliâ situated to the north of the village on the road to Golel, it is called Kemaj.

‡ Jâma-di consists of *Jambhâ* (with assimilation of *mbh*) = *Jammâ*, and with lengthening to compensate for the loss of the second *m* = *Jâma* and the diminutive affix *ḍî* = Sanskrit *ṛî*, or *lâ*.

§ See the accompanying map.

|| Besides Kâvî and its neighbourhood, the Jaina ruins of Gandhâr, as well as Châṇchwel and Bûa, the ancient seats of the Yâdava Ṭhâkurs, and Sajodra near Hâṁsot, are well worth a visit if the visitor is prepared to spend some money on excavations.





# MAP OF PART OF JAMBUSAR TALUKA IN BHARUCK ZILLA

TO ILLUSTRATE

DR. G. BÜHLER'S PAPER.

SCALE–2 MILES TO AN INCH

grâ, Âmod, and Jambûsar, were included in the Bharukachchha Vishaya, just as the southern Ankuleśvara or Akrûreśvara Vishaya comprised the tâlukâ of Ankleśvar together with the Peṭṭâ Mahâl Hâṁsoṭ (Haṁsapaṭṭaka ?).

The last point which requires attention is the sign-manual of king Jayabhaṭa. Any casual examiner will observe that it contains four letters which are nearly pure Devanâgarî, viz. the double *ma* in म्म, the syllable *Śrî* श्री, and the letter *ya* य्. It is also very remarkable that the horizontal strokes over the remaining letters of the sign-manual are unusually long. If Jayabhaṭa's grant alone showed these peculiarities, they might be used as an argument against its genuineness, or they would, at all events, be difficult to explain. Fortunately this is, however, not the case. Professor Dowson's grant of 380 shows in the sign-manual three times a form of *s* स which is exactly the same as that now used in Mârvâḍ, and the *noḥ* in Śrîvîtarâgasûnoḥ resembles exactly the Devanâgarî form now in use (सूनोः). Again, in Professor Dowson's plate of 385 the *śri* श्री and *ga* of *śrîvîtarâgasûnoḥ* come also nearer to the Devanâgarî than to the forms of the so-called cave-characters. Further, in the Umetâ grant the sign-manual is as below :—

and exhibits a large number of perfectly and imperfectly formed Devanâgarî letters, as well as the horizontal and vertical strokes which are characteristic of that alphabet.

The same peculiarity may also be observed in the Kâvî grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Govindarâja, dated 827-28 A.D. and translated below, where the sign-manual is engraved with a stylus, while the body of the grant has been punched in as usual. There also the letters of the signature are highly ornamented half-formed Devanâgarî, and about twice the size of the letters of the grant.

These facts, I think, suffice to prove two things :—firstly, that the engravers of the plates tried to imitate the signatures of the kings which they had before them in the written documents which they copied ; and, secondly, that already, in the beginning of the fifth century A.D., an alphabet resembling the present Devanâgarî, and based like it on the principle of fitting the old cave-characters between horizontal and vertical lines was used for the purposes of everyday life.

There are other points, such as the existence of a few inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries¶ written in Devanâgarî characters, which make it very probable that the alphabet now in general use throughout the greater part of India is much older than is commonly supposed. But the subject is too important to be treated incidentally, and I must reserve its fuller consideration for another opportunity. For the present I only wish to draw the attention of Sanskritists to this point.

1 ........द्र..दलित*द्विरदकुम्भस्थलशलितमुक्ताफलनिक........................
2 ....[संग्रा]मे चकितदक्षिणबाहुशिखरः पद्माकर इव प्रकटानेकलक्ष .......................
3 ....कर इव सकलकलापान्वितो न पुनर्दोषकर सागर इवान्तःप्रवेशितविपक्षभूभृन्मण्डल ......
4 ........चण इव सुदर्शनचक्रक्षपितविपक्षो न पुनःकृष्णस्वभावः हर इवाङ्गीकृतभूतिनिचयो........
5 ........बालेन्दुबिम्बप्रतिमेन येन प्रवर्द्धमानस्वतनूदयेन प्रणामकामोल्पकरेण लोककृताञ्ज[लि] ..............
6 .. कृतोस्ति असिधाराजलेन शमितप्रासभं वलभीपतेर्युद्दे यो नृशेषलोकुसभापकल्पपदस्वास्थिकानल....

¶ There are two Devanâgarî inscriptions dated in Saṁvat (Vikrama) 802 under the images of Umâ-Maheśvara and Gaṇapati at Aṇhilvâḍ-Pâṭhan, and Major Watson has found a third, dated Saṁvat 900, on a Pâliâ at Waghel.

* In line 1 read मलित° l. 3—सकलकलाकलाप ; दोषाकरः l. 5—लोकः l. 6—शमितं, युद्दे, लोक°.—स्थि° uncertain.

7 [फल]द एष सविभियंति† देववधूकदम्मकैर्न्नृपशतमकुटरत्नकिकणावलिरंजित्तपादपङ्कजः समधिगतपंचम[हाश]

8 [ब्दोम]हासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीजयभटः कुशली सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकाद [ी]

9 [न]नुदर्शयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये केमज्जुग्रा [म]

10 [नि]विष्टाश्रमदेवपादेभ्यः गन्धधूपपुष्पदीपप्रदातसंशीतकसत्रप्रवतनसत्माज्र्जनोदयेन देवकुलस्य खण्डस्फुटि[त]

11 [प]िततनिसंस्कारनवकर्म्मोत्कादुत्सर्पणार्त्थं श्रीभरुकच्छविषयान्तर्गतकेमज्जुग्रामे ग्रामक्यापरदक्षिणसीम्नि पञ्चाशन्नि] वर्त्तनप्रमा—

12 णो भूखण्डः यस्य घाटनानि पूर्व्वुटः छीरकहग्रामगामिपन्था दक्षिणतः जम्भाग्रामसीमासन्धिः अपरतः जम्भाग्रामएगोल्लिभवलि—

13 ग्रामगामी पन्था उत्तरतः केमज्जुग्रामसीहुग्गाम क्तामीपन्था वटवापी च एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितं क्षेत्रं सोपरिकदर……

14 सभूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्याहिरण्यादेयं सदशापरध सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं अचाटभटप्रावेश्यं सर्व्वराजकीयनामहस्तप्र—

15 क्षेपणीयं पूर्व्वापरदेवब्रह्मदायरहितं भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनमद्याषाढशुद दशम

16 कर्क्कटकरशौ सक्रान्ते रवौ पुण्यातेथावुदकातिसर्ग्गेण देवदयत्वेन प्रतिपादितं यतोस्योचितया तपोवनाचारस्थित्या भुंजतः कृ-

17 षतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्याषेधे वार्त्तातव्यमागामिभिद्रनृपतिभिः अस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वायमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपा-

18 लयितव्यश्च यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैस्सोपपातकैः

19 संयुतिस्स्यादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि सर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमं-

20 ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् । विन्ध्याटवीस्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदयं हरन्ति ये । बहुभि[र्व्व-

21 सुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुव[र्ण्णं भूर्वैष्ण]

22 [वी सूर्य्यसुता]श्च गावः लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरे ……….

23 ……… निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्ना ……………

24 ……………… नाच्छेयोनुपालनमिति ॥ श्रीकण्डकणकदूतकं ॥ संवत्सरे शतचतुष्टये ष ……………

25 ….([illegible] 486)‡ अषाढसुदि आदित्यवारे ॥ निबद्धं लिखितं चेतं……………………

26 ……………………स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभट [दे] ……………………….

*Translation.*

(His son is) the Lord of the great feudal chiefs, the illustrious Jayabhaṭa……who (is covered) with showers of pearls fallen from the split temples of the elephants (of his enemies). . . ., whose uplifted right arm trembles in battle . ., who like a lotus-pool many tens of thousands of opened . . . . . , who resembles the (full) moon since he is master of the multitude of all the fine arts (*kalá*), just as the full moon includes all the digits (*kalá*), but is not affected by any blemish,—who resembles the ocean since he protects the crowd of hostile kings§ (*vipakshabhúbhṛit*), just as the ocean received the multitude of wingless mountains (*vipakshabhúbhṛit*),—who resembles Krishṇa, since he destroys his enemies with his army placed in a well-looking circular battle array (*sudarśanachakra*), just as Krishṇa slew his foes with his war-disc Sudarśana (*sudarśanachakra*), but has not a black heart (*kṛishṇasvabháva*),—who resembles Śiva, since he is covered with a great quantity of ornaments (*bhútinichaya*), just as Śiva is covered with a great quantity of ashes (*bhútinichaya*). . . . ,—who resembles the new moon, since whilst the splendour of his body is increasing he causes the people to worship with folded hands on account of the lightness of the taxation (*alpakara*), just as the new moon when she is on the increase and sheds slender rays (*alpakara*) still causes the people to salute . . . .||,—who by the edge of

† In l. 7 read—सर्वैर्गीयते. कदम्बकै°; मुकुट°; किरण°; रंजित°; l. 8—भोगिक°; l. 9—पित्रोरा°, l. 10—प्रदानसंगीत ….प्रवर्तनसंमार्जनो°; l. 11—पतितप्रतिसंस्कार° मस्या°; l. 12—°यस्याघाट° पूर्वतः; °मी; °संधिः; ग्रामात् गोलि. l. 13—केमज्जुग्रमात्सीहुग्रामगामी. l. 14—सधान्यहि°; °दशापराधं; राजकीयानां; l. 15—Possibly शुद्ध; possibly दशमी or मा· l. 16—राशौ संक्रा°; देवदाय°; l. 17—न्यासेधे; वर्त्तितव्य°; °गामिभिर्भद्र; l. 19— संयुत°; वर्ष°; स्वर्गे; l. 20— विन्ध्याटवीष्वतो°;—भूमिदायं; l. 23—निर्माल्यवान्त°.

‡ The lower part of the mark for 400 is broken off. I owe its restoration to Mr. Bhagvânlâl Mâdhavjî, who has lately found it on a Valabhî plate.

§ *i.e.* when they have made their submission.

|| This refers to the Hindu custom of saluting the new moon on its first appearance.

his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of V a l a b h î,—who quenching the fire of the desires of the great Paṇḍits of the whole world and giving (them the fruits of their wishes) is praised in songs by the whole crowd of the wives of the gods,—whose lotus-feet are reddened by the rays of the crest-jewels of a hundred princes,—(and) who has obtained the five great titles.¶

(He being) in good health addresses these commands to *all* kings, feudal chiefs, governors of provinces, governors of zillâs,* chiefs of tâlukas and villages, (his) officials and (all) others:—

Be it known unto you that, in order to increase the fame and the spiritual merit of my parents and of my own self in this world and in the next, I have given, (confirming the gift) by a libation of water, on the tenth day of the bright half of Ashâḍha, when the sun entered the sign of the Scorpion on an auspicious day, to the worshipful Â ś r a m a d e v a, established in the village of K e m a j j u, in order to defray the expenses of perfume, frankincense, flowers, lamps, of a perpetual musical service, of the cleaning of the temple, and of the repairs of its broken, rent, and fallen (portions), of new works, of painting (it), and the like, a piece of land measuring fifty *nivartanas* and situated on the south-western boundary, in the village of K e m a j j u, inclnded in the province of B h a r u k a c h c h h a, as a gift to the gods—this field being marked by the following four boundaries:—to the east by the road leading to C h h î r a k a h a, to the south by the extremity of the territory of J a m b h â, to the west by the road from J a m b h â to G o l i ạ v a l i, to the north by the road to S î h u g r â m a and the well near the *Vaḍ* tree—according to the analogy of the reasoning from the familiar instance of the ground and of the clefts therein, together with its . . . together with its green and dry produce, together with its income in grain and gold, together with its ten faults,† together with the right of forced labour arising therefrom, the same being not to be entered by the regular or irregular soldiers,‡ nor to be meddled with by any royal officers, (the grant being made) under exclusion of all ancient and recent gifts to gods and Brahmans, and to last as long as moon, sun, sea, earth, rivers and hills endure.

Wherefore nobody is to cause hindrance to him who by virtue of his following the rule of conduct of this hermitage enjoys it, cultivates it, causes it to be cultivated, or gives orders regarding it.

The future gracious kings, be they of our race or another, should respect this our grant and protect it, and he who—his mind being obscured by the dark cloud of ignorance—resumes it or allows it to be resumed, shall be guilty of the five mortal sins and of the minor sins.

And the venerable Vyâsa, the compiler of the Vedas, has stated as follows:—

"The giver of land resides sixty thousand years in heaven, but he who resumes it or abets its resumption resides as long in hell."

"Those who resume grants of land are born again as black cobras, and live in dry holes in the waterless jungles of the V i n d h y a s."

"Many kings, as Sagara and others, have enjoyed the earth; the fruit of the earth belongs to him who possesses it."

"The first-born of Fire is Gold, (from Vishṇu comes the Earth, from the Sun are born) the Cows; he who presents gold, a cow, or land has given the three worlds."

"What pious man would resume the gifts of former kings . . . . . . which resemble leavings?"

"He should protect, according to his power, grants of land made by himself or others . . . . . . . . . . Protecting is better than giving."

The illustrious Kaṇḍakaṇaka is the executive officer. In the year four hundred and eighty-six (486), in the bright half of Ashâḍha, on a Sunday. Composed and written by . . . . My own sign-manual, (that) of the illustrious J a y a b h a ṭ a (d) e (va).

(*To be continued*).

¶ Regarding the correct interpretation of the word *mahâśabda* see above.

* In the Gurjara inscriptions the *vishayapatis* are always placed before *râshṭrapatis*,—contrary to the practice of other grants. The *vishaya* in Gujarât must have been a larger territory than the *râshṭra*.

† Several eminent Śâstrîs whom I have lately consulted regarding the term *sadaśâparâdha* have independently arrived at the conclusion that the ten faults refer to the ten actions about land possible under the *Sîmâvivâda-prakaraṇa*. I had made the same conjecture.

‡ I now translate the word *châṭa* by 'irregular soldiers.' In the treatises on law it is usually explained by *stena*, 'a thief,' and in some cases it is combined with *krûra*, 'cruel men.' Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî renders it by 'followers of the king,' and comes, I think, very near to the truth. For the enumeration of the component parts of an Indian army, as given in Kâmandaka's *Nîtisâra*, XVI. 6-7, includes, besides the *âṭavikaṁ balam*, 'the men of the forest,' *i.e.* Bhîls, Kolîs, &c., who never were much better than thieves, especially the *aganitân krûrân lubdhakân dushṭakarmaṇaḥ*, 'the uncounted cruel ones, hunters, doers of evil deeds or outcastes,' *i.e.* the whole rabble of irregular soldiery and camp followers, who in our days, too, always swell the train of a native prince.

# THE NÎTIMANJARÎ OF DYÂ DVIVEDA.

BY DR. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE, PUNA.

At a time when both in Europe and in India much attention is paid to the study of the Vedas, a short account of the *Nîtimanjarî*, composed by Dyâ Dviveda, may not be altogether void of interest, the more so because MSS. of it appear to be rare,* and because the title describes the contents of the work very vaguely and imperfectly. The *Nîtimanjarî* is a collection of moral maxims in verse which differs from similar collections in this, that the maxims propounded in it are in every case illustrated by some story told or alluded to in the *Ṛigveda*. Indra's battles with the demons, the many legends told about the Aśvins and Ṛibhus, the prayers addressed to the rising sun, interest the author only in so far as they appear to him to inculcate some moral truth,—that the wicked are sure to meet with punishment, that kindness towards all beings is the true sign of nobility, that father and mother should be honoured, &c. &c. For illustrations of such maxims he has searched through the whole of the *Ṛigveda*, and in making the Vedic legends serve his purpose he has shown no small amount of ingenuity.†

The *Nîtimanjarî* contains about 200 verses; it is divided into eight chapters, each of which contains those verses of which the illustrations are taken from the corresponding Ashṭaka of the *Ṛigveda*. The whole is accompanied by a commentary, which not only explains the original verses, but also cites the Vedic passages referred to in the latter and comments on them at great length. Both the text and commentary are composed by Dyâ Dviveda, the son of Lakshmîdhara, grandson of Atri, and great-grandson of Mukunda Dviveda. Nothing certain is known to me regarding his age, but as in the interpretation of the Vedic verses cited by him he closely follows and often copies the commentary of Sâyaṇâchârya, it is clear that he cannot be older than the latter. The large number of Vedic and other writings quoted by him‡ give to his work at first sight some appearance of originality, which it loses as soon as one discovers that in this, as in everything else, the author has simply followed Sâyaṇa. The only work of which he does cite long passages that are not to be found in Sâyaṇa's commentary is the *Bṛihaddevatâ*, a fact from which a future editor of the latter may be able to derive some advantage.

On the whole, the *Nîtimanjarî*, together with its Bhâshya, appears to me to be of little value, and not to deserve a complete edition. To give the reader some idea of the way in which the author has accomplished his task, I publish, below, the verses contained in the first chapter. They are generally so simple and easy to understand that an English translation would be superfluous; but in order to show at once what Vedic passages are alluded to, I have quoted under each verse the verse or verses of the *Ṛigveda* on which the author professes to have based each maxim.

बहुप्रजस्यापत्यस्य दारिद्र्यं सूचयति

बहुप्रजस्य पुत्रस्य सुवाचो ऽपि सदा विपत् ।
सीदन्निन्द्रं मधुच्छन्दा वस्वयाचदृचेत§ नः ॥ १ ॥

(Rv. I, 4, 6.)

याचकानां धैर्यं कुत इत्यर्थं आह

याचकानां कुतो धैर्यं यत्तत्याज पुरंदरः ।
अभूत्सोममनाः सानौ दृष्ट्वा तमिध्ममानसम् ॥ २ ॥

(Rv. I, 10, 2.)

निन्दावादचौर्यान्निवृत्तिः कार्येत्यर्थं आह

निन्दावादरतो न स्यात्परेषां नैव तस्करः ।
निन्दावादाद्धि गोहर्ता शक्रेणाभिहतो वलः ॥ ३ ॥

(Rv. I, 11, 5.)

* The only copy which has ever reached Europe is, if I am not mistaken, in the possession of Prof. M. Müller. One copy I bought some years ago and a few others are mentioned in the catalogues of Sanskrit MSS. that have lately been published in India.

† It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the Homeric poems have been treated similarly by the Greeks. Anaxagoras is said to have been the first who maintained τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν εἶναι περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης, or who considered the Homeric poems to be ποιήματα περὶ διαφορᾶς δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων. See Bernhardy's *History of Greek Literature*, vol. II. 1, p. 66.

‡ In the commentary on the first chapter the author quotes the following:—Anukramaṇî, Âśvalâyana-sûtra, an Upanishad, Ṛiglakshaṇa or Vaidikalakshaṇa of Śaunaka (Ṛigveda-prâtiśâkhya), Ṛigvidhâna of Śaunaka, Kaushîtaki-brâhmaṇa and gṛihyasûtra, Tâṇḍyam, Panchavinśa-brâhmaṇa, Bṛihaddevatâ, Brâhmaṇa, Bhâshya (sometimes Sâyaṇa's commentary on the Ṛigveda, but perhaps also some commentary on the Bṛihaddevatâ), Yâska, Vishṇupurâṇa, Śatapatham, Śâṭyâyanam, and Śâṭyâyaninaḥ.

§ MS. °दृचोत नः.

सोमसुद्धन्य¶ इत्यर्थं आह
कुयोनिजो ऽपि सर्वेभ्यो धन्यो भवति सोमसुत् ।
ऐच्छन्मेधातिथिः साम्यमुशिक्पुत्रस्य सुन्वतः ॥ ४ ॥
(Rv. I, 18, 1.)

पित्रोर्भक्तिपरेण भाव्यमित्यृग्दृष्टान्तेनाह
मातरं पितरं भक्त्या तोषयेद्यः स भात्युरु ।
पितरावृभवश्चक्रुरुरुभासो नवावतः ॥ ५ ॥
(Rv. I, 20, 4.)

कृतसंविभागो भुङ्क्ते इत्याह
विभज्य भुञ्जते सन्तो भक्ष्यं प्राप्य सहाग्निना ।
चतुरश्चमसान्कृत्वा तं सोममृभवः पपुः ॥ ६ ॥
(Rv. I, 20, 6.)

पितरौ वन्द्यावित्याह
पितरौ हि सदा वन्द्यौ न त्यजेदपराधिनौ ।
पित्रा बद्धः* शुनःशेपो ययाचे पितृदर्शनम् ॥ ७ ॥
(Rv. I, 24, 1.)

देवानामपि स्तुतिः प्रियेत्याह
ऐश्वर्यपरिपूर्णो ऽपि दद्यात्स्तुत्यापि चेप्सितम् ।
शुनःशेपाय सौवर्णं रथमिन्द्रः स्तुतो ददौ ॥ ८ ॥
(Rv. I, 30, 16.)

बहुभिःस्पर्धा न कार्येत्याह
हिंसाक्रूरतराचारैर्न व्रजेद्विश्वशत्रुताम् ।
विश्वशत्रुर्हतो वृत्र इन्द्रेणापां निरोधकः ॥९ ॥
(Rv. I, 32, 11.)

यज्वनां ये स्पर्धिनस्तेषामिन्द्र एव शास्तेत्याह
यज्वभिर्नास्तिको भूत्वा स्पर्धां कुर्यान्न बुद्धिमान् ।
स्पर्धमाना अयज्वानो हता इन्द्रेण तैः सह ॥ १० ॥
(Rv. I, 33, 5.)

देवतापि कृतं कर्म भुङ्क्ते इत्याह
शुभाशुभं कृतं† कर्म भुञ्जते देवता अपि ।
सविता हेमहस्तो ऽभूद्भगो ऽन्धः पूषको ऽद्विजः ॥ ११ ॥
(Rv. I, 35, 9.)

कया प्रजया प्रजावान्भवतीति प्रश्न आह
अन्य इच्छन्ति यत्साम्यं प्रजावान्प्रजया तया ।
ब्रह्मा स्वसूनुसाम्येष्टेः काण्वस्यातः प्रजापतिः ॥ १२ ॥
(Rv. I, 45, 3.)

¶ MS. सोमसुतधन्य. * MS. बद्धशु° † MS. °शुभकृतं.

याच्ञा रूपहानिकरी भवतीत्याह
प्रभोरपि धिगर्थित्वं रूपहानिं करोति यत् ।
मेधातिथिं यदायाचदिन्द्रो मेषो ऽभवत्ततः ॥ १३ ॥
(Rv. I, 51, 1.)

निःस्पृहदातारं स्तुवन्नाह
स इन्द्रादधिको दानं यो दद्यान्निःस्पृहः पुमान् ।
इन्द्रो ऽदाद्वृचयां पुत्रीं‡ सुन्वते सोमवल्लभः ॥ १४ ॥
(Rv. I, 51, 13.)

नृणां धनदो धन्यो महानित्याह
नृषु यो धनदो धन्य इन्द्रतुल्यैः प्रशस्यते ।
सुष्टुत्या द्रविणोदःसु सव्यो नार्हेति दुःष्टुतिः ॥ १५ ॥
(Rv. I, 53, 1.)

विमलेन मनसा भाव्यमित्याह
देवा रक्षन्ति तं नित्यं यस्य स्याद्विमलं मनः ।
ररक्षेन्द्रो ऽमला ऽश्रोणर्वीतियदुतुर्वशान् ॥ १६ ॥
(Rv. I, 54, 6.)

द्विजो रक्ष्य इत्याह
इन्द्रः स्याद्ब्रह्महीनो ऽपि द्विजरक्षां करोति यः ।
पुरेन्द्रः सूर्यसंग्रामे ररक्ष द्योतशं द्विजम् ॥ १७ ॥
(Rv. I, 61, 15.)

तत्त्वविदापि संसारान्न मुच्यत इत्याह
तत्त्वविदपि संसारे मूढो भवति लोभतः ।
तत्त्वज्ञा सरमायाचदिन्द्रमन्नं गवां ग्रहे ॥ १८ ॥
(Rv. I, 62, 3.)

महान्मृतो ऽप्युपकारीत्याह
महान्पातितकायो ऽपि करोति सुखिनं परम् ।
दधीचो ऽश्वशिरोऽस्थ्नेन्द्रो हत्वा वृत्राण्यभूत्सुखी ॥ १९ ॥
(Rv. I, 84, 13.)

सतामुपकाराय यः श्रमस्तत्सुखमित्याह
सतां परतृषां§ हन्तुं यः श्रमस्तत्सुखं भवेत् ।
मरुतः कूपमुत्क्षिप्य गोतमायाम्बु शं ददुः ॥ २० ॥
(Rv. I, 85, 10.)

साधव उपकर्तुमकृत्यमपि कुर्वन्तीत्याह
अकृत्यमपि कुर्वन्ति परकार्याय साधवः ।
दीर्घजिह्वीं मनुष्येभ्यः कुत्सो हत्वाभयं ददौ ॥ २१ ॥
(Rv. I, 97, 1.)

‡ MS. पुत्री. § MS. परतृषाः

उक्तं कर्तव्यमित्याह

उक्तं चैव प्रकर्तव्यं हिंसायुक्तं भवेद्यदि¶ ।
पश्वादिहिंसनं कुत्समृषिराह तमध्वरम् ॥ २२ ॥
(Rv. I, 101, 8.)

अनुक्तं सुखरूपमपि हिंसेत्याह

अनुक्तं च न कर्तव्यं सुखरूपं भवेद्यदि ।
परस्त्रीणां हि संभोगात्कुत्स* आहेति निष्षपी ॥२३॥
(Rv. I, 104, 5.)

द्वेषदुष्टं मनो न कार्यमित्याह

द्वेषदुष्टं मनः कार्यं पुंसा नात्महितैषिणा† ।
इन्द्रो ऽवधीद्द्विषः पिप्रुकुयवशुष्णशम्बरान् ॥ २४ ॥
(Rv. I, 103, 8.)

यदि भ्राता द्विट् स शत्रुरित्याह

अन्यः सुहृज्जनो भ्राता शत्रुर्भ्राता सहोदरः ।
अश्विभ्यां तारितो भुज्युस्त्रितः कूपे निपातितः ॥ २५ ॥
(Rv. I, 105, 17.)

श्रुतिस्मृत्युक्ते कृते देवत्वमाप्नोतीत्याह

श्रुतिस्मृत्युक्त आचारः कर्तव्यो ऽमृतिमिच्छता ।
नरो ऽमृतत्वमापन्ना ऋभवः कर्मणा तयोः ॥ २६ ॥
(Rv. I, 110, 4.)

सन्त उपकारनिरता इत्याह

सन्तः प्रभुत्वमापन्ना नोपकारं त्यजन्ति हि ।
ऋभवः प्राप्य देवत्वमृषेर्वत्समजीवयन् ॥ २७ ॥
(Rv. I, 110, 8.)

सन्तो लीलयोपकुर्वन्तीत्याह

दृष्ट्वा परव्यथां सन्त उपकुर्वन्ति लीलया ।
दितेर्गर्भव्यथां हत्वा रुद्रो ऽभून्महतां पिता ॥ २८ ॥
(Rv. I, 114, 6.)

महतामुदयः सुखकर इत्याह

महतामुदयो धन्यो येन विश्वं प्रकाश्यते‡ ।
पूर्यते तेजसा विश्वमुदये जगदात्मनः ॥ २९ ॥
(Rv. I, 115, 1.)

उपकारात्समृद्धिं सार्थकीं कुर्यादित्याह

समृद्धिं सार्थकीं कुर्यात्सूपकारेण सत्यवान् ।
वैमद्या जाहुषाज्जातं नासत्यानो हि सार्थकम् ॥ ३० ॥
(Rv. I, 116, 1 and 20.)

यादृशः पिता तादृशः पुत्र इत्याह

यादृशाज्जायते जन्तुर्नाम कर्मास्य तादृशम् ।
§अश्विनावश्वजावश्वं ददतुः पेदवे सितम् ॥ ३१ ॥
(Rv. I, 116, 6.)

विदुषां स्तुत्या वैदुष्यं भवतीत्याह

वैदुष्यमिच्छता कार्यं विदुषां गुणवर्णनम् ।
अश्विनोर्विदुषोः कीर्त्या कक्षीवानभवत्सुधीः ॥३२॥
(Rv. I, 116, 7.)

ब्राह्मणान्न पीडयेदित्याह

विप्रपीडाकरो दैत्यो विप्ररक्षाकरः सुरः ।
दैत्यैर्बद्धस्तमस्यत्रिरश्विभ्यां मोचितो वधात् ॥ ३३ ॥
(Rv. I, 116, 8.)

यो ऽम्बुदः¶ स सत्यवान्भवतीत्याह

नासत्यं विद्यते तस्य यो ऽम्बु दद्यात्पिपासते ।
नासत्यौ ददतुः कूपाद्गोतमाय शराय वाः ॥ ३४ ॥
(Rv. I, 116, 9.)

जरया सर्वं पीड्यत इत्याह

सर्वेषामेव जन्तूनां सर्वदुःखाधिका जरा ।
च्यवनो ऽप्यश्विनोः स्तुत्या ययाप्तो ऽभूत्पुनर्युवा**
(Rv. I, 116, 10.) ॥ ३५ ॥

दोषयुक्तस्याश्रयो†† न कर्तव्य इत्याह

न दद्याद्दोषशीलानामाश्रयं‡‡ क्रूरकर्मणाम् ।
दैत्या दत्ताश्रयाः कूपे §§प्राक्षिपन्रेभवन्दनौ ॥ ३६ ॥
(Rv. I, 116, 11 and 24.)

विद्या देयेत्याह

शीर्ष्णो ऽपि कर्तनं सह्यं विद्यां दातुं प्रबुद्धिभिः ।
दध्यङ् मधुप्रदानार्थं तत्याज शिरसो द्वयम् ॥ ३७ ॥
(Rv. I, 116, 12.)

रूपादिपञ्चकं सत्कारार्थं भवतीत्याह

रूपर्द्धिकुलविद्यर्तं सत्कारात्सार्थमश्विवत् ।
विश्वके वध्रिमत्यां यत्पुत्रदानात्स्वभूत्तयोः ॥ ३८ ॥
( Rv. I, 116, 13 and 23.)

साधवो निर्गुणेष्वपि दयां कुर्वन्तीत्याह

निर्गुणेष्वपि सत्त्वेषु दयां कुर्वन्ति साधवः ।
अश्विभ्यां मोचिता ग्रस्ता पक्षिणी वर्तिका शुना¶¶ ॥३९॥
( Rv. I, 116, 14).

---

¶ MS. °तव्यो हिंसाद्युक्तो भवेद्यादि. * MS. संयोगाकुत्स. † नात्महतैषिणा. ‡ MS. प्रकाशते. § MS. अश्विभ्याम°

¶ MS. यो ऽबुंदः ** MS. पुनर्नवा. †† MS. दोषइक्तुस्याश्रयो. ‡‡ MS. °श्रयः §§ MS. प्राक्षिपद्रेभ° ¶¶ MS. शुभा.

रात्रौ निःशङ्कमनसा न संचरेदित्याह
क

न संचरणशीलः स्यान्निशि निःशङ्कमानसः ।
क

विश्पला छिन्नपादासीत्खेलस्याजौ यतो निशि ॥ ४० ॥

(Rv. I, 116, 15.)

हितकारी पितेत्याह

यो हितोऽन्यः पिता ज्ञेयो अहितोऽपि* पितापिता ।

†ऋज्राश्वोऽन्धःकृतः पित्रा नासत्याभ्यां सुलोचनः ॥४१॥

(Rv. I, 116, 16.)

सत्येन जयतीत्याह

प्राप्नुयाद्विजयं सत्यात्तस्मात्सत्यं समाचरेत् ।

नासत्यावश्विनौ सूर्यां देवेभ्यो जिग्यतुः पुरा ॥४२॥

(Rv. I, 116, 17.)

पौरुषे कारणं बीजमित्याह

पौरुषे कारणं बीजं योनिरेव न कारणम् ।

अश्विभ्यां नासिकाजाभ्यां दोग्ध्रीं कृता शयोर्हि गौः ॥ ४३ ।

(Rv. I, 116, 22.)

मनस्विनां लक्षणमाह

‡स्वीयपीडामपि घ्नन्ति कृत्वा कार्यं मनस्विनः ।

चक्रतुः सुभगां घोषां प्रविश्य भगमश्विनौ ॥ ४४ ॥

(Rv. I, 117, 7.)

कुलधर्मो न त्याज्य इत्याह

कुलक्रमागतो§ धर्मो न त्याज्यः प्रभुभिः सह ।

कण्वोऽश्विभ्यां भिषग्भ्यां हि सुत्वक् सुश्रुत्कृतः
सुदृक् ॥ ४५ ॥

(Rv. I, 117, 8.)

## CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

### THE KA-THEORY AND MR. BEAMES'S COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.

SIR,—Will you be so good as to allow me space in your valuable journal to make a few remarks regarding one or two points raised by Mr. Beames in the second volume of his excellent *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Âryan Languages of India*, which I have read with much interest and profit. The second volume fully sustains the high reputation of the able author as a comparative philologist which he gained for himself by the first volume of his grammar. The arrangement and treatment of the subject are admirable. None but those who themselves pursue scientific inquiries in the isolation of an Indian station and under the pressure of official work can fully appreciate the difficulties of such a work under such circumstances.

On pp. 4-30 Mr. Beames discusses what he very happily calls the *Ka*-theory: namely, my theory of explaining the fact that of the Gaurian nouns which have a base in *a*, some end in *â* (resp. *o* or *au*), others in *ă* (resp. *ŭ*), with the help of the (Prâkrit) suffix *ka;* holding that those bases which added *ka* form nouns in *â*, while those which did not add that suffix form nouns in *ă*. Mr. Beames himself, I am glad to see, in the main agrees with this theory. But he thinks at the same time that that fact is capable of a different explanation, viz. by the theory that *oxytone* bases form nouns in *â*, while *barytone* bases form nouns in *ă*. This accent-theory is certainly the only other that deserves consideration, and cannot be disposed of merely by a sneer. To explain the fact by 'caprice' and 'lawless license' is clearly inadmissible.

I will briefly state the principal reasons why it appears to me the accent-theory fails satisfactorily to account for the facts of the case. *Firstly*, it is extremely doubtful whether the old Âryan accent was at all any longer felt at such a late period as the 10th or 11th century A.D., about which time, I presume, we must place the commencement of the development of the *modern* dialects. The only accent whose influence at the *present* time is felt, and may be observed to affect the form of words, is the *rhythmic* accent; and I believe there is no reason to suppose that it was different at that earlier period when the modern dialects originated. But, however that may be, I do not think the evidence of the languages itself supports the accent-theory. If there are many barytones which form nouns in *ă*, and many oxytones that form nouns in *â*, there are as many from which just the opposite conclusion might be drawn. Mr. Beames has collected a large number of examples bearing on this point, and he has marshalled them, with that great ability of arrangement which forms one of the charms of his book, in such a way as to lend the greatest possible support to the accent-theory. But, even under these favourable circumstances, it seems to me the theory fails to make good its ground. Let us

* MS. om. ऽपि.

† MS. ऋज्राश्वेंधः कृतापित्रा.

‡ MS. स्वयपी°

§ MS. °क्रमगतो.

see. In the following remarks *B* means barytone, *O* oxytone, *pro*—examples making for the theory, *con*—those against it. On pp. 7, 8, there are quoted 23 *B pro;* on pp. 8, 9, are 17 *O pro;* on p. 10 are 11 *O con;* pp. 11, 12, are 7 *O con;* pp. 12, 13, are 5 *B con,* 8 *O pro,* 1 *O con;* on p. 14 are 8 *O con;* p. 15, 2 *B con;* pp. 15, 16, 4 *O con;* pp. 16, 17, 11 *B pro,* and again 9 *B pro;* on p. 18 only *one* example of the infinitive is quoted, because they are too numerous to cite all; they are all and every one *con;* but I will content myself with counting only as many as instances *pro* are quoted on pp. 16, 17, that is, 20 *B con;** on p. 21 are 6 *O con,* 2 *O pro,* and 1 *B pro;* p. 22 are 6 *O con,* 2 *O pro,* 1 *B pro;* pp. 23, 24, are 3 *B pro,* 1 *O pro,* 6 *O con,* and again 3 *O pro;* on p. 25 there are 6 examples: of these *one* is a *tatsama,* another does not occur in Hindî, and of two more the accent is not mentioned; of the remaining two 1 is *B pro* and 1 *B con;* on p. 26 are 2 *B con,* 2 *B pro,* 4 *O con,* 1 *O pro.* Now adding up these examples, it will be seen that they are altogether 168, among which there are 85 (*i.e.* 51 *B* and 34 *O*) which make *for* the accent-theory, and 83 (*i.e.* 30 *B* and 53 *O*) which make *against* it. Mr. Beames himself says that his rule does not apply to *Tatsamas:* hence, strictly, about 16 examples ought to be excluded (*e.g. vikh,* p. 8; *dîpá,* p. 9, unless this is a misprint for *dîyá; smay, kray, śray,* p. 10; *kaṭin,* p. 13; *jatan, praśn, supan, darpan,* p. 16; *daśan, krodhan, roshan, snán,* p. 17, &c.). But as they are about equally (9 *pro,* 7 *con*) divided for and against, this slight inaccuracy may be passed over as not affecting the general result. The latter is that as many instances (83) may be cited against the accent-theory as there are in support of it (85). There is no reason to suppose that any more extended collection of examples would alter this result materially; for all practical purposes Mr. Beames's collection of examples is quite sufficient, and it is a perfectly fair one. But I may be allowed to point out that so far I have confined myself to a consideration of *Hindî alone;* if I had taken into the range of the present examination the other Gauṛian languages too (Marâṭhî especially), the result would have gone (as Mr. Beames himself seems to feel, see p. 9) still more decidedly against the accent-theory. But even taking the result as we have found it above,—unless it can be accounted for in some way—it is, to my mind, fatal to that theory; for it is founded on an induction which is not only partial, because it only includes about 50 per cent. of phenomena, but one-sided, because it has the other 50 per cent. directly against itself. Mr. Beames indeed makes an attempt to account for this adverse result; but I think on reconsideration he will see that his explanation involves a *petitio principii.* For example, on p. 10 a list of eleven words is given which, being *oxytones,* ought to terminate in *á;* but in reality they end in *ă,* as if they were *barytones.* Mr. Beames accounts for this failure of the accent-theory by the conjecture "that though the learned accentuated the last syllable of stems of this small class, the masses did not at any time observe this distinction, but treated them as barytones." But what ground is there for this supposition? Is it not merely the fact that those words end in *ă* instead of *á?* That is, the fact of their ending in *ă* is explained by their being supposed to have been used as barytones, and the supposition of their having been thus used is based on the fact of their ending in *ă.*

*Thirdly,* all words formed with the suffix *aka* have the *heavy* termination *á* (p. 29). The *Ka*-theory explains their termination and that of the previously considered words by the same phonetic process; whereas, if the accent-theory be accepted, *two* different causes must be assumed to account for an *identical* result. This offends against the logical rule of economy. For example, from the stem *ghoṭaka* is derived in Hindî *ghoṛá,* and from the stem *aṇḍá* (oxytone) the Hindî word *aṇḍá;* according to the accent-theory the identical Hindî termination *á* is accounted for by *ghoṭaka* ending in *ka* and *aṇḍá* being oxytone; the *Ka*-theory, on the other hand, derives *aṇḍá* not directly from the stem *aṇḍá,* but from the—as regards meaning—identical stem *aṇḍaka,* and thus accounts for the identical termination *á* by an identical cause, viz. both *ghoṭaka* and *aṇḍaka* ending in *ka.*

*Fourthly,* even if it be allowed that the accent-theory accounts for the difference of some nouns ending in *á,* and others in *ă,* it affords no help—so far as I can see—towards understanding the origin of the termination of the *oblique* form of Gauṛian nouns in *á* (*i.e.* Hindî *á* or *e;* Marâṭhî *ya* or *va,* &c.). On the other hand I contend that the *Ka*-theory explains both. I cannot ask for space to prove this here, and therefore must refer to my Essays (IV., V.) in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* But, if my contention is well founded, this is clearly another point in favour of the *Ka*-theory.

But I am confronted with the demand, "If all nouns might and did take this *ka,* why do not all nouns of the *a* stem end in *á?* why do some end in *ă* (pp. 30-37)?" I admit the question is legitimate. It cannot be ascribed to 'caprice.' There must be a reason for it, as for everything else in the world. But I do not see that this question, whether or not it can be answered, affects at all the truth of the *Ka*-theory. I suppose it will

* The examples quoted on pp. 16, 17, and the infinitives, have alike, according to Mr. Beames's theory, bases in *ana;* if my theory of the *infinitive* be accepted, they make equally against the accent-theory.

be admitted that whether or not the *Ka*-theory be true, it at least easily and naturally explains all the phenomena of the case; *i.e.* that *if* we assume that, for some reason or other—whatever it may have been—the suffix *ka* (though it might have been added to any noun, yet as a matter of fact) was only added to one class of nouns and not added to another class, then the former would naturally end in *â*, and the latter in *ă*; if, I say, this is so, why should the *Ka*-theory be questioned merely because it may be impossible to ascertain the reason why in one case *ka* was added, but in another omitted? But in truth the question after this reason is one of historical import rather than of linguistic. Take an illustration. In the *Saptaśaṭaka* the addition of *ka* to stems in *a, i, u,* is extremely common. Many words are found with stems ending in *aa, ia, ua,* and as many ending in *a, i, u;* the former are explained by the so-called *Ka*-theory (see Weber, pp. 69, 52). But it may be asked, if *ka* can be added to any base in *a, i, u,* why did the author of the *Saptaśaṭaka* add it in some words and omit it in others? What can I answer? He must have had some reason for his practice; but it is not likely that we shall discover it. But we do not make that a reason for doubting the claim of the *Ka*-theory to explain the difference between the words in *aa, ia, ua,* and those in *a, i, u.* Now what is true in regard to the language of the author of the *Saptaśaṭaka*, is equally true, on a larger scale, with regard to the language of the peoples of North India at the time when the modern vernaculars were formed. There must have been some reason for their using some words with *ka*, others without it; but what reason or reasons may have guided this 'popular selection,' possibly we may not be able to ascertain. My belief is that towards the end of the Prâkṛit period, in the popular speech of the masses, the suffix *ka* could be, and was, sometimes added, sometimes not added, to any noun (in *a, i, u*) whatever; and that gradually (during the time the modern vernaculars were being slowly evolved), in the struggle for existence between the words, by a sort of popular selection, the conditions of which I do not pretend to know, some nouns became established in their *ka-form*, others in their simple form, while others again became fixed in both forms simultaneously. It should be remembered that this result is a fully established one really only in the present *literary* languages. In the colloquial dialects (*e. g.* the eastern Low Hindî or Gâṁwârî) even at the present day the limits of those three classes are not strictly defined. There you may hear, still now, the same noun (especially adjectives), which has become fixed in the literary language either in one class or the other, used by the common people sometimes with one termination, sometimes with the other. There is nothing strange in this view of the case. Exactly parallel cases have happened again and again in the history of language. I will only mention one, a well established case—that of the Infinitive. The so-called Infinitive, it is now well known (see Max Müller, chap. IV. p. 30), is really the Dative (rarely the Locative) case of a verbal noun. From the Vedas it may be seen that in ancient Âryan times the dative of any kind of verbal noun might be, and was, used as an infinitive. But when we come down to Latin, we see that here one class of verbal nouns was so used (as those in *as*, like *vivere*, Sanskrit *jîvase*), while in Greek other classes were so employed; nay, in Greek itself we find one class of verbs using verbal nouns in *man* (as δομεναι, Sanskrit *dámane*) for their infinitive, another class verbal nouns in *van* (as εἶναι = ἐσϜέναι, *asváne*), a third class verbal nouns in *an* (as τέρπειν = τέρπενι, Sanskrit *tárpane*), while another class still uses several of them simultaneously (as in Homer both ἴμεναι = *îmane*, with *man*, and ἰέναι = *ivane*, with *va*). It might be said, if any verbal noun could be, and was, originally used as the infinitive of any verb, why have not all verbs in Greek the same kind of infinitive? No doubt there was a reason for the difference; and if we knew all the circumstances under which the Greek language was evolved, perhaps we might be able to recognize the reason. But though we do not now know the reasons which guided the popular selection of infinitives for the different classes of verbs, we do not consider that want of knowledge a reason for rejecting the dative-theory of the infinitive. Analogously, our present want of knowledge of the reasons which guided the popular selection of the *ka-form* for one class of nouns, and the simple form for another class, does not appear to me to justify our rejecting the *Ka-theory* of the terminations of nouns. It might be suggested that the accent-theory, though it cannot account for the difference of termination, might explain the principle of choice in adding or omitting *ka*. I will not undertake to say absolutely that it does not do so; but, at least, it seems to me very doubtful. For, the same reasons which militate against the accent-theory as explaining the difference of termination are equally strong against its claim to explain the choice of *ka* for one class of nouns in preference to another class.

This explanation has run to a much greater length than I had expected. But I hope I may be allowed to add a few remarks with regard to another difficulty, viz. the proper derivation of the Infinitives in *nâ* (*na-ko*). On p. 19 Mr. Beames

points out an objection to my theory of deriving them from verbal nouns in *anîya*, viz. the existence of a weak form of infinitive in *na* in the mediæval poets. I am glad that Mr. Beames has called attention to it. He is quite correct in saying that I had overlooked these mediæval forms; for, though I was aware of their existence, I had overlooked their bearing on my theory. I also admit that the objection seriously militates against my theory,—unless I can meet it. I believe I shall be able to do so, though, where I am now, I have not the necessary means at hand to examine the question. The difficulty, I think, lies here: Mr. Beames calls them *intermediate* forms; but are they strictly *intermediate?* If they are, it will be difficult to maintain my theory; for it does seem very improbable, not to say impossible, that a form, *e. g. karaṇîgam* ('to be done') should become in the first instance *karan*, and afterwards *karanâ* (or *karane*). But it appears to me the fact, if it is one, would make equally strongly against Mr. Beames's own theory (that the modern final *â* or *auṁ* is owing to the original *anuswâra* in *aṁ*): for the mediæval or so-called intermediate form never has the *anuswâra* or *anunâsika*. Even if the original of the infinitive, *e.g.* of *karanâ* (or *karanauṁ*), is the Sanskṛit verbal noun *karaṇaṁ*, still at first this form (*i.e. karanaṁ*) becomes *karan* (or *karana*), but never *karanaṁ;* and there is no room for *karan* turning into *karanaṁ* (or *karanâ*) by the force of any *anuswâra*. If, then, the intermediate form is *karan* (or *karana*), whatever its Sanskṛit original may have been (whether *karaṇîyam* as I believe, or *karaṇam* as Mr. Beames believes), I do not see how it could *now* have become *karanauṁ*. I believe, therefore, that it will be found (or, in any case, that we must assume) that such forms as *karan* are *not* intermediate; that is, not intermediate as between the original form *karaṇîyam* or (according to Mr. Beames) *karaṇaṁ* and the modern form *karanâ* (or *karanauṁ*): in other words, not intermediate *phonetically*, though of course they may be intermediate *historically* as being found in mediæval poets. Though even this latter fact I do not believe to be quite correct; for the *weak* forms in *na* of the infinitive are, at least in Hindî, still often used in the present day in poetry, and sometimes in vulgar speech. For the present, therefore, we must *assume* that in the mediæval times there were *two* forms of the infinitive in use side by side (as indeed, it is the case even now in Hindî, as I have remarked already): viz. 1, one in *naṁ* (as I suppose Mr. Beames would say), or in *niaṁ* (for Prâkṛit *ṇîaṁ*) or perhaps *naaṁ* (*nayaṁ*) as I should say, being the parent of the common modern infinitive in *nauṁ* or *neṁ* or *nâ;* 2, the other in *na*, confined more or less to poetry. Can we *prove* the existence of such a double form? Here, I think, lies the other difficulty. Mr. Beames says (p. 18), "in old Hindi the infinitive of this class ends *always* (the italics are mine) in the short vowel." But is it so? Is it *always* so? If it is so, it would put us all, I fear, into very great straits as to explaining the modern form at all. The work, then, which lies before us is to see whether evidences of the existence of such a double form of the infinitive as I have indicated cannot be discovered in mediæval literature. I do not despair yet of our finding the necessary evidence; though, not having the needful means with me here, I cannot just now contribute to the search. But even seeing that all, or almost all, extant mediæval literature consists of poetry, which would naturally prefer the use of the *weak* infinitival form, even if the unfortunate case should happen that no evidence of the existence of a double form is forthcoming, still I think we should be driven, by the necessities of the case, to assume the existence, in the common speech of the people, of some such intermediate form as could be phonetically the parent of the modern infinitival form. In any case, whether or not evidence of a double mediæval form be found, the theory which derives the infinitive from a verbal noun in *anîye* stands an equal chance with that which derives it from a verbal noun in *ana*, even barring all other considerations which make in favour of my theory and against the alternative one.

Only one word more. It might be said that, supposing two forms did exist in mediæval times, and admitting that one of these forms was either *karanaṁ* or *karaniaṁ*, still it is easier to derive phonetically the undoubtedly existing form *karan* from a Sanskṛit or Prâkṛit original *karaṇaṁ* than from *karaṇîyaṁ;* and if so it is simpler to consider the verbal nouns in *ana* to have been the originals of all mediæval and modern forms of the infinitive. I admit the derivation would be easier—at least so far as regards forms like *karan*—and there would be no reason to look for any other, if there were no other considerations which, on the whole, in my opinion, far outweigh that one consideration. Into these I cannot enter now; they are discussed in my 4th Essay (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*). They have reference chiefly to the difficulty of the final syllable *aṁ* becoming *auṁ* (or *eṁ*), to the existence of simultaneous infinitive-forms in *auṁ*, *bauṁ*, and to the various gerundival meanings of the so-called Infinitive. But, further, there is not wanting direct evidence that the affix *anîya* may become curtailed into *an* in the modern languages. For example, I suppose it will not be denied that in such words as *pânpatr* (drinking-

vessel), *pânchakkî* (water-mill), the element *pân* (or *pan*) is a corruption of the Sanskṛit *pânîya* (water). So, again, in Hindî such simultaneous forms as *dharanhâr* and *dharanehâr* are very common. It will not be disputed that *dharan* and *dharane* must be the same word, and have the same derivation, whatever that be. If so, *dharan* is but a corruption of *dharane;* and if there is, *phonetically*, no objection to *dharane* being a contraction of Sanskṛit *dharaṇîya* and Prâkṛit *dharaṇia* or *dharaṇia,* there can be no objection to *dharan* being a corruption of *dharaṇîya* through the intermediate form (*dharania* or) *dharane;* and so in the case of all infinitives in *an.*

A. F. Rudolf Hoernle.

*Donnington, 15th January* 1876.

## THE QORÂN.

Could any of your readers supply information on the following points ?—

1. When, and by whom, were the chapters (*sûra*) of the Qorân arranged in their present order ?

The edition now chiefly used throughout the Muhammadan world is the one that was prepared by Zeid bin Thâbit, during the Khalîfate of Othmân, and under his orders; and the *arrangement,* referred to in my inquiry, is commonly regarded as the work of Abu Bigar, the first of the Khalîfs. But is this explanation a satisfactory one to the more enlightened of the Moslims ?*

2. Is it possible to arrive at a sound conclusion as to what was the *principle* which regulated that arrangement of the *sûras* which was eventually adopted ?

Why the portion which was 'delivered' first in the order of time, *viz.* some of the earlier verses of *Sûra e-*Alak) should have been put almost at the end of the book (chap. xcvi), and the *sûra* that was last in the order of time (*viz.* Tanba, or, as some hold, Maida) should be found almost at the beginning (chapters ix. and v., respectively), is not at all apparent from anything in the subject-matter.

3. These same inquiries might be put in reference to the verses or texts (*âyat*).

This point seems the more important when we bear in mind that in the case of *most* of the chapters, the *âyat* first 'revealed' occurs, not at the beginning of the *sûra,* but somewhere in the body of it, and often far on.

4. Is it possible to decide when, and by whom, the vowel-pointing was done ?

5. What is the ground of the Moslim's objection to the Qorân being edited with some regard to chronological order ?

An impartial reader, who attends to the sense rather than to the cadence, is simply palled and distracted by the sheer absence of order; though he would fain discover something that should, instead, appeal to his sense of reverence. It is unfortunate when a book that demands credence succeeds in merely awakening criticism. One can hardly help surmising that if the Qorân had been arranged on some principle tending to one uniform result—*viz.* the producing conviction,—a different effect might have issued from reading it: and one would suppose that a man inspired of God with a revelation designed for the acceptance of all mankind, would himself have desired, above all things, that the revelation should be chronicled and handed on to posterity in exactly the order in which the Divine Being communicated it.

My points, however, are purely of a literary nature; and inasmuch as the same inquiries, if put in reference to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, could be readily answered, it seems only reasonable that they should, in the case of the Qorân also, meet with some satisfactory response.

J. D. Bate.

*Allahabad.*

## SANSKṚIT MSS.

Bâbu Râjendralâla Mitra says that Sanskṛit MSS. are mostly written on country paper sized with yellow arsenic and an emulsion of tamarind seeds, and then polished by rubbing with a conch-shell. A few are on white Kâśmiri paper, and some on palm-leaf. White arsenic is rarely used for the size, but he has seen a few codices sized with it, the mucilage employed in such cases being acacia gum. The surface of ordinary country paper being rough, a thick coating of size is necessary for easy writing, and the tamarind seed emulsion affords this admirably. The paper used for ordinary writing is sized with rice gruel, but such paper attracts damp and vermin of all kinds, and that great pest of literature, "the silver-fish," thrives luxuriantly on it. The object of the arsenic is to keep off this insect, and it serves the purpose most effectually. No insect or worm of any kind will attack arsenicated paper, and so far the MSS. are perfectly secure against its ravages. The superior appearance and cheapness of European paper has of late induced many persons to use it, instead of the country arsenicated paper, in writing *puthis;* but this is a great mistake, as the latter is not nearly so durable as the former, and is liable to be rapidly destroyed by insects. We cannot better illustrate this than by referring to some of the MSS. in the library of the Bengal Asiatic Society. There are among them several volumes written on fools-

* For a discussion of this and other points, see the lives of Muhammad, by Sir W. Muir, Sprenger, and others.—Ed.

cap paper, which date from 1820 to 1830, and they already look decayed, mouldering, and touched in several places by silver-fish. Others on letter paper, which is thicker, larger, and stouter, are already so far injured that the ink has quite faded and become in many places illegible; whereas the MSS. which were originally copied on arsenicated paper for the College of Fort William in the first decade of this century are now quite as fresh as they were when first written. There are many MSS. in private collections which are much older and still quite as fresh. The ordinary yellow paper sold in the bazâr is dyed with turmeric, and not at all proof against the attack of insects. The oldest MS. Bâbu Râjendralâla Mitra has examined is a copy of the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*, bearing date Saṁvat 1367, or A.D. 1310. It is consequently 565 years old. It is written on paper of very good quality. The oldest palm-leaf MS. seen bears date Saṁvat 1189, or A.D. 1132; but "such records are extremely rare, and the general run is from 150 to 250 years."

## FROM THE XVIth CANTO OF THE BHAGAVAD-GÎTÂ.

*By Prof. C. H. Tawney, M.A.*

Nor to act, nor to abstain, do those of devilish nature know,
Not one seed of truth or virtue in their stubborn breasts can grow;
Say they " Soul-less, unsubsistent is this world, a mere pretence,
" Sprung without divine causation for the pleasure of the sense;"*
Clinging fast to this opinion, doltish, of perverted mind,
Still they practise evil actions for the ruin of mankind;
Harbouring lust that's never sated, full of folly, pride and guile,
Blindly nursing wrong conceptions, following courses that defile,
Hugging this supreme delusion, that death ends the spirit's strife,
Glorying in sensual pleasures, crying " Let us live our life,"
Bound with hundred cords of longing, slaves of anger and desire,
Piling up ill-gotten riches, fuel for their passions' fire;
" This my object is attained now, this to-morrow I'll attain;
" So much wealth I've heaped together, so much more I'll strive to gain,
" This foe, from my path I've swept him, others also I will slay;
" I am king, and I'm enjoyer, wealthy, powerful, and gay,
" High-born, evermore successful; who on earth can vie with me ?
" I will offer, give, and squander."—Thus insanely they decree,
Lost in vain imaginations, as in folly's net they fell,
Clinging fast to foul indulgence, down they sink to murky hell.
Stiff-necked, self-esteeming madmen, swoll'n with lawless pride of purse
Offer they unholy offerings which shall turn unto a curse.
Self-conceit, and lust, and anger o'er their souls dominion claim,
Me they hate and torture present in their own and others' frame;
These I hold my bitterest foemen, lowest in this circling world;
These by my almighty *fiat* into devilish wombs are hurled;
Born again in devilish natures, at each birth they downward tend,
Never finding me, till hopeless they to deepest gulfs descend.
Three-fold is the gate of Tartar, soul-destroying gate of woe,
Anger, lust, and greedy avarice, all these three thou should'st forego,
He who shuns these three temptations, gloomy mouths of the abyss,
He achieves his own salvation, and attains to sovereign bliss.
He who scorns the law of scripture, and is led by blind caprice,
Never shall behold perfection, heaven, nor the soul's release :
Then be thou by scripture guided, take it for thy rule of right,
Whate'er deed's enjoined by scripture, do that deed with all thy might.

—From *Calcutta Review.*

## UNKNOWN GODS.

We worship the great gods and worship the small ones,
We worship the young gods and worship the old ones,
We worship all gods to the best of our power,
Nor may I forget to worship the gods of old times!

*Ṛig-Veda*, I. 2-4.†

* Or perhaps created by Kâma (love). So the Greeks connected Erôs with the creation of the universe.

† From Baierlein's *Land of the Tamulians*, by J. D. B. Gribble, M.C.S.

# ÂTMA BÔDHA PRAKÂŚIKA.*

BY REV. J. F. KEARNS, MISSIONARY, S.P.G., TANJORE.

*Introduction.*

THE Divine Śankara Achârya, a gracious teacher, desirous of imparting instruction, has composed the following work for the better confirmation and security of the excellent scholar of the three classes of Vedânta works; and also for the benefit of those who are unable to study those works for themselves—*i.e.* the unlearned. This work, entitled Soul-knowledge, contains the sum total of the Vedânta system.

ÂTMA BÔDHA PRAKÂŚIKA.

1. This Soul-knowledge is set forth as something worthy the consideration of (1) those whose sins have been expiated by austerities, (2) of those who are tranquil, (3) of those who are free from desire, and (4) of those who long for liberation.

2. Amongst the other means, knowledge† is manifestly the only means to intuitive liberation. Without knowledge, resembling fire for cooking, liberation cannot be accomplished.

3. Works‡ are not inimical to ignorance, therefore they cannot remove ignorance. Knowledge, however, overcomes ignorance, as sunlight darkness.

4. By ignorance|| the soul is ruined, but when this cause succumbs, the soul shall, of itself, shine forth as the sole one (*i. e.* as Universal Brahma)—like the sun when the clouds disappear.

5. After that knowledge has, by means of the exercise of knowledge, purified *Jiva*¶ which was depressed by ignorance, it itself (even that knowledge) succumbs: just as the powder of the *Strychnos potatorum* acts upon water,—first purifies it, and then with the impurities commingles itself.

6. The world is like the creation of a dream; troubled by inclination, aversion, &c. &c., so

*Commentary.*

1. The commentator finds in this strophe the four *sâdanas*, or preliminary means of salvation.

2. The commentator remarks: "The four preliminary means are related to the attainment of beatitude in the same manner as fuel is to the cooking of food; whilst knowledge resembles fire, which is absolutely necessary thereto.

3. Ignorance is the product of *former* works, and it seeks removal through *new* works; therefore *works* are not inimical§ to it: but as mud cannot be washed away with mud, so no one can by works blot out work-ignorance.

4. The sun is separated from the clouds by an immense distance, and is immeasurably larger than the clouds, yet the clouds appear to envelope it. It is, however, only, in *appearance* that they do so: *Vritti-jnâna* (the discursive and therefore imperfect knowledge which is brought about by the power of the mental faculties) is the cause of the soul—divided among many bodies—appearing as a *manifold* thing, and not as a single thing, *i.e.* *Advaita.*

5. The plant here named is in Tamil called *Tettamaram*, and the seed of it *Tettham Kottai*; the botanical name is that given in the translation. In Taylor's translation as rendered into French by Pauthier, it is called *Ketaka* (*Pandanus odoratissimus*).

6. The Tamil commentary on *Sapta Prakarana* mentions eleven other passions into which the two

* A few years ago I translated this treatise and published it for private circulation. Perhaps it may be of more service to give it a wider and more extensive publication, and with this object I consign it to the *Indian Antiquary*.

† According to the Vedânta philosophy nothing exists but Brahma: consequently there is no object of knowledge, and hence the knowledge mentioned in the strophe is not the knowledge of a thing or things, for this would imply a contradiction to the dogma that nothing exists except knowledge. This knowledge is attained by detaching the thoughts from outward objects, attending the teacher's instruction, and meditating on the great saying "Hoc tu es"—thou art that (*i.e.* Brahma). Next, the qualified student perceives that the duality is an illusion, that all the objects in the universe are all Brahma, that he is himself Brahma. Getting beyond this, he ceases to assert even *that* as a separate thought: subject, object, all disappear; his knowledge is perfect—there is then left nothing but the One, who is knowledge and bliss. It is two-fold—(i.) transcendent, inevident; (ii.) non-transcendent, evident.—*Vide* Ballantyne and Mullens.

‡ "*Karman*, work, ceremony 'is threefold':—(i.) the demerit formerly collected by works, (ii.) the consequences of former works still being enjoyed or suffered, (iii.) future works."—*Graul.*

§ "Works, instead of being inimical to sinful ignorance, rather benefit it."—*Kaivaljanavanita*, Pt. II. 76.

|| Ignorance, according to this philosophy, is a something not positively real and not positively unreal, something in the shape of an entity, the opponent of "knowledge," corresponding with Plato's *ὀν καιμη ὀν* as distinguished from the *οντως ὀν*. It has two powers,—that by which it envelops soul, giving rise to the conceit of personality or individuality: and that by which it projects the phantasmagoria of a world which the individual regards as external to himself.—See Ballantyne and Mullens.

¶ *Jiva* is "life," the individual soul—the reflex of the Universal Spirit in the single individual.

long as it (the dream) lasts, it (the dream, creation) appears real; when the dreamer awakes, however, it becomes but a phantom.

7. So long as the world appears a reality—like the silver thread in the oyster-shell—we cannot know Brahma as the All-pervading One, without a second.

8. The Supreme Lord is the base of all (*matter*), being the entire cause of the world, its origin, continuation, and dissolution; but only as the bubble in the water.

9. In the *Sachchidâtman* (the self which is Reality and Spirit) appears the imaginary, and all the various species and individual developments of the All-pervader in Eternity, but only as golden bracelets and jewels.

10. He, the guide of the organs of sense, like the æther entering various *Upâdhis*, pervading all, appears in consequence of these differences as divided; but when these (differences) have ceased to exist He will be the undivided One.

11. In consequence of the variety of *Upâdhis*, sex, name, condition, &c. &c. are ascribed to the absolute spirit, just as the varieties of taste, colour, &c. &c. are ascribed to water.

12. By the five-fold operation of the elements, through works (in the previous life guilty ones), the body was formed, and it is a dwelling-place for the enjoyment of pleasure and the endurance of pain.

13. The *Sûksma-Śarîra** is undoubtedly formed of the five airs, mind, understanding, and the ten organs—Hearing, Feeling, Seeing, Tasting, Smelling (as organs of intelligence), with Voice, Feeling, Motion, Excrement, and Genital (as organs of action); but with the five separated elements above described it has no connection. It is the organ of all sensations, agreeable and

*Commentary.*

principal ones, Desire and Aversion, are divided: so that in all there are thirteen, viz.:—1. *Râja*, desire (*i.e.* according to the commentary, illicit sexual love); 2. *Devesa*, hatred; 3. *Kâma*, covetousness (*i.e.*—according to the commentary—after increase of children, friends, houses, lands, money, &c. &c.); 4. *Krodha*, anger; 5. *Lobha*, ambition; 6. *Moha*, passionate attachment; 7. *Mata*, arrogance (*i.e.* —according to the commentary—on the score of wealth, power, &c. &c.); 8. *Matsara*, envy; 9. *Irsâ*, malicious exultation; 10. *Asujâ*, desire to disparage others; 11. *Dambha*, vain ambition; 12. *Darpa*, presumptuous pride; 13. *Ahankâra*, egotism.

7. The white colour in the oyster-shell, at first sight, appears to be silver; on close inspection, however, we become conscious of the unreality. So, at first sight, the world appears a reality; but close investigation shows that it is utterly unreal, and, like the deceptive silver cord in the oyster-shell, clings to the highest spirit.

8. Bubbles, foam, billows, &c. &c., though apparently differing from water, are really not so; they are but water. As, therefore, water is their origin, &c. &c., so the Supreme Lord is the base of all (*matter*).

9. Bracelets, rings, and other jewels, though bearing distinct names, are not distinct from the gold of which they are made, but are contained in it. In like manner the varied species, and individual development of the All-pervader, repose in the *Sachchidâtman*.

10. The commentator remarks: "As one æther pervades all things, and, entering various modifications—as air into vessels, houses, &c. &c.—appears thereby to be divided, but when these modifications—vessels, houses, &c. &c.—disappear, it is again one undivided whole: in like manner the One Spirit, pervading all things, appears, by entering various modifications—as, for instance, by entering this or that individual—to be divided (whereas it is not); for when these modifications disappear it becomes one undivided spirit."

11. The commentator remarks: "Water is naturally white and sweet (also really colourless and tasteless), but, modified by the admixture with it of various kinds of earth, it assumes—by way of accident—red, black, and other colours; salt, bitter, and other tastes. In like manner the Supreme Spirit is naturally without sex, name, or condition; but, modified by the three kinds of matter (see the following strophe), it acquires—by way of accident—sex, name, and condition."

12. The commentator remarks: "*Panchîkarana* is the division of each of the five elements into five parts, and the reciprocal combination of them with one and other again." Each of the five elements (æther, air, fire, water, earth) is divided into *halves*, one of which is set aside, and the other half

* According to the Vedânta philosophy there are three *Śarîras*, or corporeal forms:—(i.) the *Kârana Śarîra* (*corpus causans*); (ii.) the *Sûksma Śarîra*, the fine material body form; and (iii.) the *Sthûla Śarîra*, the gross body, made up of the limbs which we perceive. The latter two are the *corpora causata*. The *Sthûla Śarîra* perishes at death; but the *Sûksma Śarîra*, the immediate organ of the soul, is said to accompany it through all its transmigrations, and is capable of sensations of enjoyment and suffering. The *corpus causans* is the original type or embryo of the body as existing with the soul in its original state.

disagreeable; whilst the gross material body is the only seat of them.

14. Beginningless, Unconsciousness, the Indescribable is said to be causal—*Upâdhi*. That, however, which is diverse from the third *Upâdhi* (*i.e.* lies over beyond it), is known as the *Âtman*.

*Commentary.*

is divided into *four* parts, and these latter are combined with the halves of the elements previously set set aside." The combination may be represented by ⅛+⅛. In this manner, mind and the other faculties are produced, as set forth in the following chart:—

*Panchîkarana.*

| Soul. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Æther—*Antakarana.* | Mind. | Intellect. | Will. | Individuality. |
| Wind in the throat. Securing due proportions throughout the body. | Wind pervading the body and distributing chyle. | Wind in the navel and causing hiccoughs. | Wind in the heart and causing respiration. | Wind which divides excretary matter; seated in the top of the head and flowing downwards. |
| Hearing Sense. | Feeling Sense. | Fire. Seeing Sense. | Tasting Sense. | Smelling Sense. |
| Sound. | Tangibility. | Form. | Water. Savour. | Odour. |
| Voice Organ (Mouth) | Touch Organ. (Hand). | Motion Organ (Feet). | Excrement Organ (Anus). | Earth. Pudenda viri aliquando et feminæ. |

In like manner, proceeding as above, the following Formations are obtained:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1—Æther and Earth | = | Individuality, *i.e.*, the saying "I." |
| Æther and Water | = | *Chitta* or Will. |
| Æther and Fire | = | Intellect. |
| Æther and Wind | = | Mind (*mens*). |
| Pure Æther | = | *Antakarana* (Internal Agency). |
| 2—Wind and Earth | = | Wind in the intestines (is produced). |
| Wind and Water | = | Wind in the heart. |
| Wind and Fire | = | Wind in the navel. |
| Wind and Æther | = | Wind in the throat. |
| Pure Wind | = | Wind pervading the body. |
| 3—Fire and Earth | = | Smelling Sense. |
| Fire and Water | = | Tasting Sense. |
| Fire and Wind | = | Feeling Sense. |
| Fire and Æther | = | Hearing Sense. |
| Pure Fire | = | Seeing Sense. |
| 4—Water and Earth | = | Odour. |
| Water and Fire | = | Form (Light). |
| Water and Wind | = | Tangibility or Palpability. |
| Water and Æther | = | Voice or Sound. |
| Pure Water | = | Savour. |
| 5—Earth and Water | = | Excrement Organ (Anus) |
| Earth and Fire | = | Motion Organ. |
| Earth and Wind | = | Touch or Feeling Organ. |
| Earth and Æther | = | Voice Organ. |
| Pure Earth | = | Genital Organs. |

The various Formations are arranged in families or classes, as follows, viz.:—

*I.—Æther Formation.*

*Antakarana.*—Wind in the throat, Hearing Sense, Sound, Voice Organ.

*II.—Wind Formation.*

Mind.—Wind pervading the body, Feeling Sense, Tangibility, Feel Organ.

*III.—Fire Formation.*

Intellect.—Wind in the navel, Seeing Sense, Form, Motion Organ.

*IV.—Water Formation.*

Will.—Wind in the heart, Tasting Sense, Savour, Excremental Organ.

*V.—Earth Formation.*

Individuality.—Wind in the intestines, Smelling Sense, Odour, Genital Organs.

13. The commentator remarks—"The Soul: for the perception of pleasure and pain, requires the above-mentioned seventeen principles:—*i.e.* 1. The five airs, Mind, Intellect; the five senses and the five organs." These constitute the fine material body: some, however, substitute Ahankara for Intellect. Elsewhere they are spoken of as the five gross elements, the twice five organs, the five airs, the four faculties—Mind, Intellect, Will, and Individuality:—in all, twenty-four, and they constitute the gross material body; but omitting the five coarse elements (smell, light, palpability, sound, and taste) together with Will and Intellect, the remaining seventeen constitute the fine material body.

14. The "Causing-body form" bears this name because it serves as a cause or basis for each of the other body-forms. The commentator uses the word *Mâyâ* instead of "Unconsciousness" (that is,

15. The pure soul through its connexion with the five *Kośas*,† &c. &c. appears as though it partook of their form or nature,—in this, however, merely resembling the pure crystal in proximity with dark-coloured cloth.

16. The *Âtman*, the inner, the pure one, which is enclosed in those *Kośas*, may be threshed out of them by philosophical study, like the rice-corn.

17. *Âtman*, although always All-pervading, does not shine forth in all. In the understanding, however, it is very manifest,—like the reflection of a mirror upon a pure surface.

18. *Âtman* may be considered as one who has no part in the nature of the body, senses, mind, or understanding; and yet, though distinct from them, he is always quietly overlooking their activity,—(in this) resembling a king.

19. To fools the Spirit appears to be active, when the senses only are really active: just as the moon appears to move when the clouds only are passing.

20. Through ignorance the quality and activity of the body and of the senses are attributed to the pure soul which is essence and spirit, just as blueness, &c. &c. is attributed to the æther.

21. In consequence of ignorance, form, activity, &c. &c.—the essential *Upâdhi*‡ of the mind,—are copied by the soul; like the moon, in the water, partaking of the motion of the waves, &c. &c.

22. Inclination, desire, pleasure, pain, &c. &c. are intensified when *Buddhi* is present (*i.e.* present in the waking state as well as in the dreaming state); but in the profound dreamless sleep,§ when it (*i.e. Buddhi*) exists not, these are not intensified. Therefore this is the property of *Buddhi*, and not of the *Âtman*.

23. As brightness is inherent in the Sun, coolness in Water, and warmth in Fire in a natural manner: so existence, spirituality, bliss, and eternal purity belong to the soul (in a natural manner).

*Commentary.*

the condition resulting from ignorance). *Mâyâ* is undefinable, because it is neither *Sat*, real, nor *Asat*, unreal.

15. There are extraneous causes which lend to the Spirit the appearance of various forms: it is, however, perfectly pure, and uncontaminated by them,—just as the crystal, which permits the colour of the cloth to be seen through it, without becoming in any way mingled with it or defiled by it.

16. *Yukti*, or philosophical study, consists of three parts, namely, Hearing, Meditation, and Systematic Contemplation. The commentator quotes the following aphorism:—"For the Lordly-life-Spirit are the five *Kośas* and the five cavities, and these five cavities are the five elements."

18. In obedience to the King's mandate his ministers transact affairs of state; and, although the king takes no part with them in these transactions, he is perfectly cognizant of their doings.

19. It is as if one were to say when water is falling, "The sun (reflected therein) moves." It is as if one were to say when the clouds are hurrying along, "The cool shining moon moves on." The *Upâdhis* of the *bodies, &c. &c.* are but imaginatively joined to the changeless Spirit. The *Jiva*-idea is the gross-world activity. Know this!

22. The commentator remarks: "The author in this strophe confutes the logic of the Atomic School, which considers desire, anger, pleasure, and pain, to be the natural conditions (*Dharma*) of the Spirit."

23. Existence belongs to the soul because it stands the test of the three states (*i.e.* waking, dreaming, and dreamless sleep). Spirituality belongs to it because that in those three states it recognizes objects which appear. Bliss is a peculiar rapture with freedom from all pain. Some, however, explain the last peculiarity thus, "Happiness belongs to the soul," because the soul is the object of pleasure. Eternity belongs to it, because it exists undivided through the three times. Others, however, claim this attribute for it because the soul does not enter into the four negative categories.

These are as follows:—

1. That category according to which there was nothing prior = *Prâgabhâva*.

2. That category according to which something that *was* ceases to be = *Pradvansâbhâva*.

3. That category according to which nothing was or shall be = *Atjantâbhâva*.

4. That category according to which something is a separate thing (from other things) = *Anjonjâbhâva*.

† The soul is said to have five *Kośas*, coverings or sheaths, *e.g.* (i.) *Aunamaya Kośa*, or the covering of corporeal form which is supported by food; (ii.) *Prânamaya Kośa*, the vital, external organs, or sphere of breathing; (iii.) *Manômaya Kośa*, the mental organs; (iv.) *Vijnânamaya Kośa*, the organs of perception, with intellect; (v.) *Ânandamaya*, sphere of supreme happiness, unconscious of all but self.

‡ *Upâdhi* is the illusive form of Brahma within the world.

§ During life the soul is considered to occupy one or other of three states, *i.e.* waking, dreaming, and profound sleep. While awake, the soul, associated with the body, is *active*, and has to deal with a *real* creation; in the dreaming state an illusory world is created; but in the profound sleeping state the soul is *absent*, having retired by the channel of the arteries to the bosom of the Supreme.

24. Through want of discerning understanding, people connect the essential and spiritual, *particula*, of the *Âtman*, with the Activity of the understanding,—these two into one,—and then are accustomed to say "I know."

25. No change takes place in the Spirit (in consequence of Activity). In the understanding (by and for itself) there never is wisdom. (These two must not be confounded one with the other, for Wisdom belongs to Spirit, and intellectual activity to the understanding; the former is the Sun (by whose light the mental faculties work). The *Jiva* (the reflex of the universal Spirit, in the single individual) foolishly says "I am the doer," "I am the spectator," whilst he acknowledges all the filth (*i.e.* the elementary mental faculties and the organs of sense, &c. &c. which perform that activity) as belonging to himself.

26. When one takes *Jiva* for *Âtman*, in respect of its nature, as a man might mistake a rope for a snake, he may well become fearful. If a man, however, knows "I am not *Jiva*, but the Supreme Spirit," he becomes free from fear.

27. The Spirit, the One, illumines the senses, at whose head stands the understanding, &c. &c., just as a lamp illumines a vessel, &c. &c.; it, however, the self-essential-spirit, is not illumined by these gross (elementary formations).

28. As the self is essential knowledge, the soul requires the aid of no other knowledge to enable it to recognize its own proper knowledge: just as a flambeau, which is in itself a shining light, requires not the aid of another flambeau to render it visible.

29. Having by the aid of the words "It is not so, it is not so," removed all the *Upâdhis*, one will easily recognize, by the aid of the "great saying," the oneness of the (individual) living Spirit with the (Universal) Supreme Spirit.

*Commentary.*

24. The commentator remarks: "It may perhaps be objected, 'How comes it that when the soul is perfectly inactive one ventures to say 'I know'?" This objection the author here meets: *e.g.* When the sunbeam and the burning-glass are brought in contact, fire arises: in like manner ignorance arises when the Spirit-reflex (which resembles the sunbeam) and the understanding (which resembles the burning-glass) are twisted into one, and in consequence of this ignorance it happens that the Living-Spirit is caught in such sayings as 'I know.' When, however, the Spirit is separated from the activity of the understanding, no object appears, and it is then the Self recognizing itself, without activity.

25. The Tamil commentary, which reads *ala*, 'much,' instead of *mala*, 'dirt,' and joins the former word with *muhjati*, gives the literal meaning of the strophe thus:—"Change (or activity) never (belongs) to the Spirit." Wisdom never (belongs) to the understanding, nevertheless the Living-Spirit beguiles itself with the thought that it is "the doer," "the spectator," &c. &c.,—taking the totality of the mental faculties for itself.||

26. The commentator remarks: "This strophe shows that if the Spirit takes upon itself heterogeneous qualities—while imputing to itself (as in the preceding strophe) activity, which belongs only to the elementary mental faculties, senses and organs—it is preparing trouble for itself."

27. Here the author points out why the Spirit is not recognized by means of the understanding, the faculties and senses, although they are so closely allied with it.

28. The commentator remarks: "Here the author meets the objection arising from the latter part of the previous strophe, namely, 'If the soul cannot be known by means of the mental faculties, &c. &c., how then shall it be recognized?'"

29. The commentator includes the entire *Upâdhis* in Universal Knowledge and partial knowledge. He explains the words "It is not so," by "it (the real substratum of the unreal world of phenomena) is without name and form." The "great saying" is "*Tat tvam asi*," *i.e.* "Hoc (*i.e.* Brahma) tu es."—If amongst a quantity of stones picked up there was a precious stone (discovered), perhaps then one would examine them all closely, and discover that they were not (all) precious stones. So here with reference to the Spirit which is associated with the various *Upâdhis* (the three-fold body-form) the Vedas explain that "these (phenomena) are not it," and sets them aside. In this manner one learns to know the Spirit (by means of *Śrávaṇa*, hearing the Vedas). Now, although in everyday life, one attributes greatness and smallness to rivers and seas, in consequence of the peculiarities of the land, yet when one divests his ideas of these peculiarities, the entire *water* appears as one, and the idea of size (large and small) vanishes. So is it with Universal Knowledge; and the partial knowledge of the universal world, and the individual Living-soul: the difference between them exists only in the phenomena and habits of the

|| Dr. Graul observes here that Taylor doubted whether this strophe could be translated in a sensible manner; the doctor considers the Tamil commentary satisfactory.

30. The Body, &c. &c. is known to have arisen through ignorance, visible and transient as the bubble upon the water; that, however, which in this quality is free, is recognized saying "I (am) Brahma,"—as the Pure.

31. Because I am diverse from the Body, &c. &c., I am free from birth, old age, decay, death, &c. &c., and being independent of the senses I have no connexion with the (sense) things (fashioned out of the Tanmâtras or elementary Atoms), as sound, &c. &c.

32. Because I am without *Manas* (mind), pain, desire, aversion, and fear, &c. &c. do not affect me—according to the words of Revelation, (*e. g.*) "without life, without *manas*, pure," &c. &c.

33. I am without quality (*Guna**), without activity, eternal, without will or conception, without stain, without change, without form; for ever saved—pure.†

34. I am like the Æther, pervading all within and without, imperishable, in all alike-abiding, the perfect, the independent, unspotted, immoveable.

35. That (*Being*) which appears eternal, pure, emancipated (from all things), which is undivided bliss, one without a second;—existence, knowledge, endless, the Supreme Brahma—"that am I."

36. Perfect Self-consciousness, "I am Brahma," removes all false appearance of ignorance, just as the elixir of life removes sickness.

37. Sitting in a secluded place, without passion (or desire), with senses curbed, let one set before him the One Spirit—the Unending—with undisturbed meditation.

38. Well instructed by wisdom, denying all visible (matter) in the Spirit—let such an one alway set before him the One Spirit, which resembles the pure Æther.

39. He who knows the Supreme Truth (or essence), rejects all (distinction) of form, sex, &c. &c., and unites himself with the All-perfect Spirit-blest, Self-existence.

40. The distinction of "Knower," "Knowledge," and "Object of Knowledge" is not known in the Supreme Spirit: (rather) it (Brahma) through its own self is enlightened, in consequence of its own essence, which is Spirit and Bliss.

*Commentary.*

world, and not in the Supreme Spirit which is in the Susupti state. One may discover that by the "great saying" which removes all difference between the "thou" and the "that."

30. The commentator remarks: "Strophes from 15 to 30 treat of *Śrâvaṇa*, the hearing of the Vedas, as the first stage on the road to Salvation. The five following strophes treat of *Manana*, the meditating upon what has been heard, as the second stage on the road."

31. The commentator remarks: "These are deductions from the Vedas, which the scholar, who has studied the Vedas, has now thoroughly to think upon."

32. The commentator remarks: "According to the Vedas the Soul does not possess Mind or any other faculty.¶ It is an Eternal blessed One—this is to be believed."

35. The commentator uses the plural of *Vikṣepa* in a narrower sense, and then in a wider sense than *Âvaraṇa*—two common artifices of Vedânts. According to it, *Âvaraṇa* (concealing or covering) is the cause that after one has got rid of the *duality* in himself, it nevertheless again emerges, and he thus becomes at the same time a being who knows himself to be Brâhma, and a being who is ignorant of it: *Vikṣepa*—false appearance—brings, according to it, a divided (*i.e.* contradictory) knowledge into the waking and dreaming condition. On the other hand, according to others, *Âvaraṇa* is the concealment of the true self, so that one takes the (elementary) categories for it, and *Vikṣepa is* the state of pleasure in sensual things. *Âvaraṇa* is more intellectual, and *Vikṣepa* more ethical. Moreover, *Âvaraṇa* is the anxiety which exclaims, "The Spirit does not appear to me;" and *Vikṣepa* is the illusion which takes the individual living-self depending upon corporeity, for the *true* self. Finally *Âvaraṇa* is the double error; "the truth does not exist, it is invisible," and *Vikṣepa* is the grief because "it has died in the river."

¶ *Manas* is the faculty of imagination and excitation according to this philosophy.

* There are said to be three *gunas* or qualities; they are mentioned in the *Kaivaljanavanita* thus, viz.:—

"They are excellent white, black and red, that partakes of each, and are denominated pure essence, darkness, and impure nature. But although these *gunas*, which are called essence, filth, and gloom, as *three*, are equal, one among them may preponderate."—Graul's Translation.

† "Do not say, 'Attributing qualities to the being void of qualities is equivalent to saying—a sterile mother.'

* * * * *

The qualities, mentioned by the excellent Vedas to the end that for the sake of obtaining the emancipation of this life the knowledge of Brahma may be brought about, are by no means qualities of Brahma, but the very substance of Brahma."—*Kaivaljanavanita*, Graul's Translation.

41. The flame of knowledge, which blazes forth when the contemplation is unceasingly rubbed upon the fuel of the Soul, consumes all the stubble of ignorance.

42. When, by means of knowledge, as by a ray of morning light, the full darkness has been dispelled, the Spirit shall shine forth of itself on high, like the Sun.

43. The Spirit is alway attainable, notwithstanding through ignorance it becomes unattainable; when this has been destroyed, it shall shine forth, from thence, attainable, like the (forgotten) jewel upon the neck.

44. The *Jiva-Atma* erroneously appears in the Brahma, just as (the form of) a man in a pillar of timber; when, however, the true form of the *Jiva-Atma* is understood, this (error) will vanish.

45. By the knowledge which springs from an experimental grasping of the Supreme substance, the ignorance which says "I" and "mine" is quickly dispelled; just as the rising sun removes embarrassments (with reference to the region of the heavens).

46. The Wise, having attained perfect discernment, perceives the totality of things to rest in himself, and with the eye of knowledge he perceives All as the one Self.

47. All this world is the Spirit, and distinct from the Spirit nothing exists; just as one knows that earthen pots, &c. &c. are (essentially) earth, so All is the essential Spirit.

48. He who knows this, is the Life-emancipated-self. He layeth the qualities of the former *Upâdhis* altogether aside: and through the inner essence-spirit, &c. &c. he is a participator of the condition of Brahma:—like the bee, (which from being an insect at first) has arrived at what now it is.

49. Having crossed the sea of fascination, and having slain the giants "Inclination," "Aversion," &c. &c., the Wise shall forth, married to Tranquillity, delighting in the Spirit.

50. Extinguishing his inclination for external changeable pleasure, and securely reposing in Spirit-pleasure, (such a one) shall alway shine forth clearly therein, like the light which stands in a vessel secure.

51. Although still involved in the *Upâdhi* (*i.e.* corporeity), the *Muni* (*i.e.* wisdom-perfected sage) may remain uncontaminated by its natural qualities, (just like the æther, which, although it pervades the most unclean things, is nevertheless uncontaminated). And although he knows all, yet like a (disinterested) imbecile will he stand aside, and clinging (to no sensual thing) (he) passes through (them) like the wind.

*Commentary.*

41. The commentator remarks: "The soul, with reference to the mental faculties bound up with it, is here compared to very inflammable wood‡ (here contemplation). This fire consumes not only the contemplation, but also the mental faculties (or Spirit-powers); then *Aparôksa-Jnâna* or pure Intuition arises."

43. The commentator remarks: "A simile for the Brahma, which, though forgetting itself, is not separate from it, is found in the words of the poet, viz.:—

'Where is the Lord?' say'st thou, my Soul,
Like those who go about demanding
'Where am I?'"

45. *Anûbhava* (empirical grasping) is the third part of Salvation-lore (*Śruti, Yukti, Anubhava*); one arrives at it by the three means to salvation, *i.e.* Hearing, Meditation, and Methodical Contemplation.

47. As out of the same clay vessels of different kinds and names are made, so out of the same Brahma are produced the variously named and variously formed things of this world. The clay is *Kârana* (cause, and even material cause); the vessels are *Kârja* (effects, things formed). So is Brahma the material cause of the world, and therefore proceeding from it, as the thing made of it, and of various forms.§

49. This strophe refers to the history of Râma, which is here symbolically explained. Sitâ calls up in our mind the *Sânti*—Tranquillity—and the kingdom of Ayodhyâ ("the Unconquerable)", in which Râma subsequently rules happily: according to the commentator the (impalpable) Spirit in which the Life-freed-being rejoices.

51. The commentator remarks: "Here the teacher meets the scholar's question, 'In what condition, then, is the freed-life-Soul until the guilt

‡ Which emits fire by friction with other wood.

§ "The undeveloped energy of the clay is developed (in the pitcher formed from it). In common life they will call that clay, 'pitcher.' This is a mere phrase, and so is the 'distinction of the pitcher.' Whenever you forget the current names and shapes, and see (in a vessel formed from the clay) nothing but clay, then this is true reality; forgetting the different *Jiva*-fictions, you will assume the share of Spirit."—*Kaivalyanavanita*, Graul's Trans.

52. By the dissolution of the *Upádhi*, the *Muni* (wisdom-perfected-Sage) unites inseparably with the (All-)pervading One, just as water mixes inseparably with water, air with air, and fire with fire.

53. That gain, than which there is no greater gain,
That pleasure, than which there is no greater pleasure,
That knowledge, than which there is no greater knowledge,
That is Brahma.—Let this be believed!

54. That, which One having perceived, there is nothing else to perceive,
That, which One having attained, there is nothing else attainable,
That, which One knowing, there exists nothing else to be known,
That is Brahma.—Let this be believed.

55. That which is thorough, above, below, complete, perfect, existence spirit and bliss; the one without a second, endless, ever-existing and one—that is Brahma.—Let this be believed!

56. That which is in the form of rejecting whatsoever is "not this"—*i.e.* not Brahma—is, in the Vedânta writings, shown to be the imperishable, the perfectly happy, the One—that is Brahma.—Let this be believed.

57. Having access to a portion of the bliss of the Being|| of all-perfect Bliss, Brahmâ and the other (popular deities), become, by degrees, *partially* happy beings.

58. With this (*i.e.* Brahma) the Universality of things is connected, and the (worldly) Activity is Spirit-affected: hence Brahma is a being, everywhere all-pervading, like butter¶ everywhere in milk (*i.e.* the material which originates butter is diffused throughout the entire quantity of milk): in like manner is Brahma throughout the Universe.

59. That which is neither coarse nor fine, neither short nor long, without birth and imperishable, without form, unbound by place, without sex and name: that is Brahma.* Let this be believed!

60. That by which the sun, &c. &c. shines, but which is not illumined by any light, that by which all these are effulgent, is Brahma. Let this be believed!

61. Of itself pervading everything within and without, and the entire world illumining, the Brahma shines forth, like the iron-ball glowing with fire.

62. Brahma shares not the qualities of the world; besides Brahma there exists nothing; when any other than Brahma appears it is false—like the mirage in the desert.†

63. That which is alway seen and heard is (in the most profound essence) not different from Brahma: and by means of the true knowledge (in which all modifications, as well as the illusive, perish) these pertain (directly) to Brahma, to the Being full of Reality, Spirit, and Bliss, the One without a second.

64. The eye of Wisdom discerns the all-pervading Soul, which is Being and Spirit; the

*Commentary:*

(accumulated during a prior existence) is completely expiated, and incorporeal Bliss succeeds the extinction of the threefold corporealness?'"

52. An annotation of Taylor (or Pauthier) refers the dissolution of the *Upádhi* merely to the *gross* and fine material forms. The Tamil commentator rightly refers it to the causal form. The commentator remarks: "In the three following strophes the teacher describes the sublimity of the Brahma as regards extent, place, and time."

57. The commentator remarks: "The teacher here disposes of the objection (of the popular faith), 'Undivided Bliss is ascribed to Brahmâ, Vishnu, &c. &c., and those who would attain the happiness of these Godheads perform horse-sacrifice.'"

58. The commentator here makes a very characteristic observation, *i.e.*: "The author wishes to meet the objection, 'As it is a notorious fact that great desire for sense-things exist, how can it be said that the Spirit is in a high degree the object of (human) desire?' And he meets the objection, showing, by means of the above example, that the Spirit is, equally with butter, an object worthy the desire of all."

|| Brahma is the Supreme Deity, the *causa materialis* and *causa efficiens* of the illusive world.
Brahmâ is the chief god of the Hindu Triad, and it is he who is mentioned in this strophe.

¶ Butter has a totally different signification to the non-flesh-eating Hindu than to us. Therefore the first published Tamil Vedic writing bears the interesting title, "The fresh Butter of Happiness."

* Some of the negative attributes of the Brahma are given in this strophe; for them more at length see *Kaivaljanavanita*, Part II. 187.

† "Everything is false which is not Brahma."
*Vedânta Paribhâsha.*
Nothing exists but he (*i.e.* Brahma).
*Sutras*, iii. 2, 29.

eye of ignorance, however, cannot perceive it, just as the blind cannot see the shining sun.

65. Aglow with the fire of knowledge which has been kindled by the study of the Vedas, &c. &c., the Living-Soul, free of all impurity, shines forth of itself, like the gold (refined in the fire).

66. The self, rising in the Æther of the heart,—the sun of Wisdom, scatters the darkness, and pervading all, bearing all, it appears. It illumines all.

67. Whoever undertakes the pilgrimage of himself, regardless of the region of the heavens, place, or time, &c. &c., passing through all:—having overcome cold, heat, and all other varieties of opposition—obtains eternal happiness, and is free from all toil—as one without works activity: *i.e.* as one who does not seek his happiness in the ceremonies of the popular belief, or in any activity whatever—and becomes omniscient, all-pervading, immortal.

---

## TWO KONGU OR CHERA GRANTS, OF A.D. 454 AND 513.

BY LEWIS RICE, BANGALORE.

Two grants were produced in court here by a resident of Mallohaḷḷi, about 25 miles north-west of Bangalore, and referred to me for a knowledge of their contents. They will be found of considerable importance in throwing light upon the history of the Kongu kings. One dates, as I shall show, from A.D. 454, and the other from 513: the former is therefore 12 years older, and the latter 47 years later, than the Merkâra plates.*

The first is engraved in small characters on three thin narrow plates of copper (7½ in. × 1¾ in.), which are strung together on a metal ring secured with the stamp of an elephant, and are a good deal worn. The second is well and deeply cut in bold characters on five stout plates (9 in. × 3¼ in.) which are in good preservation. It exhibits with great distinctness the formation of the letters of the Haḷe Kannaḍa alphabet at the opening of the 6th century. Whether due to superior skill in the engraver or to a regular process of development, the characters, which in the two earlier grants seem to be in a transition state, have here acquired a more settled form;† which, again, in the Nâgamangala plates‡ of the 8th century attains to some degree of elegance.

The language, likewise, employed in the older of these two grants, as in the Merkâra plates, seems to be transitional in style, veering between Sanskṛit and Haḷe Kannaḍa, with an evident effort after the former, but powerfully, if not predominantly, under the influence of the latter. In the second of our present grants, however, the Sanskṛit is of a decided character and more accurate. Other evidence deduced from these inscriptions renders it probable that towards the end of the 5th century Sanskṛit and Brâhmanical influence were, in the south of Maisur, gradually displacing ancient Kanarese, and with it the power of the Jains, its most eminent professors.

The first of the inscriptions now published records a grant by Koṅgaṇi§ Mahârâjâ to a Brâhmaṇ named Tippûr Kâda Svâmi of certain land under the Melûr tank, in the year Jaya, the 29th of his reign. The second is the record of a grant by Koṅgaṇi Vṛiddha, named Avinîta or Durvvinîta, the son of the foregoing, of a village named Keḷale and of certain lands east and west of the river Penna to a Brâhmaṇ named Deva Śârmmaṇa or Mahâdeva, in the year Vijaya, the 35th of his reign. Assuming that the inscriptions are genuine, which I see no reason to question, there was an interval of 59 years between them, for in the Hindu cycle of 60 years Vijaya immediately precedes Jaya. It therefore follows that Koṅgaṇi II. ruled for 53 years. But this extreme period does not invalidate the accuracy of the dates, as might hastily be supposed, for the second of the grants discloses the interesting fact that Koṅgaṇi II. was crowned either immediately on, or soon after, his birth. The period of 53 years does not, under such circumstances, seem an exaggerated length

---

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 363.

† The signs of punctuation are deserving of notice.

‡ *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 155.

§ Regarding the different forms in which this name is found, I regret that I have yet had no opportunity of referring to the original inscription to confirm my reading of Koḍgini. But at Nirgunda I saw a stone in which it is written Koṅguḷi, and the Rev. F. Kittel has pointed out to me that the latter is the form in the [illegible] 5, 85: cf. *Introd.* Nâga Varmma's *Canarese Prosody*, xxvi.

to assign to his reign.|| Thus much being premised in support of the figures as contained in these grants, we must resort to the Merkâra plates, which belong to the same period, in order to fix the year of the era. They were dated in Śâlivâhana Śaka 388, which corresponds with the year Parâbhava. To arrive at Jaya we must go back 12 years, and thus obtain the date Ś. Ś. 376 for the first grant, or A.D. 454, and by consequence Ś. Ś. 347, or A.D. 425, for the birth and commencement of the reign of Koṅgaṇi II. and the termination of that of Mâdhava II., his father. The calculation for the second grant is now easy, and we get the dates Ś. Ś. 435, or A.D. 513, for the grant itself, and Ś. Ś. 400 or A.D. 478 for the end of the reign of Koṅgaṇi II. and the beginning of that of Avinîta or Koṅgaṇi Vṛiddha. There is only one objection which, it occurs to me, might be urged against this computation. It is the advanced age to which Avinîta must, according to these figures, have arrived when he made the second of our present grants. For this is 57 years later than the Merkâra grant, which was also made by him, but at a time when, apparently, he was his father's minister, and must therefore have already arrived at manhood. But say he was then 20, he would now be 67, an age quite within the bounds of reason. And that he could not have been much over 20 at the former period is evident from this, that his father was only 41. Having thus, as I trust conclusively, established the dates in question, and by proving their credibility vindicated that of the remaining contents of the inscriptions, we may now proceed to examine these more closely.

To begin with the oldest. The first thing to be remarked is the curious differences in the string of descriptive phrases attached to each king, differences which might be set down as errors on the part of the composer or transcriber, but that this being the oldest of the grants the expressions may here be in their original form, afterwards altered and improved upon.¶

The three others agree, for instance, in ascribing to Koṅgaṇi I. the feat of dividing with one stroke of his sword a *mahâ śilâ stambha*, or great pillar of stone, but here this figures as *anila* or *nîla stambha*. What *either* of them means it is difficult to say. The *śilâ stambha* might have been a *linga*, like the historical one of Somanâth which was broken by Mâhmûd of Ghazni, or it might have been a pillar of victory erected by some rival prince*; but the new version, meaning either wind-post or blue (sapphire) post, seems inexplicable, as it is hardly possible that the reference can be, by a wildly bold metaphor, to a conquest of the *Nîla-giri*. The ornament of a wound, again, with which Koṅgaṇi I. is decorated in the other grants, is here bestowed upon the next king, Mâdhava I.; while instead Koṅgaṇi is described as a wild-fire in consuming (*ba... ti*, a word I cannot make out,—it may be a proper name). Further on, we find none of the religious devotion attributed here to Vishṇu Gopa, which in the other three appears as his principal attribute. On the contrary, he is credited with uncommon mental energy, unimpaired to the close of life. All the grants agree in stating that Mâdhava I. was very active in promoting works of merit, but here this is expressed without the figure employed in the formerly published grants, and in terms which seem to imply something like a Brâhmaṇical revival. Our second grant states this in even stronger language, and expressly adds that it was fostered by Koṅgaṇi II. and Avinîta. Lastly Koṅgaṇi II. is simply styled the son of Mâdhava, without any allusion to his mother's being a Kadamba princess, as mentioned in the three other grants.

The second of our present inscriptions contains a much fuller account of most of the kings than is given in either of the others. But especially with reference to Koṅgaṇi II. and Avinîta. The former, we thus learn, as already stated, was crowned at his birth. He appears to have made many conquests and to have reigned with great glory. Brâhmaṇical

|| From the Nâgamangala plates we learn that Pṛithvi Koṅgaṇi reigned at least 50 years; while, if the *Kongu-deśa Râjakal* is to be relied on, Koṅgaṇi I. reigned 51 years.

¶ Observe also the *ghana gagana* of the first line, in place of the *gata ghana gagana* of the other inscriptions.

* Mr. Taylor's version of the *Kongu-deśa Râjakal* says, "This king, in going out to conquer hostile kings, was accustomed to cut a stone asunder with his sword, and then to vow that this was a pattern of what he would do to the king's enemies" (*Mad. Jour.* XIV. 7)—a statement which does not appear to throw much light on the subject.

Sir Erskine Perry states that the pillars erected by Aśoka were called by him *sîla stambha*; virtue-pillars, because he had engraved upon them his laws and exhortations to good conduct: *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. vi. p. 158.

influence was evidently by this time paramount in the state. It is Avinîta, however, regarding whom most information that is new is obtained. His names of Avinîta and Durvvinîta evidently conveyed no disagreeable associations, but we find that he had also the royal title of Koṅgaṇi Vṛiddha. Another interesting fact is that he was married to the daughter of the Punnâḍ râjâ, Skanda Varmmâ. This is the name of two Pallava kings mentioned in Sir Walter Elliot's grants examined by Prof. Eggeling;† and, in connection with the known proximity of the Pallava kingdom to that of the Kongus, it would be important to ascertain whether we have here a clue to the period of any of the Pallava kings. The locality of Punnâḍ was certainly the south of Maisur, for it is clearly the same as the Pûnâḍ‡ of the Merkâra plates, in a sub-division of which, named Edenâḍ, was situated the village of Badanegupp e, still known by that name, and about 30 miles south-south-east of the city of Maisur. This is farther south, I fear, than we have any evidence of the Pallavas; and had this princess who conceived such a romantic attachment for Avinîta,—whether at a *svayamvara* or as her captor in war (for he is afterwards described as the ruler of Pun-nâḍ), and, throwing off the husband intended for her, asserted her own choice—been of a distinguished royal line, it would probably, under the circumstances of her introduction here, have been mentioned. But if this Skanda Varmmâ was not the Pallava king of that name, he may have been a feudatory who adopted his patron's name by way of compliment; as we find in the Nâgamangala plates Prithuvi Nirgunda Râjâ named after Prithuvi Koṅgaṇi, and in more modern times Sadâśiva Nâyak of Keladi after Sadâśiva Râya of Vijayanagar. The kingdoms subdued by Avinîta are the same as those mentioned in the Nâgamangala inscription, but here the names are more distinctly recognizable. It is very possible that Âlantûr or Âlattûr is the present village of that name in Hadinâḍ (the cradle of the Maisur royal family), about ten miles south of Maisur city. The others I am unable to identify, though they were doubtless in the Maisur, somewhere between the Nîlagiris and Nandidurga, the neighbourhood of the gift. Besides Pun-nâḍ he is described as ruling a country whose name I have read Pânnâḍ, though it is not clear. It looks like Pâkhâḍ.

Some of the places connected with the donations may, I think, be identified. In the first grant, land under the Melur tank is presented to Tippûr Kâda Svâmi. Tippûr is in the north of the Doḍḍa Baḷḷâpura tâlukâ, whence the grant has been produced, and there is a Melur in the neighbouring tâlukâ of Devanhalli. The mention of the river Penna in the second grant fixes the land given as in the same locality. This river is the Northern Pennâr of European geographers, *âr* being the Tamil for river, as in Pâl-âr (*Kshîra-nadi*). The Northern and Southern Pennâr are generally known in the Maisur country by the Purâṇic names of Uttara Pinâkini and Dakshiṇa Pinâkini. But the latter, below the Ghâṭs, is called the Ponn-âr or Poni-âr ('golden river').§

Referring to the lineage of the grantee in the second inscription, it would be interesting to know who the Vâlmîki was that is so highly praised. There is a tradition of a Vâlmîki at Âvani (Avântika Kshêtra) near Kolar, and from the name he is declared to have been the author of the *Râmâyaṇa*, and of course in consequence the protector of Sîtâ and teacher of her sons Kuśa and Lava, &c. The Canarese *Râmâyaṇa* is by a Kumâra Vâlmîki, but this is a much later composition || than the period of this grant.

In conclusion the information obtained from the four grants that have now been published of this line of kings may be summed up as follows:—

Kings of the Gangâvamśa and Kâṇvâyanasa gotra.

Koṅgaṇi Varmma Dharmma, reigning from 188? to 239 A.D.?¶

† *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 152.

‡ A "Ten-thousand country," as Dr. Burnell has pointed out: *S. Ind. Pal.* 51.

§ It would be a great convenience were geographers to agree upon different names for the two streams, say, Pennâr for the northern, and Ponn-âr for the southern. There is at present much confusion regarding their names, and I have seen attempts made to distinguish between them by calling one Pennaur and the other Pennair. The latter is the Telugu form (*êru*, river), and therefore belongs to the northern stream.

|| Mr. Kittel assigns it to the 16th century; *Introd.* to Nâga Varmmâ's *Canarese Prosody*, lxiv.

¶ The dates marked ? are from the *Kongudeśa Râjakal*.

Mâdhava I. reigning from 239?
Hari Varmma (or Ari Varmma), reigning in 247 and 288?
Vishṇu Gopa.
Mâdhava II. (married the sister of the Kadamba king Krishṇa Varmma) reigning to 425.
Koṅgaṇi II. reigning from 425 to 478.
Avinîta, Durvvinîta, or Koṅgaṇi Vṛiddha (married the daughter of the Punnâḍ king Skanda Varmma), reigning from 478.
Mushkara.
Śrî Vikrama.
Bhû Vikrama, reigning from 539?
Vilanda, Râjâ Śrî Vallabhâkhya.
Nava Kâma (?Râjâ Govinda Râya).
(? Sivaga), reigning in 668?
Pṛithivi Koṅgaṇi (married to Śrîjâ), reigning from 727 in 777.

The above list gives an average of 42 years to a reign, and even omitting three Koṅgaṇis who ruled over 50 years each the average is 39 years to a reign. Some more names have probably to be introduced between Râjâ Govinda and Pṛithvi Koṅgaṇi.*

No. I.

[I.] Svasti. Jitam bhagavatâ ghana gaganâbhena Padmanâbhena, Śrîmaj-Jâhnavîya kulâmala vyomâvabhâsamâna bhâskarasya svabhuja balâjjitojjita râjya śrî vibhavasyanila stambha prahâra prakhyâta kîrtteh ba . . ti gahana kaksha pradâha davâgne śrîmat Koṅgaṇi Varmma Dharmma mahâdhirâjasya. Putrasya piturâgata guṇasya dattaka sûtra vyâkhyâ pranetu aneka samarâvagâhanopalabdha vraṇa vibhûshasya bhagavad rakshi-

[II.] ta bhâ vibhavaṣya śrîmat Mâdhavâdhirâjasya. Putrasya aneka chaturddantavâpta chatur udadhi salilâsvâdita (ya)-śasah pravara kari turaga varârohaṇa dakshasya kshapitâri pakshasya śrîmadd-Hari Varmma mârâjasya. Putrasya pitṛi pitâmahâtvâga guṇa gaṇa yuktasya narendra nîtau Bṛihaspati tulyasya yâvad âyu. khaṇḍita manotsahasya Śakra tulya parâkramasya śrîma(d) Vishṇu Gopa râjasya. Putrah varayudiva.

[III.] ravinda puṇye dhanapa vṛitta taruṇa divâkara amṛita visha sama prasâda kopa aneka go hiriṇya bhûmyâdi pradâna dîkshâ kshapita kalmasha chiropahṛita brahmâdeya pradâna prakhyâta yaśah aneka yuddhadhvara yâjakaika śakra ivâ pratihata vikramah dhanadha ivâkshiṇa kośakoshṭa śârah yama ivâyisha vâritâṅka varuṇa pravara vijaya vikramasya Mâdhava râjasya. Puttah Koṅgaṇi râjasyah datta Kâda svamiśva Taittirîyasa brahma-

[IV] ṇasya Hiraṇyakeśi sûtrebhya makkâgareyarâldu Tippûra Kâda svâmigaḷge brahmâdeya kramadena Melûra kere kiḷe padhi kaṇḍugam vṛihi bhûmi dattavya ashṭâdaśa jâtibhih sarvva parihâraih sapâ nîyya pâta brahmâdeïkratya puṇyârogyabhih vṛiddhaye dattarân tad anugamya sarvvayu iva dharaṇitalepratihata balah parama brahmaṇyah Hara charaṇaravinda praṇîpâta

and that of Hari Varmma from Prof. Eggeling (*Ind. Ant.* vol. iii. p. 152.) With regard to the date 668 for the last but one, given in the former, the following is the note in Mr. Taylor's translation:—"The date Ś. Ś. 591 is introduced apparently by a specimen of the mode of using words for numbers—*vasthu-grega* 500, *banna* 90, *yuddha* 1." I should be very glad to see some explanation of this, a according to all such cases I have met with, the figures have to be taken backwards. I conjecture that *vasthu* should have been read *varsha*.

* Cf. Nâgamangala inscription.

CHERÂ COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF S. ŚAKA, 376.



1
*I a.*

2
*I b.*

3
*II a.*

# CHERÂ COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF S. ŚAKA, 376.



4
II b.

5
III a.

6
III b.

W. Griggs lith.

[V.] pravṛitta eva kiṇdhaḥ Kânvâyanasa gotra śrîmaṇ Koṅgaṇi mâhârâjasya âtmanah pravarddhamâna vipula

vi[ja]yai svaryya ekona trimśato Jaya sabatsare śataya * nakshatre mâdelasa gotrebhya Kâda svamiśva sarvva

taiyyi bhi madala vallabhâścha Kâda svâmintyata bhûmi tathaiva parihârantyaparihâ- rayantya va-

ya etad asmachhchâsanam akramet sa pâpah śarîran daṇḍam arahati. Apichâtranugita ślokâ

[VI.] svadattam paradattam vâ yo hareta vasundharâm gavâm śata sahasrasya hannyarpivati dush- krita. Svandâtu

sumahachhchakya dumkham [duhkham] anyâtt palana danam vâ pâlanam vetti dâna chchhreyonupâ- lanam. Bahubhir vasudhâ da-

tta râja bhih Sagarâdibhih yasya yasya yadâ bhûmi tasya tasya tathâ palam. Mahârâjasvâmanuja ke-

pya divâkare ka . peggelaginda pannirkkaṇḍugavedenelmaṇṇyandendu pâḷundendu ativura padedanu padedo naramaṇ̥â alne-

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . galda satvaparaśarâgata

*Translation.*

May it be well! Success through the adorable Padmanâbha, resembling (in colour) the cloudy sky.

A sun illumining the clear firmament of the Jâhnavi *kula*, possessed of the wealth of the glory of the kingdom conquered by the might of his own arm, of distinguished fame through striking down the *anila* (or *nîla*) *stambha*, a wildfire in consuming the stubble of the forest the *ba. .ti*, was Śrîmat Koṅgaṇi Varmma Dharmma Mahâdhirâjâ.

His son, inheriting the qualities of his father, author of a treatise on the law of adoption, adorned with the wound acquired by entering into many wars, of a wealth and glory protected by Bhagavat, was Śrîmat Mâdhava Âdhirâjâ.

His son, whose fame acquired by (his) many elephants had tasted the waters of the four oceans, skilled in riding on the best elephants and the best horses, the destroyer of hosts of enemies, was Śrîmad Hari Varmma Mârâjâ.

His son, endowed with the group of qualities inherited from his father and grandfather, in kingly policy the equal of Brihaspati, his mental energy unimpaired to the end of life, of a valour equal to that of Śakra (Indra), was Śrîmad Vishṇu Gopa Râjâ.

His son, like Kubera in the merit of smiting his enemies in great wars, a young (or rising) sun, his favour and his anger like nectar and like poison, his sins destroyed by religious rites and numerous gifts of cows, gold, lands, and other things, of widespread fame for his renewal of Brâhmaṇ endowments long since destroyed, as performing the sacrifice of many wars, the sole sacrificer (in the world), like Indra of valour invincible, like Kubera wonderful in the possession of heaps of treasure inexhaustible, like Yama in his arrows which destroyed the battlements of the neighbouring chiefs, of mighty victorious valour, was Mâdhava Râjâ.

By his son Koṅgaṇi Râjâ was given to Kâda Svâmiśva, a Taittirîya Brâhmaṇ, chief of the Hiraṇya-keśi *sûtra* . . . .

. . . . . . . . to Tippûra Kâda Svâmi was given, in the manner of a Brâhmaṇ endowment, 10 *kaṇḍuga* of paddy land below Melûr tank, freed from all dues of the eighteen castes, and formed into a Brâhmaṇ *vritti* with pouring of water; for the increase of merit and health was it given.

In pursuance of which, in the year Jaya, the 29th of the wealth of the great victories increased by himself, (namely by) Śrîmân Koṅgaṇi Mahârâjâ, of the Kânvâyanasa *gotra*,—of a might invincible by any in the world, chief in affection for the Brâhmaṇs, devoted to the worship of the lotus feet of Hara (Śiva),—the moon being in the Śataya *nakshatra*, to Kâda Svâmiśva of the Mâdelasa *gotra* . . . . . . . . . . Let this land be

* Śatabhisha.

continued without hindrance to Kâda Svâmi, the beloved of the Madala (*gotra*): such is our command, which whosoever transgresses is a sinner worthy of corporal punishment.

Moreover thus is the śloka delivered:—Whoso seizes upon land presented by himself or by another will incur the guilt of slaughtering a hundred thousand cows. To give much oneself is easy, to maintain another's gift is difficult; but of giving or maintaining (another's gift) the maintenance (of another's gift) is more meritorious.—The earth has been enjoyed by Sagara and many kings; according to their (gifts of) land so was their reward.

Whoso is a follower of the Mahârâja . . . . . . . . . 12 *kanduga;* this all should respect and preserve . . . . . . . . . . those famed for their adherence to virtue.

No. II.

[I.] Jitam bhagavatâ gata ghana gaganâbhena Padmanâbhena. Śrîj-Jâhnaveya kulâmala vyomâvabhâsana bhaskarasya sva khadgaika prahâra khandita mahâ śilâ stambha labdha bala svastih parâkrama yaśasah dârunârigana vidârana ranopalabdha brana vibhûshana vibhûshitasya Kânvâyanasa gotrasya śrîmat Kongani Varmma Dharmma mahâdhirâjasya. Putrasya pituranvâgata guna yuktasya vidyâ vinaya vinîtasya samyaprajâ pâlana mâtrâdhigata râjya prayojanasya nânâ śâstrârtta sadbhâvâdhigama pranîta mati viśeshasya vidvat kâñchana nikashopa-

[II.] la bhûtasya viśeshatopy anavaśeshasya nîti śâstrasya vaktri prayoktri kuśalasya suvibhakta bhakta bhritya janasya dattaka sûtra vritteh pranetuh śrîmat Mâdhava mahâdhirâjasya. Putrasya pitri paitâmaha guna yuktasya aneka chaturddantâ yuddhâvâpta chatur udadhi salilâsvâdita yaśasah samada dvirada turagârohanâtiśayotpanna tejaso dhanur abhiyoga sampâdita sampad viśeshasya srimadd-Hari Varmma mahâdhirâjasya. Putrasya guru go brâhmana pûjakasya Nârâyana charanânuddhyâta-

[III.] sya śrîmad Vishnu Gopa mahâdhirâjasya. Putrasya Tryambaka charanâmbhoruha rajah pavitrîkritottamângasya vyayâmodvritta pîna kathina bhuja dvayasya sva bhuja bala parâkrama kraya krîta râjyasya kshut shâmoshtha piśitâśana prîtikara niśita dhâra se | chira pranashta deva bhoga brahmâdeya visargga ayana kârina kali yuga bala pankâvasanna dharmma vrishoddharana nitya sannaddhasya śrîman Mâdhava mahâdhirâjasya. Putrasyâvichchhinnâśvamedhâvabhritâbhishikta śrîmat Kadamba kula gagana gabhasti mâ-

[IV.] linah śrî Krishna Varmma mahâdhirâjasya priya bhâgineyasya janani devatânka paryyanka evâdhigata râjyâbhishekasya vijrimbhamâna śakti trayasya parasparânavamaddinopabhujyamâna trivargga sârasya asambhr. mâvanamita samasta sâmanta mandalasya nirantara prema bahumânânurakta drâkrati [prâkriti] varggasya vidyâ vinayâtiśaya paripûtântarâtmana | kârtta yugina râja charitâvalambina aneka samara vijayopâjjita vipula yaśa kshîrodaikârnnavî krata bhûvana trayasya niravagraha pradâna śauryyasya avishahya parâkrama-

[V.] krânta pratirâja mastakâppitâpratihata śâsanasya aneka mukhâbhivarddhamâna vibhavodaya parâjita dravinapateh pratîtâneka guna nidhâna bhûtasya vidva-

II. b.

III. a.

tsu prathama ganyasya pranayi jana hṛidaya nandanasya maryyâdâlaṅghanâlaṅkrata ratnâkara vrittasya yathârha dandlitayânukrata vaivasvatasya prajâpâti śayânugata vivasvato Vaivasvatasya vâ Manorvvarṇâśramâbhirakshine dakshinândiśam abhigoptum paryyâpsuvatah prâtijaninasya suprajasah śrîmat Koṅgaṇi mahâdhirâjasya. Avinîta nâmna putreṇa Punnâḍa râja Skanda

[VI] nda Varmma priya putrikâ janmanâ svagurunânugâminâ pitrâ parasuta samâvarjitayâpilashshyâ svayam abhipratiyâlingita vipula vaksha stalena vijṛimbamâna śaktri trayopanamita samasta sâmanta maṇḍalena Andari-ya Âlantûr-a Paurulare-a Pernnagarâdy aneka samara makha mukhâhuta prapâta śûra purusha paśûpahâra vighasa vihastîkracântâgni mukhena śrîmat Koṅgaṇi Vṛiddha râjena Durvvinîta nâmadheyena samasta Pânnâḍa (?Pâkhâḍa) Punnâḍâdhipatinâ Vaivasvateneva Manunâ varṇâśramâbhilakshaṇândakshiṇândiśam abhigoptum pariyâptavatâ prâtijanitena suprajasâ

[VII.] âtmanaṛ pravarddhamâna vijayeśvaryye pañchatri[m]sad Vijaya samvatsare pravarttamâne śrîmat Vâlmîki nâmni jagat sûryya vamśśa khara Mahâdevâkya Kâśyapasa gotrâ vâjasainya vâdeya śrîmad Deva Śârmmaṇâm Keḷalo nâmna Bempuriśvarastânam udaka pûrbba datta îśânya diśâ âpakshetram chatâri khandi Kṛishṇa tâṭâkam âpakshetram ûrddhva tri kaṇḍi adha âpakshetram shaṭ khaṇḍi Penna nadî pûrvva diśâm kshetram pañchadaśa khaṇḍi dakshiṇâ diśa mahâ briksham agni aśvattam îśânyândiśâ jambu briksham puna puna

[VIII.] îśânyândiśâ nakule taṭaka vâruṇa diśâm kshetram dvâdaśa khaṇḍi vâyavya diśa mahâ taṭaka âpakshetram sapta khaṇḍi etan Mahâdeva divya dattam. Apichâtra Manu gîto śloko svadattam paradattam vâ yo hareti vasundharâm shashṭim varisha sahasrâṇi ghore tamasi varttate. Bahubhirvvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis Sakarâdibhi yasya yasya yada bhûmi tassya tadâ palam. Svandâtum sumahat chhakyam dumkham [duhkham] anyârtta pâlanam dânam va pâlanam veti dânâchchhreyonupâlanam. Abhbhi dattam tribhir bhuktam shaḍbhiścha pratipâlanam etâni na nivarttante pûrvva râja kritânî cha.

*Translation.*

Success through the adorable Padmanâbhâ, resembling (in colour) the cloudless sky.

A sun illumining the clear firmament of the Jâhnavi *kula*, distinguished for the strength fortune and valour acquired by the great pillar of stone divided with a single stroke of his sword, adorned with the ornament of the wound received in battle while cutting down the hosts of his terrible enemies, was Śrîmat Koṅgaṇi Varmma Dharmma Mahâdhirâjâ of the Kânvâyanasa *gotra*.

His son, inheriting all the qualities of his father, with a character for learning and modesty, having obtained the honours of the kingdom only for the sake of the good government of his subjects, of great understanding improved by acquaintance with the best principles of the substance of various sciences, a touchstone for (testing) gold the learned, skilled among those who thoroughly expound and practise the science of politics, maintaining a due distinction between friends and servants, the author of a treatise on the law of adoption, was Śrîman Mâdhava Mahâdhirâjâ.

His son, possessed of all the qualities inherited from his father and grandfather, having entered into war with many elephants (so that) his fame had tasted the waters of the four oceans, of wide-spread renown sprung from his riding on lusty elephants and horses, of great wealth acquired by the use of the bow, was Śrîmad Hari Varmma Mahâdhirâjâ.

His son, devoted to the worship of *gurus*,

cows, and Brâhmâṇs, praising the feet of Nârâyaṇa, was Śrîmad Vishṇu Gopa Mahâdhirâjâ.

His son, with a head purified by the pollen from the lotuses the feet of Tryambaka, with two arms grown stout and hard with athletic exercise, having purchased his kingdom by his personal strength and valour, bearer of a sharp... ? beloved by Râkshasas whose lips were black with hunger, a reviver of the custom of donations for long-ceased festivals of the gods and Brâhmaṇ endowments, daily eager to extricate the ox of merit from the thick mire of the Kali yuga in which it had sunk, was Śrîman Mâdhava Mahâdhirâjâ.

His son, the beloved sister's son of Śrî Kṛishṇa Varmma,—the sun in the firmament of the auspicious Kadamba *kulu*, (and) anointed with the final ablutions of continual *aśvamedhas*—who received his royal (or coronation) anointing on the couch of the lap of his divine mother, possessed of the three powers of increase, enjoying the essence of the three objects of worldly desire* without one interfering with the other, fearless though surrounded with all the bands of tributary chiefs whom he had subjected, having parties of councillors attached to him by continual affection and gifts, having a mind purified with the increase of learning and modesty, follower of the lives of the kings of the Kṛita yuga, his wide-spread fame acquired by victory in many wars covering the three worlds like the unbroken expanse of a milk ocean, bold to give without stint, his inviolable commands placed upon the heads of foreign kings subdued by his invincible might, surpassing Kubera in the growth of his wealth increased in many ways, a mine of many glorious qualities, reckoned the first of the learned, the joy of the hearts of his beloved ones, in not transgressing the bounds of respect resembling the ocean adorned with gems, like Yama in punishing according to desert, like the sun in the greatness of his glory, like Vaivasvata Manu devoted to protecting the South in the maintenance of castes and religious orders, the friend of all, of high birth, was Śrîmat Koṅgaṇi Mahâdhirâjâ.

By his son named Avinîta, whose broad chest was embraced by the beloved daughter of the Punnâḍ râja Skanda Varmma,—who herself had chosen him, though from her birth assigned by her father, according to the advice of his own *guru*, to the son of another,—having by the growth of the three powers of increase brought into subjection all the bands of tributary chiefs, having brought anxiety to the face of Yama on account of the smallness of the residue left from the animals offered up by him as a tribute, (namely) the brave men consumed in the sacrifice of the face of the many wars waged for Andari, Âlantûr, Pauruḷaṟe, Pernnagara, and other places; by (this) Śrîmat Koṅgaṇi Vṛiddharâjâ, having the name of Durvvinîta, the ruler of the whole of Pânnâḍ (?Pâkhâḍ) and Punnâḍ, like Vaivasvata Manu able for the protection of the castes and religious orders which prevailed in the South, the friend of all, of high birth :—the year Vijaya being current, the 35th of the victories and wealth increased by himself; was given,—to Śrimad Deva Śârmmana of the Kâsyapasa *gotra* and follower of the Vâjasaneyi, (also) called Mahâdeva, promoter of the race of that sun of the world named Śrîmat Vâlmîki,—the Bempurîśvara-stâna named Keḷale, with pouring of water.

(Moreover) on the north-east, wet land, 4 *khaṇḍis;* of the wet land of the Kṛishṇa pond, above—3 *khaṇḍis,* below—6 *khaṇḍis;* of the land east of the Penna river 15 *khaṇḍis,* (bounded) on the south by a big tree, south-west by an *aśvatta* (tree), north-east by a *jambu* tree, further north-east by the Nakule pond; of the land on the west 12 *khaṇḍis;* on the north-west, of the wet land of the big pond, 7 *khaṇḍis* : thus much did he piously give to Mahâdeva.

Moreover by Manu hath the śloka been delivered :—Whoso seizes upon land presented by himself or by another shall be cast into terrible darkness for sixty thousand years.—The earth has been enjoyed by Sagara and many other kings : according to their (gifts of) land so was their reward.—To make a gift oneself is easy, to maintain a gift made by another is difficult; but of giving or maintaining (another's gift) the maintenance (of another's gift) is more meritorious.

A gift made with pouring of water, one enjoyed for three generations, one maintained for six generations, such may not be resumed; neither the gifts of former kings.

* The Canarese call them *hennu, honnu, mannu*—woman, gold, and land. But the third should probably be *dharma*, religious merit.

III. b.

IV a.

IV b.

V a.

# REMARKS ON THE ŚIKSHÂS.

BY DR. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE, PUNA.

Since the publication of Professor Haug's valuable essay on the nature and value of the accents in the Veda, I have been enabled to collect from various parts of India a large number of *Śikshâs*, some of which appear to be very little, if at all, known to Sanskrit scholars, and it was my intention to publish critical editions of such of them as seemed to deserve to be made more generally accessible. Unfortunately most of the MSS. which I have collected, even the best and oldest of them, are so incorrect that I feel inclined to postpone the task of editing any of them for the present. What I cannot but consider as wrong readings occur with such uniformity and, if I may say so, regularity in the several copies of one and the same work as to render it probable that the text has been corrupt for several centuries; and although it would no doubt be possible, by conjecture and by means of such corrections as might be suggested by a comparison of other *Śikshâs*, to produce in many cases a readable text,* I much doubt whether the adoption of such a course would be likely to meet with the approval of careful and conscientious scholars, and whether the result would be satisfactory.

There is another reason which makes me hesitate to publish the materials which I have collected, and one which mainly induces me to write these lines. The chief object of nearly all the *Śikshâs* accessible to me is no other than to lay down rules for the proper recitation of the Vedas. They not only state in a general way the qualities, both bodily and mental, of which he who wishes to recite the Vedas should necessarily be possessed; they not only tell us how the reciter of the sacred texts should prepare himself for his task; but they also lay down the most minute rules for the pronunciation of certain sounds and combinations of sounds, for the musical modulation of the voice, for the right postures of the body, for the motions of the hands and fingers which must accompany and which form an essential part of the recitation, &c. These rules it may be easy enough to understand when one has seen them illustrated in practice, but I doubt whether any one who has not actually and repeatedly heard and *seen* the Vedas recited would be able not merely to translate, but to explain them satisfactorily. For a European scholar, aided by the bare texts or even by commentaries, to do so, appears, so far as my own experience goes, to be impossible.†

* An example will illustrate my meaning. My copy M of the *Mâṇḍûkî Śikshâ* reads verse IV. 9 as follows:—

शनैरध्वसु वग्त्रेग न परं योजनाद्व्रजेन् ।

न हि पाणिर्हता वाणी प्रयोगान्वक्तुमर्हति ॥

A copy of the original of my MS. M was sent to Berlin, and from it Prof. Weber gave an account of the *Mâṇḍûkî Śikshâ* in an appendix to his essay on the *Pratijnâsûtra.* Professor Weber saw that the verse as given above must be corrupt, and after consulting Professor Roth he adopted the conjectures of the latter and printed the verse as follows:—

शनैरध्वसु मार्गेण न परं योजनाद्व्रजेत् ।

न हि ग्लानिहता वाणी प्रयोगान्वक्तुमर्हति ॥

This is no doubt readable Sanskrit, but it certainly is no longer a verse of the *Mâṇḍûkî Śikshâ.*

As the compound letter क्त्र in MS. M is always written ग्त्र, the third word of the first line is really वक्त्रेण, a reading which is given by both my MSS. C and B, but which I at present do not understand; if I considered it right simply to admit the reading of another *Śikshâ*, I should adopt that of the *Nâradîya-śikshâ* शनैरध्वसु वर्तेत, but I cannot yet bring myself to believe that वर्तेत should in the *Mâṇḍûkî Śikshâ* have been altered to वक्त्रेण.

The case is less hopeless with the second line; here C reads पाणिर्हिता and B पाष्टिर्यहिता; which readings, together with that of M, point to पाष्णिहता; this actually does occur in the *Nâradîya-śikshâ*, and this I *do* adopt for the *Mâṇḍûkî Śikshâ.*

† As Professor Weber (*On the Pratijnâsûtra*, p. 73) wishes to know whether the *Śikshâs* lately discovered in India throw any light on the verse describing the pronunciation of the nasal sound called *ranga* which occurs in the *Pâṇinîyâ Śikshâ*, I may venture to select his interpretation of that particular verse as an instance of how things occasionally may be misunderstood.

The verse itself is as follows:—

यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारी अराँ (v. l. तक्रँ) इत्यभिभाषते ।

एवं रङ्गं विजानीयात्खे अराँ इव खेदया ॥

and it was originally translated by Prof. Weber thus:—

'Just as the women of Surâshṭra address (?) with the word (?) अरान् ।

'Just so one ought to know the *ranga*, e.g. खे अराँ इव ॥'

At p. 270 of vol. IV. of the *Indische Studien* a second translation is proposed, which we may omit here; but we cannot altogether disregard the third interpretation at p. 380 of vol. IX. of the same periodical, chiefly on account of the note appended to it, the sense of which is shortly this:—that both the readings अराँ and तक्रँ in the first line give no sense; that we have to read खेराँ इत्यभिभाषते ।; that खेराँ is the Greek word *χαιρειν*; that the Surâshṭra women of old used to greet one another with the Greek word *χαιρε*;

Professor Haug has been present at the recitation of one or two Vedas, and he has in consequence been able to correct several erroneous views conceived by other scholars in Europe and America, and I have myself had opportunities of becoming acquainted with the recitation of the *Ṛigveda*. But this is not sufficient. What we want is an accurate, minute, and intelligible description of the manner in which the several Vedas are recited in the different parts of India, and this can only be given by native scholars. The subject is not one of very great importance, and the task by no means an easy one, but only when it has been accomplished can we hope to be able to explain all the details‡ of the *Śikshâs* as they ought to be explained, if it should be considered worth while to explain them at all.

Professor Haug, in the essay mentioned above, has arrived at the conclusion that the *Śikshâs* are decidedly older than the *Prâtiśâkhyas*, and that the doctrines contained in the former were incorporated and further developed in the latter. Dr. Burnell (*On the Aindra School of Sanskṛit Grammarians*, p. 47) has adopted the same view, and, if I understand him rightly, has ascribed the *Śikshâs*, or at any rate their doctrines, to a school of grammarians which is said to have preceded that of Pâṇini. My own investigations, and the perusal of a larger number of treatises than were accessible to Prof. Haug or Dr. Burnell, have led to the conclusion that the views expressed by both scholars require to be considerably modified before they can be accepted.

To disprove the view taken by Professor Haug that the *Śikshâs* (*i.e.* all the *Śikshâs* which are known to exist) are older than the *Prâtiśâkhyas*, it would suffice to state that one of the most important *Śikshâs*, and one the value of which appears to have been considered sufficiently great to ensure for its author the title of *Śikshâkâra* κατ᾽ ἐξοχήν,—I mean the *Vyâsa-śikshâ*—follows the *Taittirîya-prâtiśâkhya* so closely as to be in many respects little less than a metrical version of the latter, and that 'Śaunaka and the rest,' the authors of the *Prâtiśâkhyas*, are actually quoted in the *Yâjñavalkya*, or, as it is also called, *Kâtyâyana-śikshâ*.§

I might also point to passages of the *Sarvasammata* and other *Śikshâs* in which the *Prâtiśâkhyas* are likewise cited, and in which their authority over that of the *Śikshâs* is extolled, as in the following lines:—

शिक्षा च प्रातिशाख्यं च विरुध्येते परस्परम् ।
शिक्षैव दुर्बलेत्याहुः सिंहस्यैव मृगी यथा ॥

But it appears to me that such distinct references to the *Prâtiśâkhyas* are by no means required to prove the comparatively recent date of all the *Śikshâs* that have up to the present been discovered. A perusal of the more important treatises of this branch of Sanskṛit literature, and a comparison of their form and contents, have ended, so far at least as I am concerned, in the conviction that, notwithstanding the high-sounding and ancient names which most of them bear, they are modern compilations, as a rule executed with very little skill.

Had Professor Haug confined himself to state that the contents of the *Śikshâs* may in the main be as old as those of the *Prâtiśâkhyas*, I

---

and that finally their manner of pronouncing the final letter of this particular Greek word χαιρειν or χαιρε is prescribed by the *Śikshâ* to be the right way of pronouncing the *ranga* sound of the Vedas.

Years ago, when conversing with a native friend of mine who was to have been a reciter of the *Ṛigveda*, I asked for *his* explanation of the above verse, and what I learnt from him was that the *ranga* ought to be pronounced like the final sound of the word तक्रम् when shouted by dairy-women in the street. Had I had any doubt as to the correctness of *this* explanation it would have been removed by the following passage from the commentary on the *Sarvasammata-śikshâ* which I subsequently received from Maisur:—

सौराष्ट्रदेश उत्पन्ना स्त्री तक्रविक्रयणार्थं यथा तक्रँ इति कांस्यध्वनिसमं भाषत एवं वेदे ऽपि रङ्गाः प्रयोक्तव्याः। वेद उदाहृत्य दर्शयति। खे अराँ इव खेदयेति॥ See *Ṛigveda* viii. 77, 3.

‡ I could quote many instances to show that I do not exaggerate, but one must suffice here. Several *Śikshâs* contain a verse in which the reciter is warned against seven different wrong positions of the hands or fingers:—

चलुर्नावा स्फुटी दण्डी स्वस्तिको मुष्टिरेव च ।
एते वै हस्तदोषाः स्युः पर्शुच्छेदस्तु सप्तमः ॥

To know the exact meaning of each of the terms contained in this verse is of course a matter of very small importance; but *conjecture* in a case like this would, in my opinion, be worse than useless.

§ The *Vyâsa-śikshâ* actually refers to the *Prâtiśâkhyas* in the following lines:—

मध्यमां वृत्तिमालम्ब्य चैवं कालाः सुनिश्चिताः ।
प्रातिशाख्यादिषु ह्यत्र वृत्तिः साप्यवलम्बिता ॥

The verse from the *Yâjñavalkya-śikshâ* alluded to in the above in my MSS. reads thus:—

लुप्ते नकारे यत्स्वारं रञ्जन्ति शौनकादयः ।
एवं रङ्गं विजानीयाश्च त्वा भीरिव विन्दति ॥

See *Ṛigveda*, X. 146, 1.

should have felt little hesitation in agreeing with him; for there are traces in the latter to show that the principal doctrines embodied in our present *Śikshâs* were not unknown at the time when the *Prâtiśâkhyas* were composed.|| But I am again obliged to differ from Professor Haug when he maintains that the teachings of the *Śikshâs* have been more fully developed in the *Prâtiśâkhyas*. On whatever point I have compared the doctrines of both classes of works, I have almost in every instance been driven to the conclusion that the teachings of the *Śikshâs* are fuller and more minute than those of the *Prâtiśâkhyas*,—that the former give much of detail which, if not unknown, has at any rate found no place in the latter. What do the *Prâtiśâkhyas* teach us regarding the denotation of the *svaras* by means of the hands and fingers, about which the *Śikshâs* have so much to say, and about which they give such minute rules? All I can find are one or two short rules in the *Vâjasaneyi-prâtiśâkhya*, which contain hardly more than ten words. Why was Professor Haug himself the first to point out the different kinds of *vivṛitti* ¶ and of *svarabhakti* * so accurately described and classified in nearly every *Śikshâ*? Is there any *Prâtiśâkhya* which more accurately or more fully treats of the *svarita* than the *Śikshâs* do, any one which tries to describe the relation of the so-called four accents to the seven musical notes in the manner in which this is done in the *Śikshâs*? The *Prâtiśâkhyas* do teach much that is not to be found in the *Śikshâs*, but on no one point do they teach more on what it is the object and the business of the latter to give information.†

The *Śikshâs* are manuals intended to teach the proper manner of reciting the Vedas, and inasmuch as the compiler of a manual has to adapt himself to the capacities and previous mental training of those for whom his work is designed, it is natural that the *Śikshâkâras* should have given to their teachings the simplest possible form, that they should have illustrated them by examples which even the uneducated might be supposed to be familiar with, and

|| That *Śikshâs* in verse were in existence when Patanjali composed his great commentary on Kâtyâyana's *Vârttikas*, seems to me very probable; for the verse which he quotes when explaining the term संवृतादि of the *Vârttika* आकृत्युपदेशात्सिद्धमिति चेत्संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेध : in the introductory Âhnika

ग्रस्तं निरस्तमविलम्बितं निर्हत-
मम्बूकृतं ध्मातमथो विकम्पितम् ।
संदष्टमेणीकृतमर्धकं द्रुतं
विकीर्णमेताः स्वरदोषभावनाः ॥

has all the appearance of being a *Śikshâ*-verse, even in this particular that the first line violates the metrical rules.

¶ *Loc. cit.* p. 57, note 1. In my own copies of the *Mâṇḍûkî Śikshâ* the optional name for *Pâkavatî* is not *Madhyâ*, but *Yavamadhyâ*.

उभाभ्यामेव ह्रस्वाभ्यां यवमध्यां विनिर्दिशेत् ।
ताभ्यामेव तु दीर्घाभ्यां विज्ञेया सा पिपीलिका ॥

The *Sarvasammata-śikshâ* has for *vatsânusṛitâ* '*vatsânusṛiti*,' which is also found in the *Vyâsa-śikshâ*.

* Instead of the term *kariṇî* (*loc. cit.* note 2) of the *Mâṇḍûkî* and *Yâjñavalkya-śikshâ*, other *Śikshâs* have *kareṇu*. See, *e.g.*, *Sarvasammata-śikshâ*:—

करेणू रहयोर्योगे कर्विणी लहकारयोः ।
हरिणी रशसानां च हारिता लशकारयोः ।
या तु हंसपदा नाम सा तु रेफषकारयोः ॥

and *Vyâsa-śikshâ*:—

स्वरभक्तिः करेणू रो होर्ध्वो लः कर्विणी भवेत् ।
हरिणी शषसोर्ध्वो रो लकारो हारितोच्यते ॥

† A knowledge of the *Śikshâs* might have rendered assistance to the editors of the *Prâtiśâkhyas*, excellently as the latter have been edited, or it would at any rate have guarded them against occasional rash statements. The commentary on the *Taittir. Prât.* XIX. 3 states that the word यम is synonymous with स्वरित, upon which Professor Whitney remarks: "In *yama* as a synonym of *svarita*, and meaning 'circumflex,' I cannot in the least believe." Indian, like other commentators, are not infallible, but in this instance the commentator was right, for in defining the *Praślishṭa svarita* the *Vyâsa-śikshâ* says—

उच्चोत्वान्नीच उत्वे स्यात्प्राश्लिष्टः संधितो यमः

The commentator is right, too, when he states that प्रवण (not merely describes the nature of the *svarita*, but) is actually another term for स्वरित; this likewise can be proved from the *Śikshâs*.

That the term धृत, by itself, is synonymous with प्रचय appears from the following verse of the *Vyâsa-śikshâ*:—

स्वारः शीर्षे मुखेऽप्युच्चप्रचयौ निहतो हृदि ।
नीचोच्चस्वारधृताश्चैव विज्ञेयाः प्रजापतौ ॥

This passage will show that the reading of the MSS. of the *Pâṇinîya-śikshâ*, v. 43, धृतं च, ought not to have been altered to धृतश्च, and that the word उपान्तमध्य should have been translated by 'the ring and the middle fingers.' (*Ind. Stud.* vol. IV. p. 365.) The following verses of the *Bharatabhâshya* called *Sarasvatîhṛidayabhûshaṇa*, the author of which professes to have studied the *Śikshâs* of Pâṇini, Nârada, and Âpiśali, are evidently based on the verse of the *Pâṇinîya-śikshâ* referred to in the above:—

अङ्गुष्ठस्य मुखाग्रेण तर्जनीमूलसारणात् ।
उदात्तः स स्वरो नाम वेदविद्भिरुदाहृतः ॥
कनिष्ठामूलसंस्पर्शादनुदात्त इति स्मृतः ।
स्वरितोऽनामिकामूलसंस्पर्शाद्यः स्वरो भवेत् ॥
मध्यमामूलतो विद्यात्प्रचितं स्पर्शनादपि ।

that as a rule they should have avoided, so far as it was possible, the strict terminology and the concise forms of the grammatical schools, even when the temptation of employing the latter was by no means a slight one. The simpler their treatises, the more homely their illustrations,—the better they would serve their purpose. For it can hardly be doubtful that in the recitation of the Vedas, as in a thousand other things, India of old did not differ greatly from India as we find it at present, and that the ancient *Vedapâṭhakas* were as ignorant in everything except their own profession as their successors are to-day. To adduce the less strict or less technical terminology of the *Śikshâs* as a proof for an antiquity higher even than that of Pâṇini, or at all to consider these treatises as the production of a school of grammarians, appears to me to be misunderstanding their nature and the purpose for which they have been composed.

## INSCRIPTIONS FROM KÂVÎ.

BY G. BÜHLER.

(*Continued from page* 115.)

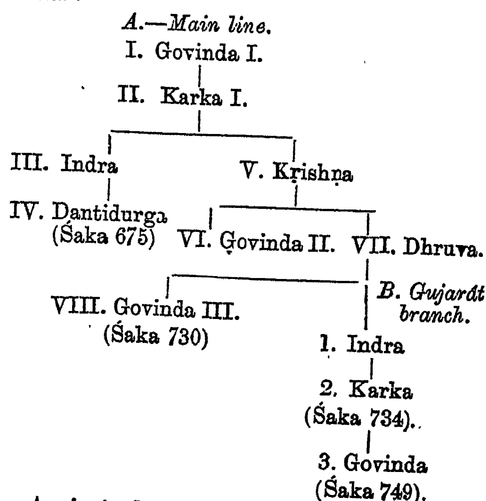
### *II.—The Grant of Govindarâja.*

The three plates containing a grant of Govindarâja originally measured 12′′×10′′ each, and were held together by one ring passed through holes in the middle of their left sides. The ring has been lost. The first plate has suffered, besides the loss of a circular piece out of the centre,* considerable injuries at the left-hand corner. The obverse of Plate II. has been subjected to rough treatment, and the first line has been obliterated by blows with a hammer. The third plate has lost small pieces at the four corners, at the top, and on the left side above the ring-hole.

The characters of the inscription exactly resemble those of the facsimile of the Baroda plate published in the *Jour. Ben. As. Soc.* vol. VIII. p. 302. They are mostly deeply and well incised, except in some lines of Plate I. and on the reverse of Plate II. (II. B). Plate I. is, owing to its losses and the faulty execution of the letters, in so bad a state that neither a photograph† nor an impression could be taken. It could hardly have been deciphered if the greater portion of its contents had not been a mere repetition of the Sâmangaḍh inscription. On the reverse of Plate II. (II. B) the incisions are so superficial, especially in the centre, that the wear and tear which the surface has undergone, and some accidental scratches, have made the deciphering very troublesome and difficult. Thus in verse 32 *viśvajanîna* was only recognized in the photograph; and *baleḥ*, which, owing to two accidental scratches, looks like *balena*, was made out only by the reading of the Baroda plate, *kulaiḥ*. The latter, though otherwise a misreading, proved the existence of a *visarga* and of a dissyllabic word which the metre required.

As regards the contents of the inscription, its chief importance lies in this, that, besides carrying the history of the Râshṭrakûṭas further down than the Baroda inscription, it gives a complete view of the genealogy of the older Râshṭrakûṭas, which the hitherto known plates of the 8th and 9th centuries gave very imperfectly, and helps us to define more accurately the position of the Râshṭrakûṭa kingdom in Gujarât.

According to the Kâvî grant the Râshṭrakûṭas succeeded each other in the following order:—




Against this enumeration the Sâmangaḍh inscription‡ names Nos. I.—IV. of the main line only, and the Baroda inscription Nos. I, II, V,

* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 109.

† Plates II. and III. have been photographed (half size), and copies of the photographs have been sent to the various Asiatic Societies.

‡ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. II. p. 371.

VII. VIII. of the main line, and Nos. 1, 2 of the Gujarât branch. When speaking of K ṛ i s h ṇ a (V.) the Baroda inscription states (v. 8) "that he destroyed his relation, who followed an evil course, and himself assumed the sovereignty for the good of his race." With the help of the K â v î inscription it is now easy to see that the dethroned relative was no other than D a n t i d u r g a. It also becomes explicable why the writer of the Baroda grant should have left out I n d r a and D a n t i d u r g a. According to his own statement, he considered the latter a wicked prince. He therefore confined himself to the righteous branch of K a r k a's family. It is not necessary to assume with Lassen§ that the Râshṭrakûṭa empire split up into two parts after the death of K a r k a I.

From v. 29 of our inscription it is also clear that a separate kingdom of the Râshṭrakûṭas|| was established only by G o v i n d a II., and that this prince made over the L â ṭ e ś v a r a m a ṇ ḍ a l a to his brother I n d r a, a statement which is supported by the amended reading of the Baroda grant. L â ṭ e ś v a r a m a ṇ ḍ a l a obviously means 'the kingdom or province of the ruler of L â ṭ a.' I infer from the phrase 'Indra received the realm of the ruler of Lâṭa from his brother' that the latter had newly conquered it. For, had it been an old possession, it would probably have simply been stated that L â ṭ a d e ś a or L â ṭ a m a ṇ ḍ a l a had been made over to Indra. As the Van Dindori inscription of Govinda II. is dated in Śaka 730, the Râshṭrakûṭa invasion of Gujarât must have taken place at the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century. During this period the kingdom of the Châpotkaṭas or Chauḍas of Aṇhilvâḍ, which was established by Vanarâja in 746 A.D., was probably still weak and unable to defend an outlying province like Lâṭa. L â ṭ a corresponds to what we now would call 'Central and Southern Gujarât'—to the country between the M a h î and the K o n k a ṇ a. According to Lassen,¶ the *Latikê* or *Larikê* of Ptolemy included a somewhat larger tract of country. To judge from the position of the traceable localities mentioned in the K â v î and B a r o d a inscriptions, Lâṭa was confined in the ninth century by narrower boundaries. For Govinda III. resided, when making his grant, in Bharûch; and the village given by him, as well as those surrounding it, are nearly all to be found in the Jambûsar Tâlukâ. K â p i k â is, of course, Kâvî; V a ṭ a p a d r a k a, R u h ṇ â d a, J a d r â ṇ a, and K â l î y a r a are now called Wardla, Ruṇâd, Jantrâṇ, and Kâlier.* T h û r ṇ a v i has become Thanavi.

Among the places mentioned in the Baroda grant, A n k o ṭ ṭ a and J a m b u v â v i k â exist now as Ankûṭ and Jâmbavâ, and are situated five or six miles to the south of Baroda.

Besides we find at the present day Râṭhor girassiâs in the Bharûch district and in the Gaikvâḍî villages on the northern bank of the Tâptî—a certain sign that these districts were once under Râṭhor, *i.e.* Râshṭrakûṭa, rule.

How long the rule of the Râshṭrakûṭas in Lâṭa lasted, and whether they kept up any connexion with the main branch of their house, is at present difficult to decide. Two circumstances bearing on the latter point deserve, however, to be mentioned. Firstly, both K a r k a in the Baroda and G o v i n d a in the Kâvî inscription call themselves simply *mahâsâmantâdhipati*, 'lords of the great feudal chiefs,' or 'great lords of the feudal chiefs,' and state that they had obtained 'the great titles.' As I have stated on former occasions, it may be inferred from these indications that they were not lords paramount, but vassals of some greater power. Secondly, the names of the successors of Govinda II. in the main branch, as given in the Karda and Kharepatan inscriptions,† differ from those of the Gujarât inscriptions. I am therefore inclined to consider the Râshṭrakûṭas of Gujarât vassals of those of Mâlkhet.

*Plate I.*

स वोव्याद्वेधसो धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं ।
हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतं ॥[ १॥]‡
आसीद्विष[त्ति]मिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो
ध्वस्तार्थ[य]न्नभिमुखो रणशर्वरीषु ।
भूपः शुचिर्विधुरिवाप्तदिगन्त[की]र्त्ति-
र्गोविन्दराज इति राज इति राजसु राजसिंहः ॥ [२॥]

§ *Ind. Alt.* vol. III. p. 540.

|| Lassen, *loc. cit.*, assumes that the main branch of the Râshṭrakûṭas also ruled in Gujarât. There is no evidence warranting such an assumption. But there is a good deal of evidence to show that they were a Dakhanî race whose capital was M â n y a k h e ṭ a or M â l k h e ṭ. See the Karda, Kharepatan, and Salotgi plates discussed, *Ind. Ant.* I. 205.

¶ *Ind. Alt.* vol. III. p. 170.

* *Vide* the map at p. 112. † See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 207.

‡ V. 1, read यन्नाभि°. V. 2, l. 2 begins मिरमु°; l. 3 begins °र्त्तिर्गोवि°; *dele* the first इति राज°; read राजसिंह:

दृष्ट्वा चमूमभिमुखीं सुभटाट्टहासा-
मुन्नादितं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्यं ।
दष्टाधरेण दधता भ्रुकुटिं ललाटे
खड्गं कुलं च हृदयं च निजं ससत्वं ॥ [३॥]§
खड्गं कराग्रान्मुखतश्च शोभा
मानो मनस्तस्सममेव यस्य ॥
महाहवे नाम निशम्य सद्य-
स्त्रयं रिपूणां विगलत्यकाण्डे ॥ [४॥]
तस्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुतशुभ्रकीर्त्ति-
रार्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी ।
भूपस्त्रिविष्टपनृपानुकृतिः कृताज्ञः
श्रीकर्कराज इतिगोत्रमणिर्ब्बभूव ॥ [५॥]
[तस्य प्र]भिन्नकरटच्युतदानदन्ति-
दन्तप्रहाररुचिरोल्लिखितान्सपीठः
क्ष्मापः क्षितौ क्षपित[शत्रुर]भूत्तनूज-
स्सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनकाद्रिरिवेन्द्रराजः ॥ [६ ॥]
तस्योपार्ज्जितमहसस्तनयश्चतु[रुदधि]वलयमालिन्या
भोक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीद[न्तिदुर्गरा]जोभूत् ॥[७॥]
कांचीशकेरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्य-
श्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेद[विधानदक्षं] ।
[कर्णाट]कं बलमचिन्त्यम[जे]यमल्पै -
र्भृत्यैः कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा[जिगाय ॥ ८॥]
[सभ्रूविभेदमगृ]हीतनिशातशस्त्र-
मश्रान्तमप्रतिहताज्ञमपेतयत्नं ।
यो व[ल्लभं सपदि दण्डलकेन जित्वा]
[राजा]धिराजपरमेश्वरनामवाप ॥ [ ९ ॥ ]
आ सेतोर्व्विपुलोपलावलि ............................
...लयं कलङ्कितामलशिलाजालात् तुषाराचला ।
स्वपूर्वापरव.रि ..........................................
र्य्येनेयं जगति स्वविक्रमबलानीकातपत्रीकृता ॥ [ १० ॥ ]
तस्मिन्दिवं [गते] ......................................... ।
श्रीकर्कराजसूनुर्म्महीपतिः कृष्णराजोभूत् ॥ [११॥]
यस्य स्वभुज .................................. क्वचक्रं ।
कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं चरितं श्रीकृष्णराजस्य ॥ [१२॥]

शुभतुङ्गतुङ्ग.........[यु]द्धरविरणश्री-क्ष्मेपि नभो
निखिलं प्रावृट्कालाय सृष्टं ॥ [१३॥]¶
दीनानाथप्र ...... ष्टि चेष्टं समीहितमजस्रं ...........
णमकालव......व......र्व्वृत्तिनिर्वृपणं ॥ [१४॥]
पाहप्यमात्मभुजजातबलावलेपमा ........................
.........शिजाव—शुभामचिरेण यो हि ,,
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वर[तामवाप ॥ १५ ॥]
.......................................भासमानं समन्ता-
दाजावुद्धृत

*Plate II A.*

...... प्रकटगज..............................[ । ]*
................................................ दृष्ट्वैव सद्यो
दर्प्पोध्मातारिचक्रक्षयकरमगमद्यस्य दोर्द्दण्डरूपं ॥[१६॥]
पाता यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनालङ्कारभाजो भुव-
स्त्रय्याश्चापि कृतद्विजामरगुरुप्राज्याज्यपूजादरः ।
दाता मानस[म]ग्रणीर्गुणवतां योसौ श्रियो वल्लभो
भोक्तुं स्वर्गफलानि भूरितपसा स्थानं जगामामरम् ॥[१७॥]
येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरविकरव्राततापात्सलीलं
जग्मे नासीरधूलीधवलितशिरसा वल्लभाख्यस्सदाजौ ।
श्रीमद्गोविन्दराजो जितजगदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यदक्ष-
स्तस्यासीत्सूनुरेकक्षणरणदलितारातिमत्तेभकुम्भः ॥[१८॥]
तस्यानुजः श्रीध्रुवराजनामा
महानुभावो प्रहतप्रतापः ।
प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः
क्रमेण बालार्कवपुर्ब्बभूव ॥ [१९ ॥ ]
जाते यत्र च राष्ट्रकूटतिलके सद्भूपचूडामणौ
गुर्व्वीतुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सुस्वामिनि प्रत्यहम् ।
सत्यं सत्यमिति प्रशासति सति क्ष्मामासमुद्रान्तिका-
मासीद्धर्म्मपरे गुणामृतनिधौ सत्यव्रताधिष्ठिते ॥ [२०॥]
हृष्टोन्वहं योर्त्थिजनाय सर्व्वं
सर्व्वस्वमानन्दितबन्धुवर्ग्गः ।
प्रादात्प्ररुष्टो हरतिस्म वेगा-
त्प्राणान्यमस्यापि नितान्तवीरः ॥ [२१॥]

§ V. 3, line 4 begins °न्नादितं, and ends with निजं; the first स in ससत्वं is uncertain. V. 4, l. 5 ends with सद्य°. V. 5, l. 6 ends with °धाम°; V. 6, तस्य प्र° and °शत्रुर° restored according to the Sâmangaḍh plate; line 8 begins with भिन्न°, and l. 9 with भूत्तनू°; read तांसपीठ. V. 7, l. 10 begins with °वलय°. The circular cut alluded to in *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 109, begins in this verse. V. 8, l. 10 ends with °नराधिप°, and l. 11 with °मल्पै°, which latter syllable is very indistinct. The restorations have been made according to the Sâmangaḍh plate. V. 9, l. 12 ends with °श्रान्त°, and l. 13 with °श्वरता°; restoration according to the Sâmangaḍh plate. V. 10, l. 14 ends with शिला°, and l. 15 with स्ववि°. There must be a fault in the beginning of the second *pâda*. V. 11, l. 16 ends with सूनु°. V. 12, l. 17 ends with °स्येवाकृ°.

¶ V. 13 l. 18, ends with क्ष्मेपि. These two letters, as well as the end of the verse, are very doubtful. V. 14, l. 19 ends with °मजस्रं; the metre appears to be Âryâ. V. 15, l. 20 ends with °लेप°, and line 21 with परमेश्वर°; the metre is *vaṅśastha*.

* The beginning appears to be corrupt. V. 16, l. 2 of II. A begins with दृष्ट्वैव. The metre is Sragdharâ, and it would seem that the second *pâda* begins with °दाजावुद्धृत°. In this case °द्धृ° must be corrected °द्धू°, or at least the syllable must be made long. V. 17, l. 2 ends with राशि°, l. 3 with मानस°, and l. 4 with °मामरम्. V. 18, l. 5 ends with शिरसा व°, and l. 6 with °स्सूनुरे°. V. 19, l. 7 ends with °भावोप्र°. V. 20, l. 8 ends with यत्र, l. 9 with प्रत्य°, and l. 10 with °निधौ. V. 21, l. 11 ends with प्रा°.

रक्षता येन निःशेषचतुरम्भोधिसंयुतं ।
राज्यं धर्म्मेण लोकानां कृता हृष्टिः परा हृदि ॥[२२॥]†
तस्यात्मजो जगति सत्प्रथितोरुकीर्त्ति-
र्ग्गोविन्दराज इति गोत्रललामभूतः ।
त्यागी पराक्रमधनः प्रकटप्रतापः
सन्तापिताहितजनो जनवल्लभोसौ ॥ [२३॥]
पृथ्वीवल्लभ इति च प्रथितं यस्यापरं नाम ।
यश्चतुरुदधिसीमामेको वसुधां वशां चक्रे ॥ [२४॥]
एरोप्यनेकरूपो यो ददृशे भेदवादिभिरिवात्मा ।
परबऌजल्धिमपारन्तर स्वदोर्भ्यां रणे रिपुभिः [॥ २५]
एको निर्हेनिरहं प्रतीतशस्त्रा इमे परे बहव ः ।
यो नैवंविधमकरोच्चित्तं स्वप्नेपि किमुताजौ ॥ [२६]
राज्याभिषेककलशैरभिषिच्य दत्तां
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां स्वपित्रा ।
अन्यैर्म्महानृपतिभिर्ब्बहुभिस्समेत्य
स्तम्भादिभिर्भुजबलादवलुप्यमानां ॥ [२७॥]
एकोनेकनरेन्द्रवृन्दसहितान्यस्तान्समस्तानपि
प्रोत्खातासिलताप्रहारविधुरां बद्ध्वा महासंयुगे ।
लक्ष्मीमप्यचलां चकार

*Plate II. B.*

विलसत्सच्चामरग्राहिणीं
संसीदद्गुरुविप्रसज्जनसुहृद्बन्धूपयोग्यां भुवि ॥ [२८॥]‡
भ्रा तु तस्येन्द्रसमानवीर्य्यः
श्रीमान्भुवि क्ष्मापतिरिन्द्रराजः ।
शास्ता बभूवाद्भुतकीर्त्तिसूति-
स्तद्दत्तलाटेश्वरमण्डलस्य ॥ [२९॥]
यस्याङ्गमात्मजयिनः प्रियसाहस्य
क्ष्मापालवेशफलमेव बभूव सैन्यं ।
मुक्त्वा च सर्व्वभुवनेश्वरमादिदेवं
नावन्दतान्यममरेष्वपि यो मनस्वी [॥ ३०॥]
सूनुर्ब्बभूव खलु तस्य महानुभावः
शास्त्रार्थबोधसुखलालितचित्तवृत्ति- ।
र्यो गौणनामपरि[वा]रमुवाह पूर्वं
श्रीकर्क्कराजसुभगव्यपदेशमुच्चैः ॥ [३१॥]

सौराज्यजल्पे चतिते प्रसङ्गा-
न्निदर्शनं विश्वजनीनसंप- ।
द्राज्यं बलेः पूर्व्वमहो बभूव
क्षिताविदानिन्तु नृप यस्य ॥ [३२॥]
इच्छातिरेकेण कृषीवलानां
पयो याथा मुञ्चति जातु मेघे ।
भवेद्धनस्तद्विरतौ तथाभू-
द्यस्मिन्धनं वर्षति सेवकानां ॥ [३३] ॥
कल्पक्षयक्षणसमुद्भववातणेला-
दोलायमानकुलशैलकुलानुकारं ।
यन्मुक्तचण्डशरजालयवप्रणुन्ना
युद्धागता रिपुगजेन्द्रघटा चकार ॥ [३४॥]
तस्य भ्राता कनीयान्प्रथितपृथुयशा निर्ज्जितारातिचक्रः
श्रीमान्गोविन्दराजः पतिरवनिभुजां ख्यातकीर्त्तिर्ब्बभूव ।
नानाद्वीपार्ण्णवाद्रिद्रुमगहनमहासन्निवेशामपीमां
प्रादेशाल्पप्रमाणाममनुत पृथिवीं यः प्रदाने जये च ॥ [३५॥]
कः प्रत्यर्थिषु दानमाप न यतः को वार्त्थिषु प्रत्यहं
जग्मुर्न्नापचितिञ्च के च न सतां मध्येसतां वा भृशं ।
नार्य्यः काश्च न भूषिताः स्वपरयोर्य्येन प्रभौ पक्षयोः
सर्व्वाकारकृतार्त्थमित्थमभवद्यस्योर्जितं चेष्टितं ॥ [३६ ॥]
विशुद्धात्मभिरत्यन्तमलब्धगणनै रपि ।
दारैरिव गुणैर्य्यस्य नेक्षितोप्यपराश्रयः ॥ [३७॥]
यद्विक्रमस्य परिमाणविदः किमन्य-
दाप्याविमास्तुलितरामपराक्रमस्य ।
सर्व्वप्रतीपदमनक्षमबाहुदण्ड
लीलाजयाधिकरणं ककुभो बभूवुः ॥ [३८॥]
तेनेदम (१६)
खिलं विद्युच्चञ्चलमालोक्य जीवित-
मसरं क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्त्तितो धर्म्मदायोयं (१७)
स च समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधि-
पतिप्रभूतवर्षश्रीगोविन्दराजदे[वः १८]
सर्व्वानेवयथासंबध्यमानकान्राष्ट्रपतिविषयपति
ग्रामकूटयुक्तनियुक्ता[धिकारि १९]
महत्तरादीन्समनु दर्शयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा
मया श्रीभरुकच्छनिवासि[ना २०]

*Plate III.*

1 [मातापि]त्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकफलाप्तये धर्म्मयशोभिवृद्ध्यर्थं काम्पिकान्तर्व्वर्त्तिभूते कोटिपु[रे]§
2 भगवत्तिग्मरश्मये श्रीमज्जयादित्याभिधानाय खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारार्त्थं गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपनैवेद्यार्त्थं

† V. 22, line 12 ends with निःशेष°. V. 23, l. 13 ends with सत्प्र°, and l. 14 with प्रता°. V. 24, l. 15 ends °परं नां°. V. 25, read एकोप्य° and तरन्स्व°; l. 16 ends with रूपो. V. 26, l. 17 ends with °रहं. V. 27, l. 18 ends with °षिच्य. V. 28, l. 19 ends with °न्यस्तान्सम°;

‡ V. 29, read भ्राता तु; l. 1 ends with समा°, and l. 2 with °मण्डलस्य; V. 30, read प्रियसाहसस्य and °मरेष्वपि; l. 3 ends with सर्व्वभुव°. V. 31, l. 4 ends with महानुभा°, and l. 5 with सुभग°. V. 32, read °द्राज्यं, °विदानीं तु and नृपस्य; l. 6 ends with °महो. V. 33, read यथा; l. 7 ends with मेघे. V. 34, read °हेला° and °जव°; *dele* । after प्रणुन्ना; l. 8 ends with दोला°, and l. 9 with चकार. V. 35, l. 10 ends with ख्या°, and l. 11 with °ल्पप्र°. V. 36, l. 12 ends with वार्त्थि°, and l. 13 with भूषिता. V. 37, l. 14 ends with गणनैरपि. V. 38, read °दाप्याविमा°. l. 15 ends with पराक्रमस्य; anusvâra in °धिकरणं uncertain; l. 17 read °मसारं; l. 20 नि in निवासि[ना] not quite clear, and वा looks like व.

§ Line 1. Only portions of aksharas 4-18 remain.

3 थूर्णविनामा ग्रामो यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वतो वटपद्रकं दक्षिणतो जद्राणग्रामस्तथा पश्चिमतः—¶
4 ...मङ्गनकालीयरग्रामो उत्तरतो रुह्लाडनामा ग्रामः । एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः सोद्रङ्गः स [ो]
5 [परि]करः सभूतवातप्रत्यायस्सदण्डदशापराधः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्यादेयो
6 [अचा]टभटप्रवेशः समस्तराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयो भूमिच्छिद्रान्यायेनाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसरि-
7 [त्प]र्व्वतकालीनः पूर्व्वदत्तदेवदायब्रह्मदायरहितोऽभ्यान्तरसिद्ध्या शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सर[सप्त]शतेष्वेकान्नपं-
8 चाशत्समधिकेषु महावैशाख्यां नर्म्मदासरिति स्नात्वोदकातिसर्ग्गेण प्रतिपादितः । यतोस्योचित-
9 या देवदायस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयतः कार्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चित्परिपन्थना कार्य्या । त-
10 थागामिनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोलान्यनैत्यैश्वर्य्याणि तृणल-
11 लनजलबिन्दुचञ्चलं च जीवितमकलय्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयि-
12 तव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानदाटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदते स पञ्चभिर्म्महापा[त-]
13 कैरुपपा[त]कैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादिति । उक्तं च । भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन व्यासेन ष-
14 ष्टिर्व्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वशेत । विन्ध्या-
15 टवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायापहारिणः ॥ अग्नेरपत्यं प्र-
16 थमं सुवर्ण्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गावः । लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यः काञ्चनं गाञ्च महीञ्च दद्यात् ।
17 बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिर्य्यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा
18 नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत । स्व[दं]
19 त्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष नराधिप । महीं महीभृतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥ इति कमलदलाम्बुबिन्दु-
20 लोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीनैर्नहि पुरुपैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः
21 स्वहस्तोयं श्रीगोविन्दराजस्य लिखितं चैतन्मया श्रीगोविन्दराजस्यादेशान्म-
22 हासन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतकुलपुत्र-
23 श्रीमदवलोकितसूनुना श्रीयोगेश्वरेण दूतकोत्र भट्टश्रीकुमु[द] इति ॥

*Translation.*

1. May he protect you, the lotus on whose navel is the dwelling-place of Brahmâ and Hara, whose forehead is adorned by the lovely moon-sickle !*

2. There was a prince, called G o v i n d a r â j a, a royal lion among kings, whose fame pervaded the universe, and who, (of) pure (splendour), at the head of his trained army dispelled his enemies in battle just as the moon, the leader of the host of rising (stars), dispels the darkness at night.†

3. When he saw an army flashing with gallant warriors coming to meet him, biting his lip and knitting his brow, clutching the sword, and planting courage in his clan and his own heart, he always raised forthwith the loud battle-cry.‡

4. When his enemies heard his name pronounced in the fight, three things unseasonably at once slipped from them,—the sword from the hand, animation from the face, and pride from the heart.§

5. His son, the illustrious K a r k a r â j a, whose resplendent glory was famed throughout the world, who stilled the pain of the distressed and supported the abode of Hari's steps, who resembled the king of heaven, and whose orders

¶ Line 3, first akshara uncertain,—may be भू or दू°, or possibly घ्या. L. 7, the restoration of सप्त is perfectly certain, as the Baroda grant, which was made by Govinda's father, is dated 734. L. 9 read कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशत; L. 10 read °न्यनित्यै°; L. 11 read त्रसन°; °माकलय्य; L. 12 read ज्ञानपटला°; L. 13 *dele* the third व्यासेन; L. 14 read षष्टिं वर्ष°; वसेत; L. 20 read पुरुषैः

* The two gods intended are Vishṇu and Śiva. This stanza is found at the head of the Baroda and Sâmangaḍh and Van Dindori inscriptions also. Paṇḍit Kamalakânta appears to have misread it badly.

† Regarding the meaning of *udyata*, 'rising' or 'risen,' compare *Pet. Dict. s. v.* '*yam*' and '*ud.*' The verse occurs in the Sâmangaḍh inscription. Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî's reading, *dhvastîstinnayann*, is nonsense, and not warranted by the facsimile, which, though not very clear, may be read, as I have done, *dhvastârthayan*. The latter word must be taken as a denominative from *dhvastârtha*, 'annihilated,' or 'dispelled.' I am unable to say how Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî got the 'sun,' instead of the 'moon,' out of *vidhu*.

‡ The verse is also the third of the Sâmangaḍh inscription. Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî's readings, *unnâmitam* and *cha satvam*, are, I think, preferable to ours. But the *di* in *unnâditam* appeared to me quite clear. His translation of *subhaṭâṭṭahâsâm* is utterly mistaken.

§ The verse stands fourth on the Sâmangaḍh plate also. Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî's variants are owing to mistakes in deciphering, and his translation is faulty.

found obedience, became (after him) the gem of the (Râshṭrakûṭa) race.||

6. His son was I n d r a r â j a, as it were the mount Meru of the R â s h ṭ r a k û ṭ a race, a prince whose shoulders shone with the ichor flowing from the split temples of (hostile) elephants, and were scratched by the blows of their tusks, who destroyed his enemies on earth.¶

7. The son of him who had earned greatness was the illustrious D a n t i d u r g a r â j a, who, resembling Indra, ruled the whole earth that is girdled by the four oceans.*

8. He conquered quickly, with a handful of dependents, the countless unconquered host of Karṇâṭa, which was expert in defeating the lord of Kânchî, the Kerala, the Chola, the Pâṇḍya, Śrîharsha, and Vajraṭa.†

9. He, contracting his brow, swiftly conquered by his bow V a l l a b h a—untired, obeyed by all, who had not taken up his sharp weapons, and made no effort—and thus obtained the titles 'king of kings' and 'supreme lord.'‡

10. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . §

11. When he had gone to heaven . . . . . . . . . K ṛ i s h ṇ a r â j a, the son of the illustrious K a r k a r â j a, became lord of the earth.

12. . . . . . . . . . . The life of the illustrious *Kṛishṇarâja* was blameless as that of Kṛishṇa.

13. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

14. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ||

15. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

He soon obtained the auspicious titles 'king of kings' and 'supreme lord.'

16. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . His strong arm quickly destroyed the multitude of his enemies inflated with pride, as soon as he saw them (?).

17. He was the protector of the earth that is adorned with the girdle of the four oceans, and also of the threefold (sacred science); he gave much *ghî* to Brahmans; he worshipped the immortals and honoured his *gurus;* he granted (to supplicants) their hearts' desires; he was the first among the virtuous, the favourite of fortune, and in consequence of his great penance he went to the immortal abode to enjoy the rewards of heaven.

18. His son was the illustrious G o v i n d a r â j a, called (also) V a l l a b h a,¶ who was expert in making widows of the wives of the conquered world's enemies, who in one moment split in battle the temples of the *mast* elephants

|| The verse stands fifth in the Sâmangaḍh plate also. Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî's variants in the first and second *pâdas*, as well as *kṛitajñaḥ* in the third, are supported by the facsimile; the rest are misreadings. '*Ârttârttihârî*' may be referred to Hari, as Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî has done.

¶ This verse stands seventh on the Sâmangaḍh plate. Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî's translation of *prabhinna* . . . . . . *pîṭhaḥ* is wrong, as he has not taken into account the word '*ruchira*' which must be taken with '*dâna*.' In the second *pâda* he paraphrases instead of translating.

* Metre *gîti*. The restoration of the name of the king is made certain by the genealogy as given in other plates.

† The verse stands last in the poetical portion of the Sâmangaḍh plates. To judge from the facsimile, Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî's reading *ajeyarathyaiḥ*, instead of our *ajeyam alpaiḥ*, is by no means certain. He has left it out in his translation. The synonyms *alpaiḥ* and *kiyadbhiḥ* are, I think, both used in order to give force to the statement that Dantidurga's army was small. Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî has also left out V a j r a ṭ a (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. XXXII. p. 97) in the list of conquered kings.

‡ In the Sâmangaḍh inscription this verse stands just before the preceding one. But its text appears to be very corrupt. It is also difficult to say how Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî arrived at his translation. He appears to have taken *agṛihîtavidhautaśastram* and *apraṇihitântram* (his reading for *apratihatâjñam*) as *avyayîbhâvas*, and to have referred them to the action of *Dantidurga*. But *apraṇihitântram* can certainly not mean 'without sending armies.' *Ântra* or *antra* means 'bowels,' and nothing else. Again, *agṛihîtavidhautaśastram*, 'without wielding [his brilliant] weapons,' is contradicted by the statement that Vallabha was conquered by the *daṇḍalaka*. The latter word, which Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî leaves out in his translation, I take to be a synonym of *daṇḍâra*, 'bow,' though I do not find it in any dictionary. It certainly is a derivative of *daṇḍa*, and designates some kind of weapon. Finally Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî's translation of *apetayatnât*, his reading for *apetayatnam* is wrong, as the ablative of the compound cannot mean "without any effort." I have thought it preferable to take the second compound of the first *pâda* and all those of the second *pâda* as accusatives masc., and to refer them to the conquered Vallabha, whose former greatness and sudden loss of energy and courage they appear to indicate. But I will not deny that they may be taken as *avyayîbhâva* adverbs by any one who can get over the contradiction contained in *agṛihîtaniśitaśâstram* and *daṇḍalakena jitvâ*.

§ This verse, on account of its mutilation, admits of no certain rendering. But its general meaning seems to have been that Dantidurga conquered the whole of India.

|| vv. 13 and 14. I am not able to make out the general sense, even, of these fragments.

¶ There are two difficulties in the first two *pâdas*. Firstly, it is remarkable to find that the "warded-off heat" is given as the reason for the king's sportive gait, instead "of the warding off of the heat." Secondly, on account of the exigencies of the metre, *vallabhâkhyaḥ*, which must be construed with *Govindarâjaḥ*, has been introduced into the sentence beginning with *yena*.

of his enemies, and who, his head whitened by the dust of the vanguard, ever walked in battle with sportive gait, since the heat of the sun's rays was warded off by his white parasol.

19. His younger brother was the illustrious Dhruvarâja, of great dignity and unchecked prowess, who, conquering all kings, gradually became (in fierce brilliancy) like unto the morning sun.

20. When that gem among good princes had become the chief of the Râshṭrakûṭas, the whole world called him the good lord, daily its spiritual preceptor. When that righteous lover of truth was ruling the earth from ocean to ocean, then (people agreed that) in truth the age of truth (had returned).*

21. Gladdening his relations, he daily gave, when pleased, all his wealth to the crowd of suppliants. When angered, the great hero impetuously took the life-breath of Yama even.

22. Highest joy filled the hearts of men when he righteously ruled the earth together with the four oceans.

23. His son, the ornament of his race, was Govindarâja, a liberal (prince), dear to mankind, keeping fortitude as his only riches, endowed with notorious valour, who harassed his enemies, and whose fame was celebrated far and wide by the virtuous.

24. His second famous name was Pṛithvîvallabha. He, alone, made subject to himself the earth that is bounded by the four oceans.

25. As the Universal soul, though one, appears manifold to those who maintain the existence of individual souls, so did he, when by (the strength of) his arm he crossed the boundless ocean of this foemen's host, appear multiform to his enemies in battle.

26. "Alone am I and lacking arrows, well armed and numerous are the foes"; such thoughts did never come to him even in a dream, much less in battle.

27. When many other great kings Stambha and the rest, allied together, were tearing from him by the strength of their arms the dignity of king of kings and supreme lord, which he had received from his father, being consecrated with (the water of) the coronation urns,

28. Then, destroying them all together with crowds of kings, he fastened that (title) in a great battle, though it had become loosened by the blows of Yama's sword, made Fortune stable and serviceable to his suffering *gurus*, to Brahmans and virtuous men, to his friends and relations, and forced her to hold his excellent, glittering *chaurî*.†

29. But his brother, the illustrious Indrarâja, equal to Indra in valour and of wondrous fame, became ruler on earth, and sovereign of the province of the ruler of Lâṭa, which he received from his (elder brother).‡

30. To him who conquered single-handed, and was fond of deeds of hazard, his army served merely as a mark of royalty. That proud (prince) did not bow to any of the immortals even, excepting the first-born god, the lord of the whole world.§

31. His son was (a prince) of great power, whose mind revelled in the pleasure of the knowledge of the Śâstras' meaning, and who carried openly the ancient auspicious appellation Śrî Karkarâja, together with other secondary names.||

32. When a dispute about good government incidentally arose, it was formerly (the custom to cite) the kingdom of *Bali* as an instance of a realm where prosperity affected all subjects. Now (we give as an example) on earth (the kingdom) of this ruler.¶

33. At his death his servants felt towards him

* The phrase *satyam satyam iti* may be taken in various ways,—either, as I have done, *satyaṁ nissaṁśayaṁ satyaṁ satyayugaṁ (punaḥ pravartata iti śeshaḥ) iti jagata uktiḥ* or *satyam idânîṁ satyam (na tvasatye satyatvamadhyâropyate) iti lokânâm uktiḥ*, &c. The genera sense remains the same.

† *Saṁ sîdat* properly refers to the Brahmans, friends, and relations, just as much as to the *gurus*. If the reading विधुरा were not quite clear, I should prefer to write विधुरां, and to refer the adjective to the vanquished kings.

‡ This verse occurs as No. 21 on the Baroda plates. Paṇḍit Kamalakânta, the decipherer, has, however, wrongly changed the *tadattalâṭeśvaramaṇḍalasya* of the facsimile (a slip for *taddatta*) to *tadâtu*. The translation is very inaccurate.

§ This verse stands third on the Baroda plates, and is there applied to Govinda I. The first and second *pâdas* have been badly read by the Paṇḍit; the third shows a valuable *varia lectio*, '*śaṁkaramadhîśvaramîśvarâṇâm*. The deity intended is, of course, Śiva.

|| The last two *pâdas* of this verse occur in the 4th verse of the Baroda inscription, where, however, *mukhyam* is substituted for *pûrvam*. Paṇḍit Sâradapraśâda Chakravartti has utterly misunderstood them. He thinks that *gauṇanâmaparivâram* means "all good qualities"! In the Baroda inscription the verse refers to Karkarâja I.

¶ This verse stands fifth in the Baroda inscription,

who had been showering wealth on them just as husbandmen feel towards the cloud that has sent more water than is desired, when it stops (raining).*

34. Struck by the fierce impetus of the numerous arrows shot by him, the herd of hostile elephants that had come into battle, imitated (in its movements) the great mountains when they are rocking to and fro in consequence of the fury of the storms that arise at the moment when a *kalpa* expires.†

35. His younger brother, whose fame spread far, and who entirely vanquished the multitude of his enemies, was the illustrious G o v i n d a r â j a, the celebrated lord of kings who considered this earth, though it includes many continents, oceans, mountains, forests, and large towns, diminutive like the span of his hand for purposes of gifts and conquest.

36. What enemy did not find his destruction through him, or what suppliant did not daily receive gifts from him? What good men did not obtain honour, or what bad men did not suffer injury through him? Whilst he was lord, were not the wives of his adherents adorned with ornaments, and were not the wives of his enemies couched on the ground? Thus his mighty deeds bore fruit in every respect.‡

37. His pure and countless virtues never knew any other location (than him), just as his pure and countless wives never saw any other house (but his).

38. The Universe alone knew the limits of his prowess, which in battle equalled the valour of Râma, and it became the scene of the sportive victories gained by his strong arm that was able to subdue all foes.

He, seeing that this whole life is unstable as a flash of lightning and worthless, has made this charitable grant, the sanctity of which is greatly enhanced by (its being) a gift of land. And he, the ruler of the great feudal chiefs, the illustrious lord G o v i n d a r â j a, (called also) P r a b h û t a v a r s h a, who possesses all the great titles, addresses these commands to all his officials, functionaries, and persons in authority to the governors of provinces and zillahs, to the heads of villages, heads (of castes) and others, whatever their connexion (with him) may be:—

"Be it known to you that in order to obtain benefits in this life and the next for my parents and for my own self, and for the increase of spiritual merit and glory, I, dwelling in B h a r u k a c h h a, have given, confirming the gift with a libation of water, after bathing in the river N a r m a d â, on the full moon of Vaiśâkha, when [seven] hundred and forty-nine years of the Śaka kings had passed, to the (temple of the) divine Sun, called (that of) the illustrious J a y â d i t y a and situated in K o ṭ i p u r a, which is included in K â p i k â, for the restoration of its broken and rent parts, and (in order to defray the expenses) for perfumes, flowers, frankincense, lamps, and food-offerings, the village of T h û r ṇ a v i—the boundaries of which are, to the east *Vaṭapadraka*, to the south the village of *Jadrâṇa*, to the west the villages of . . *-mangana* and *Kâliyara*, to the north the village of *Ruhṇâḍı*,—together with . . . . . , together with. . . . . , together with its green and dry produce, together with the (right of) fine and (deciding cases arising out of) the ten faults, together with the right of forced labour arising therefrom, together with the income in grain and gold, to the exclusion of all former grants to gods and Brahmans, according to the analogy of the reasoning from the familiar instance of the ground and the clefts therein—(this same village), being not to be entered by the

and refers there to K a r k a r â j a I. The variants *jalpye* for *jalpe*, *viśvajanaikasampad* for *viśvajanînasampad*, and *kulaiḥ* for *baleḥ*, are doubtless misreadings. The *varia lectio* '*patite*' for '*chatite*' in our text is probably right, as the latter gives no good sense. Possibly, however, the correct reading may be *chalite*. Some word meaning 'arose' is evidently required. Paṇdit Sâradaprasâda had not the slightest notion of the meaning of the verse. His mistranslation of the verse has given rise to various unfounded inferences regarding the history of Gujarat, *vide*, *e. g.* Cunningham's *Anc. Geog.* p. 317.

* This verse stands ninth in the Baroda inscription, and refers there to K ṛ i s h n a r â j a. The Paṇdit has caught and rendered its general meaning, but has not given a close translation.

† See Baroda plate, *v.* 20. The nonsensical various reading *prapannâ* for *pranunnâ* is a mistake of the decipherer, as the facsimile shows. Sâradaprasâda's translation is not very intelligible, and not close.

The *kulaśaila* or 'chief mountains', which are seven in number—*vide, e. g. Vishṇup.* p. 147—are supposed to survive the general destruction of the world at the end of a *kalpa*.

‡ Each of the first three *pâdas* of this verse contains a pun, the verb or verbal noun denoting both an action tending to benefit and to injure. *Dâna* in the first *pâda* means '*destruction*' if derived from the root *do*, and '*gift*' if derived from the root *dâ*. *Apachiti*, in the second *pâda*, means both 'honour' and 'injury'. *Bhûshitâḥ*, in the third *pâda*, may either be derived from the root *bhûsh*, 'to adorn,' or be taken as a compound of *bhû*, 'earth,' and *ushitâḥ*, past part. pass. of the root *vas*, 'dwelling.' The statement that the wives of the king's enemies were *sleeping on the ground* is meant to indicate that they had been made widows. For it is ordained for the latter that the ground shall be their couch.

irregular or regular soldiers, nor to be meddled with by any royal officers, (and the grant to hold good) as long as moon, sun, earth, oceans, rivers and hills endure § . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

This is the sign-manual of the illustrious Govindarâja. And this has been written by order of the illustrious Govindarâja by me, the noble and illustrious *Yogeśvara*, the son of the illustrious Avalokita, the minister of peace and war. The executive officer here is the illustrious Kumuda.

*Postscript.*

An additional proof for the early use of the so-called Vikrama era of 56-7 B.C. is furnished by the corrected version of the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśi II, published by Mr. Fleet in the *Antiquary* (*ante*, pp. 67 *et seqq.*). There it is stated that the Śaka year 507 corresponded to the year 3551 of the Kaliyuga. Mr. Fleet has pointed out that the Śaka year 507, if the latter era be taken to be that beginning 78-9 A.D., and for the Kaliyuga the usual, beginning the vernal equinox of 3102 B.C., be accepted, corresponds to the Kali year 3686. He offers, however, no explanation for the curious statement of the inscription. It seems evident to me that the Śaka year has been referred by the writer of the inscription, either intentionally or through inadvertency, to the *Vikrama era*. For the difference between the beginning of the Kaliyuga and that of the Vikrama era is . . . 3044

Add years of the inscription . . . . 507

The total gives the Kali year 3551 mentioned in the inscription.

I do not think that the writer of the inscription, though calling the era in which he dated Śaka, *really meant* the Vikrama era. For the Châlukya inscriptions are all dated Śaka, and there can be no doubt that the later ones are dated in the era beginning 78-9 A.D. Besides, the author, Ravikirti, belonged to the Jaina sect, and the Jainas have more than once committed errors in respect to the two eras. I believe that he simply made a mistake, and put down the equivalent of 507 Vikrama, for that of 507 Śaka. But, however that may be, in any case it must be allowed that he knew the era beginning 56-7 A.D., which it is customary to call that of Vikrama, and it may be asserted that the Aihole inscription furnishes another instance of its early use.

As regards the sign-manuals of the Gurjara and Râshtrakûta kings, I have to add that Prof. Dowson|| has already called attention to those of the former, and has drawn inferences from them similar to those made by myself.

§ The portion left untranslated contains only the usual injunctions on future kings, and the comminatory verses against the resumption of land grants from the *Mahâbhârata*.

|| *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. I. p. 265.

## MAXIMS AND SENTIMENTS FROM THE MAHÂBHÂRATA.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., EDINBURGH.

1. *Union fait la force; mutual help.*
Book v., 1321 ff.

The forest tree that stands alone,
Though huge, and strong, and rooted fast,
And braving long the storm, at last
By furious gusts is overthrown;

While trees that, growing side by side,
A mass compact together form,
Each sheltering each, defy the storm,
And green from age to age abide.

So too the man alone who stands,
However brave himself, and wise,
But lacking aid from stout allies,
Falls smitten soon by hostile hands.
But those sage kinsmen ever thrive,
Like lotus flowers in blooming pride,
Who firmly each in each confide,
And each from each support derive.

2. *The same.* v. 863.

By woods unsheltered, tigers fall
Beneath the hunter-troop's attacks;
And stripped of tigers, forests tall
Soon sink before the woodman's axe.
Let tigers, therefore, woods defend,
And woods to tigers shelter lend.

3. *Caution in dealing with a crafty enemy.*
i. 5563, and xii. 5264.

When with a crafty foe thou wagest war,
Ne'er rest secure because he dwells afar;
For, know, the arms of such a man are long,
When stretched to wreak his wrath on those who've done him wrong.

4. *Machiavellian counsel.* i. 5563 and xii. 5264.

Whilst thou dost watch thy chance,—with seeming care
Thy mortal foe upon thy shoulder bear;
Then down to earth thy hated burden dash,
As men against the rocks an earthen vessel smash.

5. *Poverty lends relish to food.* v. 1144.

The poor man daintier fare enjoys
Than e'er his wealthy neighbours taste;
For hunger lends his food a zest,
While plenty pampered palates cloys.

6. *The Divine Sovereignty* (compare St. Matt. xi. 25). v. 916f.

The Lord all creatures' fortunes rules:
None, weak or strong, his might defies;
He makes the young and simple wise;
The wise and learn'd he turns to fools.

7. *Loss of Virtue the only real loss.* v. 1289.

Thy virtue guard at any cost.
Wealth none can trust; it comes and goes;
The good survive misfortune's blows;
But virtue lost, and all is lost.

8. *Ill-gotten gains fail to benefit.* v. 1251f.

When men unjustly-gotten gains
Employ unsightly rents to hide,
Each ancient rent unveiled remains,
While new ones gape on every side.

9. *Good to be drawn from everything.* v. 1125.

From madmen's ravings, e'en, the wise,
And children's prattlings, good may gain:
As workmen skilled extract the vein
Of gold in rocks that bedded lies.

10. *Evil Men to be avoided.* v. 1164.

Let good men ne'er with bad themselves ally:
Whene'er a friendly bond the two unites,
The guiltless share the doom the knaves that smites:
Moist wood takes fire and burns when mixed with dry.

11. *Honest Advice.* v. 1348f.

Bland courtly men are found with ease
Who utter what they know will please;
But honest men are far to seek,
Who bitter truths and wholesome speak.
So, too, those thoughtful men are rare
Who blunt and sound advice can bear.
A prince's best ally is he,—
The man from servile truckling free,—
Who faithful counsel gives, nor fears
With truth to wound his patron's ears,—
Not he who spares him present pain
At certain cost of future bane.

12. "*The tongue can no man tame.*" (James iii. 8.) v. 1170.

'Tis very hard to curb the tongue:
Yet all this needful power should seek;
For who much useful truth can speak,
Or charm with brilliant converse long?

13. *Study beforehand the consequences of action.* v. 1112.

If I now take this step, what next ensues?
Should I forbear, what must I then expect?
Thus, ere he acts, a man should well reflect;
And weighing both the sides, his course should choose.

14. *Means do not always lead to the desired ends.* xii. 831.

Friends cannot always bring us bliss,
Nor foes suffice to work us ill;
Wealth is not always gained by skill;
And rich men oft enjoyment miss.

15. *The best remedy for grief.* xi. 184.

Nor valour, wealth, nor yet a band
Of friends, can bring such sure relief
To mortals overwhelmed with grief,
As strong and steadfast self-command.

16. *The wise superior to circumstances.* xi. 67.

No day arrives but, as it flies,
Of fear a hundred sources brings,
Of grief a thousand bitter springs,
To vex—the fool, but not the wise.

17. *Marks of a wise man.* v. 993.

The men too high who never aim,
For things once lost who never mourn,
By troubles ne'er are overborne,—
Such men the praise of wisdom claim.

18. *Sanctity leads to knowledge.* v. 1382.

The man who every sin forsakes,
Whose breast with love of goodness glows,
He Nature's primal essence knows,
And all the changing forms she takes.

---

19. *The true Brâhman.* xii. 9667.

The man who Nature knows, and all
The changing growth that from her springs,
And all the fates of living things,—
That man the gods a Brâhmaṇ call.

---

20. *Appearances not always to be trusted.* xii. 4148f.

A bounded vault the æther seems,
With fire the firefly seems to shine;
And yet no bounds the sky confine,
'Tis not with fire the firefly gleams.
So other sense-perceptions, too,
Which else might cheat, should first be tried;
And those which every test abide
Should only then be deemed as true.

---

21. *Desire insatiable.* xii. 6713.

When men grow rich, for something else they pine.
They would be kings; were kingly rank attained,
They fain would gods become; were godship gained,
They'd long to rule o'er all the race divine.
But should'st thou wealth and royal power acquire,
And, soaring higher yet, become a god,
Yea, rule all Svarga by thy sovereign nod,
E'en then unsated, thou would'st more desire.*

---

## SANSKṚIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

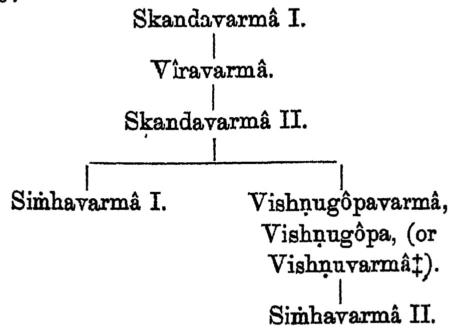
(*Continued from p. 76.*)

### No. XV.

This is another Pallava copper-plate inscription, in the Cave-alphabet characters and the Sanskṛit language, from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection. The plates are six in number, and in this instance, again, contrary to the usual practice, the inscription, to judge by the numerals on the plates, commences on the *outside* of the first plate and ends on the *outside* of the last plate. The seal connecting these plates seems to bear no device; at least, none is given in the facsimile.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Mâṅgaḍûr, in the country of Vĕṅgôrâshṭra, to certain Brâhmaṇs, in the eighth year of the reign of Siṁhavarmâ. In this case, also, the date is not referred to any era.

If my suggestion be accepted, that, Vishṇugôpavarmâ being styled 'Yuvamahârâja'† in No. XII of this series, the Siṁhavarmâ, in the eleventh year of whose reign the copper-plate recording Vishṇugôpavarmâ's grant was bestowed, must have been Vishṇugôpavarmâ's elder brother and the reigning Mahârâja,—the Pallava genealogy will stand for the present thus:—




At the time of this second grant the capital is stated to be Daśanapura§; the locality of this town is not known to me. As regards Palakkaḍa, which in No. XII of this series is given as the capital, I see that Dr. Burnell|| gives 'Pâlakkâḍu' as the old form of 'Pâlghâṭ' in the Cochin territory; perhaps the two names may be one and the same, but in the first line of No. XII the last letter is distinctly '*d*', not '*ḍ*.'

---

* Compare the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides, pp. 503 *et seqq.*, where Eteocles says: "For, I, O mother, will declare, concealing nothing: I would go to the place where the stars and the sun rise, and beneath the earth,—if I were able to do these things,—in order to possess royal power, the greatest of the deities."

† Also 'Yuvarâja' in line 9 of the present inscription.

‡ See note *, page 50.

§ Possibly only a Sanskṛit translation of some such Canarese name as 'Hallûr', 'the village of the tooth'. See the remarks on the Sanskṛitizing of Dravidian names at p. vii, note 5, of Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*.

|| *South-Indian Palæography*, p. 36, note 1.

# COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY.

W. Griggs photo-lith from Originals.

# COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY.

III.a

III.b

IV.a

IV.b

W. Griggs photo-lith

TRANSCRIPTION.

*First plate ; first side.*

[1] जितम्भगवता [।।] स्वस्ति श्रीवि¶जयदशनपुराद्यथाव-
[2] दभ्यर्च्चितदेवताब्राह्मणगुरुवृद्धस्य शक्तित्रय-
[3] वृद्धस्य महात्मनस्स्वभुजद्रविणार्ज्जितोदारभोगभुजः

*First plate ; second side.*

[4] पृथिवीतलैकवीरस्य महाराजश्रीवीरवर्म्मणः प्रपौत्रः
[5] समरशतकरणसमधिग* ताद्भुतप्रतापस्य विद्यावृद्ध-
[6] स्यानन्तकल्पप्रदायिनो नन्तकल्पस्य गुणमहतो महाराज-

*Second plate ; first side.*

[7] श्रीस्कन्दवर्म्मणः पौत्रो न्येषां यशोभिरग्रथितैर्न्निशाकर-
[8] करनिकरगौरैर्य्यशोभिर्व्याप्तलोकस्य विद्याविनीता-
[9] त्मनो महानुभावस्य युवराजश्रीविष्णुगोपस्य पुत्रस्तत्प्रसा-

*Second plate ; second side.*

[10] मन्तमण्डलेनाप्रतिमाभिस्सज्जनेष्टाभिश्चेष्टाभिरहरहरेध-
[11] मानेन महता प्रतापेन व्याप्तलोको लोकोपचयप्र-
[12] वृत्तसर्व्वारम्भस्समग्रवसुधातलैकविजिगीषुर्भगवत्पादानु-

*Third plate ; first side.*

[13] ध्यातो बप्पभट्टारकपादभक्तः परमभागवतो
[14] भ(भा)रद्वाजः परमोदात्तान्वयानाम् स्वभुजद्रविणा-
[15] र्ज्जितप्रथितप्रतिष्ठिताद्भुतयशसां यथावदाहृतानेक-

*Third plate ; second side.*

[16] क्रतूनां शतक्रतुकल्पानाम् श्रीवल्लभानाम्पल्लवानान्ध-
[17] र्म्ममहाराज(जः) श्रीसिंहवर्म्मा वेङ्गोराष्ट्रे माङ्ग-
[18] डू(?दू)र्ग्रामे ग्रामेयकान्सर्व्वाध्यक्षवल्लभशासनसञ्चा-

*Fourth plate ; first side.*

[19] रिणश्चाज्ञापयत्येतद्ग्रा(ग्रा)ममात्रेयायापस्तम्भीयाय
[20] रुद्रशर्म्मणे वात्स्यायापस्तम्भीयाय तू(?नु)र्कशर्म्मणे
[21] कौशिकायापस्तम्भीयाय दामशर्म्मणे भारद्वाजायाप-

*Fourth plate ; second side.*

[22] स्तम्भीयाय यज्ञशर्म्मणे पाराशर्य्यायापस्तम्भीयाय
[23] भवकोटिगोपाय काश्यपाय वाजसनेयिने
[24] भर्तृशर्म्मणे औदमेघये छन्दोगाय शिवदत्ताय च

¶ The vowels of these two letters,—श्रीवि,—are just discernible in the facsimile copy with me, but will probably be lost in printing.

* This letter,—ग,—was at first omitted in the original and then inserted below the line.

*Fifth plate ; first side.*

[24] गौतमाय हैरण्यकेशाय षष्ठीकुमाराय च सर्व्व-
[26] प रि हा रो पे त न्दे वे भा ग ह ल व र्ज्जं म् स मे ध-
[27] मा न वि ज य रा ज्या ष्ट म सं व त्स र कै त्र मा स शु क्र-

*Fifth plate ; second side.*

[28] प क्ष प ञ्च म्या मा यु र्ब ल वि ज या भि वृ द्ध ये ब्र ह्म दे यी कृ त्य
[29] वसद्भोगमर्य्यादया सम्प्रादाम [||] तदेतदवगम्येमङ्ग्राममम्
[30] सर्व्वपरिहारैः परिहरत(न्तु) परिहारयत(न्तु)च [।] यच्छे(श्चे)दमस्मच्छ(च्छा)सनमति-

*Sixth plate ; first side.*

[31] क्रामेत्स पापश्शारीरन्दण्डमर्हत्यपि चात्रार्षाः श्लोकाः । भूमिदा-
[32] नात्परन्दानन्न भु(भू)तन्न भविष्यति तस्यैव हरणात्पापन(न्न) भु(भू)त-
[33] न्न भविष्यति ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता यस्य यस्य

*Sixth plate ; second side.*

[34] यदा भूमिस्त†स्य तस्य तदा प(फ)लम् ।(॥) स्वदत्ताम्परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसु-
[35] न्धराम् गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति किल्बिषामिति [॥]
[36] प्रभोस्स्वमुखाज्ञाप्त्या नेमिना लिखितम् ॥

*Translation.*

Victory has been achieved by the holy one!

Hail! From the glorious and victorious city of D a ś a n a p u r a,—the great-grandson of him, the Great King Ś r î - V î r a v a r m â, who honoured according to the proper rites the gods and Brâhmaṇs and spiritual preceptors, and old men; who was made prosperous by the three constituents of royal power; who was high-minded; who enjoyed great happiness acquired by the strength of his own arm; and who was the bravest man upon the surface of the earth;—the grandson of him, the Great King Ś r î - S k a n d a v a r m â, who achieved wondrous rank and power in a hundred battles; who grew old in respect of learning (beyond his years); who gratified endless desires‡; who performed an endless number of rites; and who abounded in good qualities;—the son of him, the Y u v a r â j a Ś r î - V i s h ṇ u g ô p a, who pervaded the whole world with his fame, which, white as the rays of the moon, was not interwoven with the fame of others; whose mind was refined by his learning; and who was most dignified,—Ś r î - S i ṁ h a v a r m â,—the pious Great King of the P á l l a v a s, who are a most exalted race; who are possessed of wondrous fame, which has been acquired by the strength of their arms and has become celebrated and established; who have prepared for celebration many sacrifices according to the proper rites; who are almost equal to Ś a t a k r a t u §; and who are the favourites of the goddess of fortune,—he, who has pervaded the world with his great glory, which has scorched up the assemblage of chieftains, and which day by day is increased by actions that have no counterparts (in the behaviour of others) and are such as are desired by good people; whose every undertaking is actuated by (a desire for) the prosperity of mankind; who is eminently desirous of conquest on the whole surface of the earth; who meditates on the feet of the holy one; who is the disciple of the feet of the venerable B a p p a; who is a most excellent worshipper of the holy one; and who belongs to the lineage of Bhâradvâja,—issues his commands to the villagers at the village of M â ṅ g a ḍ û r, in the country of V ĕ ṅ g ŏ r â s h ṭ r a, and to all

† After this letter,—स्त,—the letter त, the first letter of तस्य as a separate word, was repeated in the original and then erased.

‡ In this and the following epithets there is a play on the word '*kalpa*'; in '*anantakalpapradâyinaḥ*,' Skandavarmâ is compared with the 'Kalpadruma', or tree of paradise, which gratifies all desires.

§ 'He who has, or is honoured by, a hundred sacrifices',—Indra.

# COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY.

V.a.

I.b

VI.a.

VI.b

W. Griggs photo-lith.

the authorities and the favourites and those who carry out his orders :—

On the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra of the eighth year of our victorious reign, to increase our life and power and victory, we constituted this village a grant to Brâhmaṇs and gave it, free from all liability to taxation, and with the exception of the plough of the possession of the god||, on the condition that it is to be enjoyed (only) by those residing in it¶, to Rudraśarmâ of the Âtrêya *gôtra* and the ritual of Âpastambha, to Tûrkaśarmâ of the Vâtsya *gôtra* and the ritual of Âpastambha, to Dâmaśarmâ of the Kauśika *gôtra* and the ritual of Âpastambba, to Yajñaśarmâ of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and the ritual of Âpastambha, to Bhavakôṭigôpa of the Pârâśarya *gôtra* and the ritual of Âpastambha, to Bhartṛiśarmâ of the Kâśyapa *gôtra* and the ritual of Vâjasanêya, and to Śivadatta of the Audamêghi *gôtra* who chants the Sâmavêda hymns, and to Shashṭhîkumâra of the Gautama *gôtra* and the ritual of Hiraṇyakêśî. Recognizing this, let them treat this village with immunity from all taxation and cause it to be so treated by others. And he is deserving of corporal punishment, who transgresses against this our charter. Moreover, are there not verses of the saints as to this? There has not been, and there shall not be, any gift better than a grant of land; &c.! Land has been given by many, and has been continued in grant by many; &c.! He incurs the guilt of one who slays a hundred thousand cows who confiscates land, &c.!

This has been engraved by Nêmi at the personal command of the king.

|| The meaning would seem to be, that the grant did not carry with it the right to some cultivated land in the same village, which had already been given to the village-god.

¶ '*Vasadbhôgamaryâdayâ*';—but the meaning is rather doubtful.

## NOTES ON THE SOUTH-INDIAN OR DRÂVIḌIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

BY THE REV. G. U. POPE, D.D., M.R.A.S.,
Member of the German Oriental Society, and Fellow of the Madras University.

It seems presumption to intrude into a field of research which my valued friend and fellow-labourer for years in missionary work, Dr. Caldwell, has made his own; but I am afraid that students of Indian languages are a little in danger of neglecting the principles of the Inductive Philosophy, and I desire to record my conviction that much has yet to be done before the great question of the affinities of the vernaculars of Southern India in particular can be considered as settled. Our most important business at present is to collect and classify the f a c t s, to observe accurately, to note similarities, to group analogous facts together, and to examine carefully the documents of each language. Theories, those rapid generalizations of the philosophic mind, have in India, I fear, preceded in many cases a careful study of the facts, and have even prevented a fair and full examination of these facts.

In preparing a slight sketch of the Tuḍa grammar, and in making collections for a similar paper on the real Kûrgî dialect, I have felt impressed with the conviction that we must begin with the less cultivated dialects of the family before we can judge fairly of the more cultivated members of it. I may hazard the assertion, *in limine*, that Tuḍa, Kûrgî, and Old Kanarese differ far less widely from the Indo-European languages than the cultivated Tamiḻ does.

My object in writing, then, is to put on record a few of the facts that I have collected during thirty years of study, and to suggest the inquiry whether certain things have not been taken for granted rather too suddenly in reference to the so-called Drâviḍian dialects. I have not carefully examined the second edition of Dr. Caldwell's Grammar, which is a monument of labour and genius; but I anticipate no controversy with him.

Dr. Muir, in the preface to his *Sanskṛit Texts*, Part II., says that "the Tamiḻ, Telugu, Malayâlim, and Kanarese tongues are *originally* and *fundamentally* quite distinct from and independent of Sanskṛit," and that consequently "the people by whom these languages are spoken originally must have belonged to a race which had *no affinities* to the Sanskṛit-speaking Âryas, and could not, therefore, as Manu asserts, have been degraded Kshatriyas."

It is rash, perhaps, for me to say that I can-

not so easily receive the authority of Muir as superior to that of Manu. It often happens that more accurate research tends to rehabilitate the despised writers of the olden times. My contention is (1) that between the languages of Southern India and those of the Âryan family there are many very deeply seated and radical affinities; (2) that the differences between the Drâviḍian tongues and the Âryan are not so great as between the Keltic (for instance) and the Sanskṛit; and (3) that, by consequence, the doctrine that the place of the Drâviḍian dialects is rather with the Âryan than with the Turânian family of languages is still capable of defence. I cannot hope for leisure, amid the weary and continuous labours of a school, to work out the subject in detail; but the few facts here adduced may set at work others who are younger and have more leisure.

In this paper I will confine myself to one point.

I. In preparing a Wordbook of the "Grundsprache" of the Drâviḍian dialects (a work which I am compelled, reluctantly, to leave unfinished), a curious fact came to my notice. I will state it in the form of a rule, which I believe to be only a part of a law not less useful in treating of the Drâviḍian tongues than Grimm's law has been in the comparison of the recognized languages of the Âryan family.

This is the rule:—*Initial P of the Tamiḻ and Telugu is often H in Kanarese,* and a corresponding root exists in the Âryan beginning with V, F, or φ*—with an aspirate.

I give a few examples, taken quite at random. If these are coincidences, they are at least curious, and students may be glad to have them pointed out.

I believe, indeed, that a close examination will establish it as a truth that every word which in Kanarese begins with *H* (a letter not used in Tamiḻ at all) has a corresponding root in the Âryan. I may indeed, in the sequel, extend the area of the statement, and lay it down as a fact that every root in the "Ursprache" of the Drâviḍian languages has a corresponding root in the Âryan.

I must now ask attention to the table.

| | Tamiḻ. | | Kanarese. | Âryan. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | pâḍ; | *sing.* | hâḍ. | ? vad (Fick, p. 159), vates (L.), bardd (§1, W.), barz (B.). |
| 2. | paḷḷi, | *village.* | haḷḷi. | ? villa (L.),† baille (balla) (Gael.) |
| 3. | peṇ, | *female.* | heṇ. | fem-ina, (L.), hen; bean [benn], (Gael.).‡ |
| 4. | pag-ai, | *hate.* | hag-e. | feog-ean (A.-S.), foe. |
| 5. | pô-g-u, | *go.* | hô-g-u. | vag-or (L.), βα (Gr.). |
| 6. | pal-a, | *many,* | hal-a. | fel-e (A.-S.) [πολ-]. |
| 7. | pû, | *flower.* | hû. | φλυ-(Gr.), phal (S.), flor- (L.), bloom. |
| 8. | pull-u, | *grass.* | hull-u. | φυλλον (G.), feur (Gael.). |
| 9. | pul, | *small, trifling.* | hul-u. | φαυλ (G.), vil-is (L.). |
| 10. | pêth-ai, | *fool.* | hedar-u. | fatu-us, (L.).§ |
| 11. | porr-u, | *bear a burden.* | hor-u. | φερ (G.), fer (L.), b'hri (S.) |
| 12. | perr-u, | *bear a child.* | her-u. | bear,—beir (Gael.). |
| | pêrru, | *child.* | | bairn. |
| 13. | paḷḷ-am, | *hollow.* | hoḷḷ-u. | hollow, hole;—vall-um (L.). |
| 14. | puḻ-ai, | *defilement.* | hol-ai. | poll-u-o (L), de-file-ment, fyll (A.-S.) filth. |

The general belief is that the substitution of *h* in Kanarese for *p* of the Tamiḻ is a modern corruption. On the contrary, the *h* is found in many ancient words not existing in the present Tamiḻ.

I suppose that all words found in Tamiḻ with an initial *p*, and in Kanarese with an initial *h*, were originally written with an aspirate *p'h*. The Tamiḻ has retained the *p*, and the Kanarese the *h*.

I have noticed in my *Outlines of Tuḍa Grammar* that the Tuḍas retain the *f* and the χ, and are as partial to those sounds as any son of the Cymri or of the Gael.

In another paper I shall have something to say about other roots common to the "Grundsprache" of the Âryans and that of the Drâviḍians.

*Bangalore, January 3rd,* 1876.

* The Kanarese have the same dislike to initial *P* that our Saxon ancestors had.

† If *villa* = *vic-ula*, this must be removed from the list.

‡ If *femina* is from *fe-o* (= produce), compare 12 in the list.

§ How many words there are in the best Latin dictionaries of which the derivation is "doubtful"!

# CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

## DOLMENS IN THE COROMANDEL COAST.

Sir,—Some months ago, being on a tour in the district, I determined to visit some curious stone structures of which I had heard, which were supposed to be of very great antiquity, and to have been inhabited by a now extinct race. Those that I first visited were situated about four miles from Tirukovilûr, or the left bank of the Ponniâr, near the village of Kollûr. Only two or three were visible, and of these only one was fairly above ground. It consisted of four large granite slabs forming a chamber 4′ 3″ high, 6′ 4″ long, and 3′ 6″ broad, and was covered over with a huge slab nearly a foot thick, and 10′ 6″ long by 8′ 9″ wide.* The entrance was by means of a space about a foot wide, where two of the vertical stones did not join. The flooring appeared to be of stone. There was nothing whatever in this hut, so I proceeded to examine another, which was half underground, and after a considerable amount of digging excavated the whole of the space within the four upright stones. This I was able to do without much difficulty, as the top stone had been moved. On examining the side stones I found a circular aperture in the eastern one, about eighteen inches in diameter.† In the interior of the chamber were arranged a number of vases of different sizes, about sixteen or eighteen in all, varying from one capable of holding several gallons to one not much bigger than a large marble. The vessels were of red and black colours, and were nearly all glazed or polished, outside and inside. They were very well made, the clay being of excellent quality. Besides the vases, I found a singular kind of couch or vessel about four feet long and fifteen inches wide, with rounded ends, and about nine inches deep—something like a bidet. It was of great weight, having fifteen heavy legs, and being quite an inch thick. In trying to transport it to my camp it was broken in pieces. I found nothing in this vessel, but one thing about it struck me as very curious; all the legs, though forming part and parcel of the vessel, were stuffed with earth. This must have been crammed into them before the vessel was placed in position, and every vessel I found was similarly crammed full of earth. I was told that when an *anikat* was building in the neighbourhood, some years ago, the stone contractors had broken up and carried off numbers of the stones of these buildings, which would account for the one I examined having no covering stone; but the state of affairs as I found them seemed to me to leave little room for doubt that, though the covering stone had been carried away, no attempt had been before made to touch the contents of the chamber, in which case it must have been filled with earth when the vessels were placed in it. My surmise in this respect was strengthened by some other excavations which I carried out a day or two afterwards, at a spot where a great number of these structures exist, about three-quarters of a mile due north of the Araikandanallûr Pagoda. This Pagoda is a striking object, about 1½ miles from Tirukovilûr, and on the opposite bank of the river. It is built on a rock on the river's edge, and is remarkable on account of the existence of five very singular cells cut in the solid rock, where local tradition says the five Pâṇḍavas lived when expelled from Ayodhya. I had two or three of the structures opened, to which I have alluded. They were situated within the limits of the village of Devanûr. In one of them I found two of the couches, one much smaller than the other, and the larger of the two about 4½ feet long. In this one I found some fragments of bones and some scraps of iron. One of the latter resembled a small knife-blade. I also found in one of the chambers a piece of iron which might have been part of an iron plate. In every case the singular opening in the eastern stone was found. The bones were rather small, and from a fragment which might have been part of a skull I concluded they were human. When cleared to the stone floor these chambers were about 7½ feet high by 6½ broad and 8 long. As at Kollûr, so at Devanûr there were slabs of granite sunk in concentric rings around the structures. At Devanûr these structures are scattered over a space of three or four acres of ground, and in their midst is a huge upright slab fourteen feet high above ground, eight wide, and about six inches thick. It has a rounded top like a gravestone, and is called the *Kacheri kol*, or 'stone of office.'

These structures so closely resemble those described by Capt. Cole as found by him in Coorg and Maisur‡ that I fancy they must both have been the handiwork of the same class of people, though this is the first time I have heard of their being found so near the sea, Tirukovilûr being only forty miles from it.

Capt. Cole assumes that these are prehistoric structures, but while I think it is evident that their antiquity is respectable, I find they are alluded to in the *Sthala Purâṇa* of Tirukovilûr, the antiquity of which may perhaps go back five or six hundred years. In that *Purâṇa* they are alluded to as being inhabited by Mahârishis called Vâlikhilya. Local tradition says they were

* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. pp. 306 ff.

† See *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 277.

‡ See *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 86 ff.

a dwarfish race, and that there were sixty thousand of them. In the jungles of Trinomalai, close by, are still to be found a few people called Viliyans. I had two or three of them brought to me, and one was a little man only 4 feet 8½ inches high, but perfectly proportioned. The others were as tall as the general run of natives. Whether these are remnants of the former race it is difficult to say, but the similarity of name is at least curious. These people told me that their custom was to abandon a hut in which a relative died. Whether the structures I have described were used as dwellings or not, it is not easy to say, but there is good ground, I think, for presuming that they were used as burial-places.

J. H. GARSTIN, M.C.S.

*Porto Novo, 7th February* 1876.

GAUṚA.

I do not understand Bâbu Râm Dâs Sen's argument (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 25). He quotes two lines which run thus :—

" Sâraswatas, Kânyakubjas, Gauṛas, Maithilas, and Otkalas are dwellers north of Vindhya known as the five Gauṛas."

The allusion is to the five northern septs of the Brâhmaṇ caste. The Vindhya range, running from sea to sea, is the natural boundary between north and south India. It is surprising that a Hindu should require to be reminded by an Englishman of the five great Brâhmaṇ septs—the Sâraswata, Kânyakubja (modern Kanaujia), Gauṛa, Maithila, and Otkala (from Utkala = Orissa). The context clearly shows that the Gauṛa sept must have inhabited Bengal. How the passage shows that Bengal was anciently called Banga does not appear.

Gauṛa is the country south and west of the Padma, or present main stream of the Ganges, *i.e.* central and western Bengal; while Banga is that north and east of the same river, *i.e.* eastern Bengal. The Paurânic accounts of things in general are not very trustworthy, least of all in matters of history or geography.

*Cuttack, February* 5, 1876. JOHN BEAMES.

QUERY—AN EXTINCT RACE.

I append a passage I lately came across in Col. Welsh's *Military Reminiscences* * (vol. II. p. 54), referring to an aboriginal tribe in the Madras Presidency, apparently near Arcot. Can any of the readers of the *Indian Antiquary* give any information about this tribe? If these people are, or were till recently, extant, and were in the habit of building such houses as that depicted in the engraving from Col. Welsh's sketch, many of the stone remains discovered in the Madras Presidency and elsewhere are possibly of recent, instead of being of prehistoric date, as they are generally supposed to be.

The passage in question is as follows—

" Returning by the Pedenaig Durgum Pass, I must make mention of a race of Indians, now supposed to be extinct, who formerly inhabited certain strongholds in the country, and appear to have been entirely different from every other tribe in their habits, manners and customs. Approaching Naikenyary from the top of the Pass, the road winds along the base of a rocky hill, which leaving on the left hand it crosses by the *bănd* of a tank, within a few hundred yards of the wretched bungalow of that name. On the top of this hill are the remains of a stone village† formerly inhabited by the Paundway; there may be forty or fifty ruins, and a description of one will answer for all. They are generally a square of eight feet and about five in height; the walls, roof and floor being formed of single stones, with two stones set in perpendicular and rounded at top for the entrance—door it cannot be called, the only passage being cut in a small circle in them, exactly opposite each other; the two stones being set two feet asunder, and the whole strengthened outside by a buttress of loose stones, with others of four feet high above the earth or rock in which they are set nearly perpendicular. I have added a sketch of the one I found most entire, to explain this incoherent description. Every endeavour to get some authentic account of these people failed; all I could learn was that they inhabited the hill-country, had laws and kings of their own, never mingling with other natives, but plundering them and retiring to their strongholds whenever they were pursued or successfully opposed. The whole in a body were called Pâuṇḍway or Pâṇḍwêh, and one was styled a Pâṇḍwar. I have twice met with sepulchres on the Malabar coast which appeared to me to have some connexion with the owners of these deserted hamlets."

E. W. W.

M. Garcin de Tassy, Professor of Hindustâni at the School of Oriental Languages, has just received the Cross of Commander of the Portuguese Order of St. Diago, which is only conferred on men of high reputation in science or literature. —*Galignani.*

* *Military Reminiscences extracted from a Journal of nearly forty years' active service in the East Indies*, by Col. James Welsh. London: Smith Elder, & Co. 1830.

† Can this be now identified? and, if so, is Col. Welsh's curious sketch even approximately correct? It is, I suspect 'too good to be true.'—ED.

# NOTES ON VILLAGES IN THE HIMÂLAYAS, IN KUMAON, GARHWÂL, AND ON THE SATLEJ.

BY THE LATE C. HORNE, B.C.S.

THE following notes are the results of observations made during a tour of many months in the mountains, and of a residence of some five or six years in Kumaon, and as they chiefly refer to races who have retained their primitive habits and customs unchanged for many centuries they may be found of interest. I propose to touch on agriculture and the implements employed in it, and such manufactures as came under my notice, on architecture, as well as general matters.

A Himâlayan village generally consists of a cluster of houses, sometimes connected in ranges, but more generally separate, and mostly perched on a hill-side in terraces. In the higher ranges where firs abound, these are often built of stones and mud, with alternate layers of squared timbers crossing one another and projecting at the corners, with wooden balconies supported on wooden projections from the walls, in which are placed pierced carved wooden windows, or solid wooden shutters with slits in them.

Each floor is boarded with rough planks hewn out of a single fir-tree by cutting it on either side, and mud plaster is used. The walls exteriorly are often plastered with mud and then whitewashed. On this whitewash I often observed patterns roughly painted in red ochreous earth. The roof varies but little. When stone is procurable, huge blocks are made as thin as possible and used as slates. Thus I have seen slabs twelve feet in length and of prodigious weight. In other parts trees are cut in lengths of one foot or more, and their shingles are split off with wedges. As usual in all countries, the poor thatch how they can, although in these regions there are but few real paupers, the village system caring for all; and we therefore find nearly every hovel either stone or timber roofed.

The lower part of the houses, which are often of two storeys, is generally devoted to the live stock of sheep. cows, and cattle generally; and only the upper floor is inhabited by the family, who appear utterly reckless of the horrid fumes arising from the dung-heap below. Occasionally—generally about once a year—the dung-heap which has collected at the door from the removal of the filth of the sheds is taken away to the fields in *kiltas*, or baskets, on the backs of women; but it is always disagreeable to pass through a hill village, however picturesque it may look from a little distance. They have no sanitary arrangements whatever, so that when marching or shooting I never, if I could avoid it, passed through or to leeward of a native village; and when, from positive absence of room to pitch my little tent, eight by six feet, I was obliged to lodge in the village, I had to lodge in the small village square or space in front of the temple, which was the only clean place to be found. There is no arrangement for a chimney, saving a hole in the roof, and scarcely any for light, so that the state of an interior can be better imagined than described. Owing to the coldness of the climate, the people are more clad than in the plains; but as they never wash they are very filthy, their abodes being mostly full of smoke. Some of the houses extend to a great length, and I was told that several generations often lived under one roof-tree, additions with separate entrances from a common front verandah having been made from time to time.

The above remarks apply pretty generally to all Kumaon and Garhwâl.

The roofs are nearly flat, and upon these in fine weather many may be seen sitting. They also use them for spreading out their grain, corn, and fruit to dry, as well as clothes when rarely they wash them, and over these they often train their gourds and cucumbers. The shorings are very low, but solidly built, and the whole edifice will stand for a long time, as it is solidly constructed, and the smoke appears to preserve the timber of the roof.

One peculiarity runs through all their houses, viz. the wood-carving. This is particularly noticeable in the temples in the Satlej valley, where the Chinese or Tatar influence displays itself; but it is seen more or less everywhere, notably in the little projecting balconies with their carved wooden pillars and pierced open work, and it is curious to see how handy the hill carpenter is with his tools, few and rough as they are.

In Kumaon the Jaina influence shows itself in the *vimâna*, or square temple. Here the worship is of Śiva and the *linga* and bull, although I am bound to say this is very much neglected. There, or crossing the hills by Gaṅgutri to the Baspâ and Karnâwar valleys, we come to a strange mixture of Buddhism and Lama-worship. But more of this hereafter. Almost every village has some sacred spot, where prayer is wont to be made, be it much or little frequented on ordinary occasions, and must have a temple or building of some kind.

There are also many forts on the Baspâ and Satlej rivers. These are merely keeps perched on some high rock, and most commonly built of stones and timber in alternate layers, like so many of the houses. They are of many storeys, with but few windows, and the only wonder is how they contrive to hold together. All are commanded by heights near, and, although looking formidable from below, are of no real strength. In fact they are now but residences of the headmen of the villages in which they are placed, or rather which have grown up at their feet for the sake of their protection.

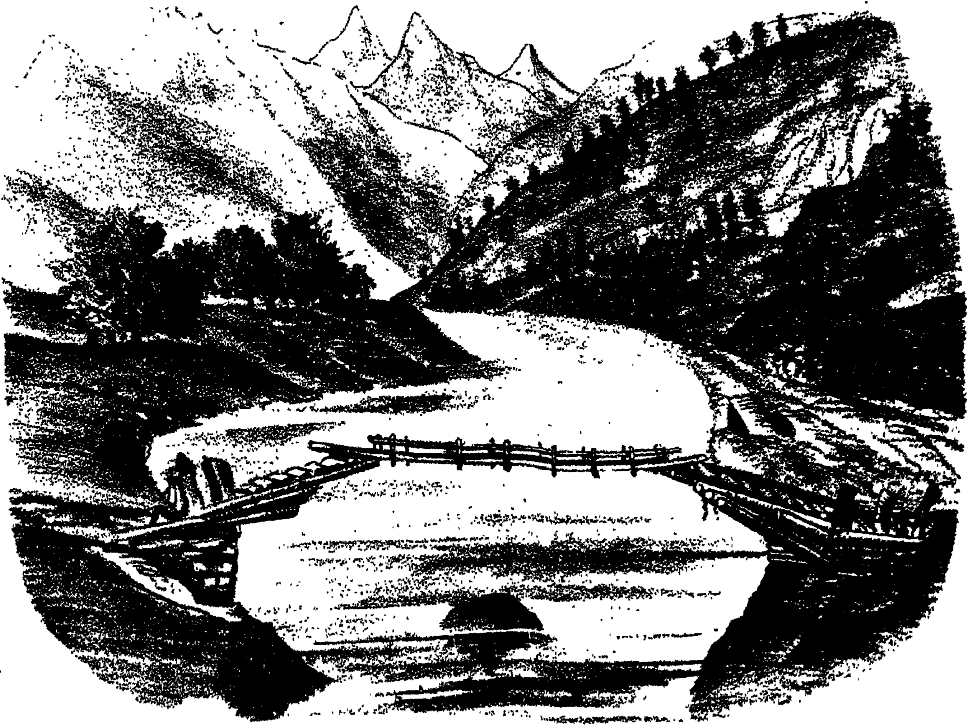
But there is one most important point, to which I have not yet alluded. This is the bridges. Torrents and ravines abound in every path; hence their constant occurrence. Please to remember that there is no cart-road in the country under notice, and therefore no great breadth or strength is needed. 1*st*, there is the primitive bridge, consisting of a tree (often a fir) cut down and thrown across. This, worn to a polish and often wet, is very trying to a European, and it is marvellous how sheep and goats cross it. (2) Next I have observed two or three boughs *tied together* and put across. This is even worse, as being generally very weak. It is, however, only used over very small streams. (3) Over larger streams we have put the single stem, generally a noble tree,—one I measured being over ninety feet in length—flattened on the upper side. (4) Next is the regular *sanga*, in which beams of timber counterpoised by a heavy lading of stones overlap each other till they nearly meet, when straight pieces are laid across, and all is planked.* These are good bridges if well constructed with sound timber, and often last many years. (5) We next have a simple rope hanging high over the river, to which is fixed a cradle in which one is drawn over by a smaller cord. (6) Sometimes this rope is double, as it used to be at Śrînagar, and a footway is suspended to it of pieces of bamboo and rope, forming a most shaky and unpleasant footing, and used for man only. (6) But the unsafest bridge I remember was one in which the double rope was constructed of twisted birch twigs, which being old were very rotten, and one took every step in fear. The whole bridge was of birch.* The ordinary rope is made from the fine fibre found at the base of some of the *Andropogon* grasses. (7) The best bridge, which has been introduced by the European, is the light iron suspension bridge. Of these there are many in our territory, and they suit the scenery well.

Roads there are none; there are merely sheep, pony, and cattle tracks. Sometimes, however, a ladder is placed, or sticks are driven into the face of the rock, or steps are even cut in it. This is, however, rare, and laden sheep could not pass by these contrivances. Of course I do not refer to our territory, in which we have very much improved the means of communication.

But few know how that, within a very limited distance from our hill settlements, polyandry prevails. I had heard of it, and as I passed from village to village on the banks of the Satlej near to the confines of Chinese Tatary I looked out for it. I did not, however, actually meet with it till I had passed Morang, at the village of Nisang. I will therefore quote from my diary a little about these villages and their people:—

"*July* 17.—Leaving behind me one tent, two servants, half my flock, and all heavy baggage, I started for the frontier of Tibet. The path wound along the steep and somewhat bare mountain-side, until after three miles some fields swarming with pigeons came in sight, proclaiming the vicinity of a village, which proved to be Porabnî, a small collection of houses, over many of which, by way of standard, floated—attached to a pole—a yâk's tail, or *chauṛi*. After a rest we here commenced a most villainous climb over a smooth face of rock, and then a descent to my halting-place, Rîbâ, a cluster of villages containing above 180 houses. On a terrace before the temple, commanding a beautiful view, my tent was pitched. On my right was the river Satlej, far below, with rocks

* See the accompanying plate for examples of these bridges.



SANGLÛ, SANGA OR BRIDGE ON THE BASPÂ RIVER.



From drawings by the late C. Horne.

ROPE BRIDGE OF BIRCH TWIGS AT NAMJÂ ON THE SUTLAJ RIVER.

rising perpendicularly from it for several hundred feet. On my left rose some high and snow-capped peaks, whilst before me the river seemed to climb amongst the mountains. Next morning at 8 A.M. reached Rispa by a gradual descent, and found the grain nearly ripe, and the barley falling under the sickle. Halting for breakfast, pushed on for Morang, our resting-place.

"Crossing the Terong stream by a frail bridge, renewed every year, we kept above the Satlej, which here presents a curious sight. From a wide smooth stream it suddenly contracts and leaps down in a series of fierce bounds, splashing the banks with its muddy foam, so that Macaulay's description of the bridge of Horatius came forcibly to mind. But now we ascend gently for a mile or two, when the fort of Morang comes into view, perched on a nearly insulated heap of rock in the river-bank, and almost commanded, even by musketry, on every side. Two men only lived in it, and it looked utterly deserted. Here I remarked large flights of goldfinches busy with the grain, together with numbers of butterflies looking like Painted Ladies and Meadow-Browns. A little further and we reach a deep gorge cut out by a small stream flowing for ages. Along the sides of this we wind, until crossing by its head we arrive at the encamping-ground under the village of Morang, which consists of four or five scattered groups of houses on the hill-side, facing south, surrounded with terraced fields and vineyards. The place swarmed with wild pigeons, of which I shot a good supply for the camp.

"*July* 19*th*.—At early dawn commenced the steep ascent behind the village by a most villainous road of loose stones and sand. This till 8 A.M. I wearily climbed. The clouds lay low on the hills all round, and there was a raw, cold feeling in the air, and not a tree was to be seen for a long distance. At last one willow appears, and a feeble spring of water, the secret of its being there. Here the whole party halted, water being very scarce in these parts. After a short halt and smoke we all pushed on, but it was 1 P.M. before the crest (14,000 feet) was reached,—Morang, our last resting-place, having been 8760 feet above the sea-level. Below 11,000 feet I noticed very few flowers, but above that limit I found many, some of which were new to me. The road was in many places a mere path or staircase of rocks, and the descent on the other side, if possible, worse from its steepness. The village of Nisang, my halting-ground for this day, was 10,110 feet above sea-level, so that I had 4000 feet to descend, and it was 5 P.M. ere I reached the village. This consisted of one compact mass of houses, intersected with narrow lanes, one half of which acted as watercourses, whilst all were used as latrines. Small fields of barley were to be seen in every quarter, and for a long time I could not find a spot twelve feet square on which to pitch my tent. At last I was offered the use of a yard, some fifteen feet in size, on which I settled for the night.

"Next day I halted in order to draw a few of the lovely flowers found the day previous, for as a rule my halts and marches were regulated by the number of new flowers I met with. Of these I had accomplished thirteen by 3 P.M. In this pent-up valley the sun was very hot, but the heat was tempered by a delicious breeze from the north-west. In the centre of the village was an empty space, and, as my custom was, I went thither to see the people, who meet here to gossip. It was a curious sight. Most of the women were dressed in red blankets, and adorned with a profusion of brass ornaments, huge silver earrings and bracelets, together with bead necklaces, in many of which I observed malachite and turquoises in huge rough lumps, as well as amber. Their hair was plaited in a multitude of fine plaits hanging down the back, when all were brought together and plaited in with wool in one pigtail, which terminated with little red or blue worsted tassels. These plaits reached to the loins. Many had both arms bare, some only one; none had both covered. Amongst the countenances I remarked some of the ugliest and most repulsive Tatar cast. Hill-women (*i.e.* of Kumaon) looked handsome beside them. These Tatar women had their dirty dishevelled hair hanging about their shoulders, without the least attempt at dressing it. The little tassels worn by some hill-women in their caps were very tasty, yet simple—a number of grains of wheat strung crosswise on a thread, with a little coloured tassel at the end of each string. I had meanwhile sent in my demand for food, &c. for my camp, and each villager had to contribute his or her quota. The flour

was of every kind, some bringing wheaten, others that of barley, a third of "*phaplun*," buckwheat, &c. All were then mixed up together for the purpose of making cakes, which were of a most unsatisfactory quality. I could not ascertain how the assessment was apportioned, but it must be done by some rule; the prices, however, were settled by the headman of the village (*muktiyâr*), and all supplies were paid for on the spot. We often found the villagers unwilling to part with a pound of flour, the supply barely meeting the local demand. Only two or three men were to be seen in the village, the rest being absent and engaged in carrying salt, grain, wool, &c., or in herding the sheep on the hill-side. Strange to say, these women were not afraid of Europeans, nor did they make any attempt to conceal their features, so that by means of an interpreter I managed to obtain much information from them. I suppose the cold in winter is too great for grapes, as I saw none here; but the barley, some species of which (the cærulean) I have seen at nearly 13,000 feet at Nako, waved luxuriantly in the little fields. A little way from my tent lived a 'Lama,' or Buddhist priest. He had a queer little tent pitched on the top of a house, in which he sat the livelong day, continually turning a small *mânni* or inscribed cylinder, which at each revolution on its axis struck a little bell. He was an old wizened man, flat-faced, with high cheekbones, his hair in long thick plaits twisted round his head. During my stay of two days I did not see him visited by any one. What a strange life to lead!

"Strange noises are often heard near this, amongst the mighty Raldang peaks, and I have often lain awake at night hoping to hear them. Last night I did so. The sound at one time was like distant thunder, at another like what one would fancy the breaking up of ice at sea would be, at another like an avalanche, and again like huge stones bounding from rock to rock. They may have really been compounded of all these. Sometimes it sounded like an explosion, which is one of the assigned causes, said to be caused by the spontaneous combustion of gases generated in the mountains. I do not, however, think much of this last suggestion. Whatever they were, they lasted only during the early morning, and had entirely ceased by 8 A.M.

"It was in this village that I met with the first woman who had more than one husband. She whom I addressed very simply told me that she had four!—all brothers. I asked her how they managed, and she said that they were never at home together. One would be absent with sheep, bringing salt from Tibet; another with a consignment for disposal in the Ram Serai valley; a third attending to the cultivation of some distant outlying fields, or tending sheep on the far-off hill-side: so that all went on very amicably. The woman herself appeared to be the common drudge of all, working at household tasks and performing the cultivation at the village like the veriest slave, whilst the present husband sat against his stone wall, or on the sunny roof, smoking his pipe with all becoming dirt and dignity.* These people seldom use water or change their clothes: for, as they often said, "If we bathe and take cold and get fever, who is to cure us?" The water generally is indeed cold, and even the Hindus of the hill eat and cook clothed, on account of the climate,—a practice which would not be allowed for a moment in the plains, where only the waist-cloth is retained, and that after bathing.

"Respecting domesticated animals it may be noted that it is customary to hang large tassels of worsted from holes bored in the bullocks' ears. Asses are extensively used near the junction of the Baspâ and the Satlej; and dogs are highly valued, specially the Bhûtan breed.

"My tent is pitched looking out to the north-east, and before me rises, as nearly perpendicularly as a mountain can rise without being

* The polyandry described resembles that of the Todas on the Nilgiri Hills. A form of polyandry prevails commonly in the extreme south of India amongst the Vellâlars, a race of well-to-do farmers. Grown women are there married to very young boys, and have children by the fathers of the boys, who when they come to maturity find a family ready for them, and themselves do as their fathers did! It is curious and striking, however, to find the very same practice obtaining amongst the peasantry in Russia. The following is quoted from a late report on Russian village communities:—"Labour being scarce and dear, it has been the practice of the father to marry his sons in their childhood to young women, for the purpose of securing the services of the latter as members of the family. Boys of eight or ten are married to women of twenty-five or thirty, and it is not uncommon for a bride to carry her husband in her arms. The wife is thus at a period of decline when the husband reaches adult manhood; and it seems, too, that during the earlier years of the marriage the father too often incestuously abuses his power over the person of his daughter-in-law."—M. J. W.

one precipice, a solid mass of rock to the height of 4000 feet, with apparently scarcely a blade of grass or a single tree; yet up this lies my path to-morrow, although from my point of view it looks inaccessible. Around the village, in the terrace fields, *chukor* (*Caccabis chukor*), a large partridge, abounded, and I secured some of them in the evening. They are noble birds, and a great addition to the larder.

"*July* 21.—Off at 5 P.M., descending to the bed of the torrent, lying perhaps 1000 feet below. This I crossed by a very dirty much-melted snow-bridge. No path had been followed in the descent, which, like the ascent now to be made, consisted of loose broken stones, chiefly slate. It took me till 10 A.M. to climb to within about 1000 feet of the summit, and here all rested for a little water. By the water were lovely flowers amongst the barren rocks, and I caught by the tail and killed a fine snake, as he was slipping away, which measured 4 feet 2 inches. Forward again and the crest (some 14,000 feet) is gained. Here all join in building a pillar of stones, and I, sitting down, draw and colour one or two of the more perishable of my flowers. The descent was easier for perhaps 2000 feet, but after this it was really fearful,—all loose stones; no trees, no grass, no water, and scarcely a little shrub. At last all reach safely the bed of another torrent, blocked with dirty snow and huge rocks. From this an ascent of 500 feet led me to a little terrace scooped from the hill side, perhaps eight feet by fifteen in area. Here I pitch my little tent, and am glad to rest after my weary walk of twelve miles only."

But enough from my diary. What I have extracted will show the character of the country, which of course modifies that of the people in a great degree. It will also give an idea of what travelling in these parts means. There are no roads, but only footpaths, and these are often more fit for the mountain goat than for a man; and this brings me very naturally to the traffic carried on by these villages in the necessaries of life.

When halting at Kâmrû, in the valley of the Baspâ river, an affluent of the Satlej, I prepared the following statistics, which, approximately correct, will give a good idea of the resources of a large and prosperous community in these valleys:—

Kâmrû was once the residence of the Râjas of Bissehir, and is situated in the beautiful valley of the Baspâ. It is built of wood and stone mixed, at the end of a rocky spur overlooking its own fields, and contains about—

25 zamindârs, *i.e.* taxpayers and landholders; say, 25 brothers to ditto, *i.e.* not paying taxes;

22 or 23 women,† and about 40 children;

6 coolies or artizans holding no land, paying no taxes, and feeding generally on grain for their services;

2 musicians, for temple worship.

Next a rough estimate of crop—400 *mans* of 80 lbs. each.

Cattle—including oxen, cows, and calves—150.

Sheep, *i.e.* rams and ewes, 250; goats 400.

Sheep for lading (wethers), 250.

Say, eaten in one year at festivals, 50 sheep; sick 25; leaving 225 sheep fit for work at one time. Now let us see what profit there will be on these same sheep.

1. Home wool: each sheep gives 2 lbs. at each shearing = 4 lbs. each.

Sold in Râmpûr at 5 lbs. for 2*s.* = £9 10*s.*

Less the cost of carriage, 8*s.* leaves £9 2*s.*

Foreign wool purchased in Tibet: 2 sheep = 1 rupee or 2*s.* = £1 2*s.* *plus* cost of carriage, 6*s.*, for 400 lbs. weight.

Salt and grain:—

1*a*. Salt is bought in Tibet: 6 lbs. of wheat. } = 4 lbs. of salt.
1*b*. Salt sold in Râmserâi Valley: 5 lbs. of rice. }

At the rate of 1 lb. of salt = 9 lbs. of wheat = 4½ rice = 12½ barley.

2*a*. *Plus* carriage 1½ months = 11 men to 225 sheep = 33 days.

2*b*. *Plus* carriage, 18 days = 22 men to 450 sheep = 33 sheep.‡

Leaving clear for profit 159 sheep.

Cost of sheep (original) 6*s.* each, value £4 7*s.* 10½*d.*

Cost of sheep's keep for 9 months (unemployed), 5 months at 4*s.* per annum—say, cripples and casualties 25 sheep = £9.

† Although polyandry prevails, I hold the women, as calculated by my native friend, at too low a figure.

‡ This apparent difference arises from food for man and beast having to be carried in either case, in the one case for 18 days, and in the other 45 days!

Say, then, that half the salt of one journey to Tibet, viz. 2250 lbs., is bartered for rice; each sheep carrying *now* 22 lbs., we shall require 460 sheep to carry 10,125 lbs. of rice; but there are only 225 sheep, carrying 4950 lbs., the remainder having to be carried by men in leather bags, 80 or 90 lbs. to each man.

Say that half the salt of one journey is bartered for wheat, viz. 2250 lbs., at 22 lbs. weight for each sheep; we should need 947 sheep to carry 20,850 lbs. of wheat; but there are only 225 sheep, carrying 4950 lbs. The balance, therefore, 15,900 lbs., is carried by men.

Hence we see 30, 40, or 50 per diem coming in with loads of wheat and rice from the Râmserâi valleys, whither they make repeated journeys; and it should be borne in mind that both salt and rice, as well as wheat, are largely consumed by the villagers, as well as by their flocks and herds.

The money prices in Râmserâi are generally about—wheat 60 lbs. for 1*s*., rice 36 lbs. for 1*s*.; whilst at Sanglâ, not many marches distant, wheaten flour sells at 12 lbs. for 1*s*.

The crop was roughly estimated at 400 *mans* of 80 lbs. each, and of this one-tenth goes to their government, besides the cash-taxes imposed upon them.

Cultivation is therefore not much attended to, and what little is done on every bit of available land is done by the women. The villagers of Bissehir have the monopoly of the barter between that province and Tibet, so that the inhabitants of the Râmserâi valleys are in the habit of supplying themselves with salt from them. Hence several thousands of sheep come from below, and thus the balance is maintained.

The sheep of Kâmrû have 23 owners, so that comfort appears general, and good woollen dresses—the cloth for which is woven by the coolies, or artizans, the thread being spun by the men from Tibet wool as they saunter idly about—are worn by all.

Add to this—many vegetables, large crops of peaches, apricots, and walnuts. The apricots and peaches are eaten fresh and dried, whilst quantities of beautiful oil are extracted from the kernels. Many of the walnuts find their way to the hill-stations, where they sell at from two to four hundred for a shilling.

From the above it will be seen that the constitution of the village is on the Hindu plan, the only persons not agricultural being paid by all the others, generally in kind, and by fees on certain occasions.

Foremost amongst these ranks the Lama or priest. On the Satlej, as well as in Kumaon and Garhwâl, this man often cultivates and holds land. Still, as head of the village, he gets offerings on new year festivals, on certain great religious days, on births, marriages, &c. Then there is the village barber, or *hajjâm*. This man in large villages does no other work, and takes fees in a similar way, each villager giving him so many handfuls of grain from his heap on the common threshing-floor.

The musicians occupy an important place on the Satlej, and here they never cultivate, but live by offerings and presents, hire for officiating at weddings, &c. In Kumaon and Garhwâl they are more peripatetic, and less attached to particular villages,—in fact, many villagers can and do play the tomtom, or hand-drum, which is all they here seem to need.

The *dhobi*, or washerman, who plays so important a part in the village economy of the plains, is less needed in Kumaon and Garhwâl, and is scarcely ever heard of on the Satlej.

Few villages are without a man or men of the sweeper or lowest caste. They go by various names, and perform the lowest offices. They generally keep pigs, and assist at the burial of the dead. They very seldom hold any land, and they are paid by fees, chiefly in kind.

In Kumaon and Garhwâl the dancing-girls are an institution, and hold endowments of land with certain privileges granted by ancient rulers. They are to be found in all the large villages, as well in the towns of Śrînagar and Âlmorâ, which are their head-quarters. They are the regular prostitutes, and their children are held in great estimation by the natives of the plains, as possessing great personal charms, and the villages held by them are very thriving ones.

In all large villages there are carpenters and blacksmiths, as well as occasionally jewellers, but I was not able to ascertain that these refrained from cultivation. On some occasions the carpenter and the jeweller, as repairers of the village deity, or idol, or shrine, received offerings, besides being paid for what they did, but I do not think that this was generally the case.

# IMPLEMENTS USED IN HIMALAYAN VILLAGES.




W. Griggs, Lith.

Â h e r s (आहिर)‡—Hindus, generally cultivators. When there is no cultivation they maintain themselves by keeping a cart and a pair of bullocks, which they lend on hire. They are worshippers of Mâtâ, and Vâchaṛâ—a Râjpût saint. They are divided into five sub-tribes:—(1) M a c h h u â, from Machhukâṇṭâ, living about Dhori, Kunariâ, &c.; (2) P r â n t h a l i â, in the district of Prânthal, in Kachh; (3) B o r i c h â, in Kânṭhi; (4) S o r a ṭ h i â, who came from Sorath and are scattered over Wâgaḍ; and (5) C h o r â ḍ â, from Chorâd, living about Âdesar, Palâṅswâ, Sanwâ, Umiyu, Jâtâwâḍâ, Belâ, &c. The other sub-tribes do not hold any intercourse with the S o r a ṭ h i â s, because when the latter were in political importance under Râo Naughan of Junâgaḍh, one of them is said to have betrayed him to the Emperor of Dihli, who killed him. Family-names—Hâpâ, &c.

A j â ṇ î s (अजाणि)—A branch of the earlier Jâḍejâs, and the descendants of Ajâji. They hold lands in Suthri, Tappar, Tanwânâ, Kûkdâo, Desalpur, &c.

Â m a r s (आमर)—Descendants of Âmarji, one of the earlier Jâḍejâs.

A t î t s (अतीत)§—These people are known under many appellatives in Kachh. Some marry, and some do not, whence they are called Gharbâris (family men) and Mathḍhâris (ascetics or monks). These are again divided into ten tribes:—1 Gir, 2 Parvat, 3 Sâgar, 4 Pûri, 5 Bhârthi, 6 Van, 7 Araṇ, 8 Saraswati, 9 Tirth, 10 Âshram. The Atît of any one of these sects attaches to his name the name of his sect as a termination, to make up his full name, as Karan-*gar*, Hirâ-*pûri*, Chanchal-*bhârthi*, &c. By this he is distinguished as a member of a particular sect. A member of any of these sects can be a Gharbâri or Mathḍhâri, who, again, may hold intercourse with each other. Most of them are professional beggars, but they take up any profession. They are found as ordinary sipâhis, bankers, or merchants, and also taking a prominent part in the affairs of state at native courts. Bâwâ Rewâgar Kuvargar is one of the greatest bankers of Kachh, and his firm is held in great repute throughout Hindustân for its credit; and Bâwâ Savâigar was highly trusted by the late Ṭhâkur of Bhâunagar. There are three heads of the A t î t s, who are called P i r s; one is the P i r of K a l y â n e ś w a r, another that of A j e p â l, and the third of K o t e ś w a r. The Atîts are also called G o s â i n s.

A u d i c h (औदिच).—These people are generally from Gohelwâḍ, Hâlâr, and Gujarât, and appear to have come to Kachh at different times within the last 250 years. Those living in Wâgaḍ cultivate land, smoke the *hukâ*, and allow remarriage of widows; while the others are priests, reciters of *Purâṇas*, beggars, cooks, &c.

B a l ô c h a s (बलोच)—Originally from Baluchistân; chiefly found in the district of Pâvar.

B â p h a n s (बाफण)—Miyânâ Muhammadans.

B â r â c h a s (बाराच)—A branch of the earlier J â ḍ e j a s, descendants of one Bârâchji, the son of Mulvâji. They are now regarded as mulgrâssias, and live about Nâgrecha, Tehra, &c., chiefly cultivating lands.

B â r a ḍ s (बारड) —Originally Râjpûts, but wow degenerated into K h a v â s.

B h a l o ṭ a s (भलोट)—Degenerated Râjpûts, almost like the K h a v â s; principally to be found in the village of B h a l o ṭ a.

B h a m b h i y â s (भंभिया)—Râjpûts degenerated into Khavâs.

B h a ṇ ḍ â r i s (भंडारी)— Muhammadans in Bhuj.

B h a n s â l î s (भनसाली) were originally Râjpûts of the Solanki race, but have long ago ceased to have any intercourse with them. They put on the sacred thread and consider themselves Kshatriyas. Most of them cultivate lands, and are said to have come with the Jâḍejâs and become their first rayats. Some of them are merchants. They are to be found in the southern and western parts of Kachh. They are also called V e g u s (वेगु).

B h â ṭ s (भाट)—see *Chârans*.

B h â ṭ i â s (भाटिआ)‖—Originally Bhâṭi Râjpûts, to which tribe the Chief of Jesalmer belongs. Like the Jâḍejâs, they are said to be Y â d a v a s. After their migration to Sindh they degenerated, it is said, into fishermen, but the Mahârâja of the V a l a b h â c h â r y a s gained them over to wear

‡ *Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc.* vol. I. p. 287; vol. II. p. 232; Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. II. p. 443; *Trav. in W. India*, pp. 358, 421; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* (1st ed.) I. 539; *Ind. Ant.* vol III. pp. 86, 227; Elliot's *Races of N. W. P.* vol. I. pp. 1, 104, 136, 160, 238, 396.—ED.

§ *J. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 268; Mrs. Postans's *Cutch*, p. 120; *Trans. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. pp. 570, 579, 587; H. H. Wilson's *Rel. Sects*, Works, vol. I. pp. 18, 206, 213, 216 ff.

‖ Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I. pp. 85, 534, vol. II. pp. 186, 211, 213, 260; *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 74; Elliot's *Races*, vol. I. p. 37; *Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc.* vol. II. p. 230 ff.—ED.

the sacred thread, and to follow the rules of his sect with much strictness. They have of late greatly risen in the social scale, and consider themselves almost equal to Vâṇiâs and Brâhmaṇs. They are among the most enterprising merchants, trading with Bombay, Arabia, &c., and some of them have gone as far as the coast of Africa.

Bhaṭṭîs (भट्टी)—Originally Râjpûts, but have become Hindu Khavâs or Muhammadan; they are found chiefly in Bhuj and Mâṇḍavi.

Bhojades (भाजदे) are mulgrâssiâs, an early branch of the Jâḍejâs.

Bhumḍâs (भमडा)—A branch of the Sangârs residing near Gedi and elsewhere in Wâgaḍ.

Bôhâs (बोहा)—Mulgrâssiâs in Abḍâsâ, chiefly to be found in the village called Bôhâ.

Bohorâs (बोहोरा) are found in the large towns of Mâṇḍavi, Bhuj, Anjar, and Muṇḍrâ. From Gujarât, they were originally Hindus, chiefly Brâhmâṇs, but about 700 years ago were made converts by some Arab. They are Shiahs, and their High Priest or Mullâ lives in Surat, who has great authority over them.

Buṭṭâs (बुट्टा)—Originally Hindu, but at present Muhammadan mulgrâssiâs; chiefly to be found in Abḍâsâ and Gurdâ.

Chârans (चारण)¶—There are three divisions of these:—1, Kâchhelâ (Kachhis); 2, Mâruvâ (from Mârwâḍ); and 3, Tûmbels (from Sindh). The last two are the family bards of the Jâḍejâs, and enjoy several villages as *girâs* given by Jâm Râval and the Darbârs of Kachh. The Mâruvâ and Kâchhelâ reside in Mâk, and the Tûmbel in Kâṇṭhi. The Kâchhelâs are money-lenders, and trade by caravans of bullocks. The Chârans in general are on the decline. The difference between a Bhâṭ and a Châraṇ lies chiefly in the latter being a simple reciter of a Râjpût's praise in short rude poetical pieces, while the former is a regular genealogist, and sometimes the historian of the family.

Châvaḍâs (चावडा)*—Once a very powerful ruling race in Kachh,—probably came from the neighbouring Panchâsar of Jayashekhari. One of their kings named Wâgam Châvaḍa, who ruled in Pâtgaḍh in Garḍâ, was killed by Moḍ, the first Sammâ from Sindh. We find traces of their rule here and there in small townships till the end of the 14th century. There is a temple of Mâhadeva at Bhuvaḍ which bears an inscription containing the genealogy of one Vaṇrâ or Vanrâja, and the date Saṁvat 1346. At present the Châvaḍâs have degenerated into Khavâsas, or Muhammadan sipâhis, and one house of pure Râjpût descent can scarcely be found in Kachh.

Chuchiyâs (छुछीया)—Muhammadans of the Miyânâ tribe.

Chugars (छुगेर)—Degenerated Râjpûts, a branch of the Jâḍejas, and reside in Dhang or the district about Lakhpat and Korâ.

Chuvâns (चुवाण), Ḍuḍiâs (डुडीया), and Ḍâbhîs (डाभी) are Khavâsas.

Dals (दल)—Hindus and Muhammadans of Râjpût descent.

Dârâḍs दाराड—Originally Hindus, but now Muhammadan converts.

Dedâs (देदा)—An earlier branch of the Jâḍejâs, from Dedâ, the second in descent from Jâm Lâkha Jâḍeja. They are in large numbers in Wâgaḍ, in Chorâḍ, Machhukâṇṭhâ, and Hâlâr. The chief town of their head is Kaṇṭhkot. They are also styled Virbhadra. They are proud of the martial and enterprising spirit of their ancestors. Dedâs residing near Shikârpur are called Kârâs.

Dhangs (धंग)—This is not a particular tribe, but the name given to earlier settlers descended from Rao Râyadhan, the son of Lâkhâ Jâḍejâ, and who have either become poor peasants on account of their lands having been sold, or divided among the fraternity, or encroached upon by their powerful brethren of more recent descent from Rao Khangârji, the founder of Bhuj. The following are among the principal Dhang tribes:—Abḍâ, Âmar, Bârâch, Bhojde, Buttâ, Gâhâ, Gajan, Hothi, Jâḍâ, Jesar, Kanadde, Kâyâ, Korat, Mokalsi, Pasayâ, Reladiâ, Varamsi, &c.

Ḍheḍs (ढेड)†—The lowest caste among the Hindus, and found in every town and village. From their *nukhs*, or family names, most of them appear to have been originally of Râjpût de-

¶ Malcolm's *Cent. Ind.* vol. II. p. 132; *J. R. As. Soc.* vol. I. pp. 239, 247; vol. II. p. 281; Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I. p. 702; *Tr. B. Lit. Soc.* vol. II. p. 232; Elliot's *Races*, vol. I. pp. 17, 271, 304, 321, 327; Johnston's *Selections from the Mahâbhârat*, p. 207; *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 226.—ED.

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 145; Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I. p. 101; Elliot's *Hist. of India*, by Dowson, vol. I. p. 208.—ED.

† *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. pp. 130, 226, 229; Elliot's *Races*, vol. p. 80.—ED.

scent. For instance, we find among them Solankis, Châvaḍâs, Jhâlâs, Vaghelâs, &c. The Hindus consider themselves polluted by their touch. Their profession is that of weavers, cobblers, wood-splitters, and tanners. They also take the hides and entrails from the carcasses of dead animals. They are also called Meghvâls, and serve as guides to government officers.

Gagḍâs (गगडा)—Miyânâs.

Gâhâs (गाहा) are said to belong to Dhang, and reside in Abdâsâ.

Gajaṇs (गजण)—An offshoot of the earlier Jâḍejâs, descended from Gajanji, the fourth in descent from Lâkha Jâḍejâ. Originally mulgrâssiâs, but at present Muhammadan converts.

Ghcsâ (घोसा)—A sub-tribe of Miyânâs.

Girnârâs (गिरनारा)—A large and wealthy class of Brâhmaṇs, originally from Junâgaḍh.

Gohels (गोहेल)‡—There are only two houses in Kachh of pure Gohel Râjpût blood, the rest being Khavâsas.

Gujar Râjpûts (गुजर राजपूत)—When the Vaghelâs came into Kachh the Gujar Râjpûts accompanied them, and it was chiefly through their assistance that they became masters of that part of the country, as a reward for which they obtained the right of tilling the land. They subsequently defended the Vâghelâs from invasions from without. They are found in the Vaghelâ towns of Goḍi, Palâswâ, Jatâvâḍâ, Relâ, Lodrâṇi, Umio, Sanvâ, &c., where they live by cultivating lands. They are of the following races:—Makvânâ, Chanesar, Khod, Châvaḍâ, Chahuvân, Gohel, Umat, Ḍuḍiâ, Dâbhi, Pâḍariâ, Chând, Parmâr, Tank (Tuar), &c. They have no objection to the remarriage of their widows, as also to the appearance of their women in public.

Hâlâs (हाला)—An earlier offshoot of the Jâḍejâs, descended from Gajanji, fourth in descent from Jâm Lâkha the Jâḍeja. Hâlâji was the second son of Gajanji, who, after a long struggle with the descendants of Manâi (who are called Kers, from his having killed his brother Unaḍ in Sindh), subdued all the villages in the south, middle, and west of Kachh. Jâm Râval was descended from this Hâlâji, who conquered the western part of Kâṭhiâwâḍ from the Jeṭhvâs, and gave it the name of Hâlâr, where he founded the town of Nowânagar and made it his capital. The Jâm of Nowânagar is descended from him. Those who remained in Kachh are in enjoyment of some villages as their *gi* [illegible] in the districts of Kâṇṭhi and Hâlâchov[illegible]i.

Halepotrâ (हालेपोत्रा), Narangpotrâ (नारंगपोत्रा)—Sindhi Muhammadans in Banni.

Hiṅgorâ (हिंगोरा,) Hiṅgorjâ (हिंगोरजा)—Muhammadan tribes from Sindh.

Hothîs (होथी)§—Descendants of Hothiji, the brother of Gajanji. They are Mulgrâssiâs, and reside in villages about Lakhpat, as also in Rehâ, Jâmbudi, Tumbadi, &c., in Kâṇṭhi.

Jâḍâs (जाडा)—An offshoot of the earlier Jâḍejâs, now reckoned among the Dhangs.

Jâḍejâs (जाडेजा)||—The chief ruling race, who claim to be descended from Krishṇa, who belonged to the Yâdava tribe. They were probably driven or went out of India after the Yâdavâsthali, or civil war among the Yâdavas, and after many adventures, as they allege, in Egypt and Arabia, came to Ghazni, where they killed the reigning emperor Feruzshâh, and ascended the throne. They were, however, deposed by Sultânshâh, the son of Feruzshâh. After wandering for some time they settled under Jâm Lâkhiâr in Nagar Samai, in Sindh, whence Môḍ and Manâi, after killing their brother Unâḍ in order to obtain the throne, were obliged to flee into Kachh, where their relative Wâgam Châvaḍâ was reigning; here also they killed Wâgam Châvaḍâ, reduced the seven Vâghelâ tribes (सात सांध वाघेला), and obtained possession of the province. After five reigns the line became extinct, and Kachh was in the hands of the rulers of Aṇahillapâṭan for some time; but about Saṁvat 1204, Lâkhâ, the son of Jâḍâ (whence the name Jâḍejâs), came into Kachh, and gave name to the reigning tribe.

Jats (जत)¶—A pastoral tribe originally from Aleppo in Turkey. Once they held some part of Kachh as rulers, but were driven by the Jâḍejâs into Warai and Bajânâ, where they rule

‡ Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I. p. 114.—ED.

§ Wilson's *Infanticide*, pp. 318ff.—ED.

|| Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I. p. 85; Elliot's *Hist.* vol. I. pp. 217, 496; Burnes's *Narrative*, &c. pp. 147, 232; Postans's *Cutch*, pp. 13ff; *Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc.* vol. II. pp. 220, 224; Wilson's *Infanticide*, &c.—ED.

¶ Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 227; Tieffenthaler's *Desc. de l'Inde*, II. 206; Elliot's *Races*, vol. I. pp. 130, 179, 299ff., *Hist.* vol. I. pp. 104, 119, 151, 190; Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I. p. 106; vol. II. pp. 370, 481; Cunningham's *Arch. Rep.* vol. II. pp. 50, 54ff.—ED.

at present. They are in the north and west of Kachh.

Jesars (जेसर)* are mulgrâssiâs regarded as Dhangs, residing about Navinâl and Berâjâ.

Jhâlâs (झाला)†—There are very few of this tribe in the country.

Kanaḍes (कनडे)—Mulgrâssiâ Dhangs residing in Wâgaḍ.

Kânḍâgarâs (कांडागरा)—Early Râjpût settlers residing about the village of that name.

Kâṭhîs (काठी)—There is not a single Kâṭhî to be found in Kachh.

Kâyâs (कांया)—Mulgrâssiâ Dhangs residing about Vadvâ.

Kâyasths (कायस्थ)—Chiefly from Kaṭhiâwâḍ and Mârwâd, about 100 families. They are priests, writers, and also sepoys.

Kêrs (केर)—Descendants of Manai, who killed his brother Unaḍ. At present landholders in Pipar, Polâi, &c., in Gardâ. (See Hâlâs.)

Khâravâs (खारवा) is the name applied to native sailors who are generally Wâghers and Miyânâs.

Khoḍas (खोड)—Gujar Râjpûts.

Khojâs (खोजा)—Shiah Muhammadans found in every part of Kachh, but chiefly in Nâgalpur, Bhadreśwar, and Bhârâpur. Most of them were originally Hindus of the Bhâṭia caste. They have a separate religion of their own, consisting of the *Das Avatâras* of the Hindus grafted on the Shiah tenets of the Muhammadans. Their high priest is His Highness Agâ Khân of Bombay, to whom they pay extraordinary reverence. They do not go to the masjid, but have a separate place of worship called the Khânâ. There are some reformers of late among them who, rejecting the mixed creed, have become Sunnis. They are chiefly cultivators in Kachh, but are enterprising merchants in Bombay and Zanzibar, China, &c.

Kolîs (कोली)‡—These are aborigines in Wâgaḍ and Anjâr Chovisi, and live by robbery, though now they find it hard to carry on this profession, and have become cultivators.

Kuṇbîs (कणबी)—An agricultural tribe. They are subdivided into Kaḍvâ, Ánjanâ, and Lêvâ, chiefly residing in Wâgaḍ, Prânthal, Mâk and Kâṇṭhi. There are Momnâs but no Kaḍvas in Kachh. They are from Gujarât.

Kshatrîs (क्षत्री) call themselves Brahma Kshatris, and consider themselves the descendants of those who survived from the persecution of Paraśurâma. After the persecution they are said to have ruled in Sindh. They were ousted from Sindh by a race of foreigners called *Barbars*. They then went to the goddess Hinglâj, who gave them certain professions. These people are a numerous class in every part of Kachh, and are generally dyers, printers, carpenters, turners, silk-weavers, traders, and Kârbhâris. The celebrated Sundarji Śivji, who aided Col. Walker and others in reducing Kâthiawâḍ and Kachh to tranquillity, belonged to this caste.

Lohâṇâs (लोहाणा)§—Originally Râjputs of the Râṭhoḍ race who were driven from Kanauj into Sindh, whence they migrated into Kachh about the 13th century. At present they wear the sacred thread like the Bhansâlis, and call themselves Kshatris. Once they took a leading part in the affairs of Kachh, and were its most able kârbhâris and generals. They take up any prof[ess]ion that suits them. They are porters, menial servants, vegetable-sellers, shopkeepers, cultivators, clerks, and kârbhâris. Some of them are as handsome as the Râjpûts of the purest blood. They are to be found in every part of Kachh.

Mâhâjans (महाजन) is not the name of a particular tribe, but that given to the higher classes of Hindus as a guild or public body. It is also applied to Vâṇiâs and other mercantile classes exclusively, on account of their acting as leaders of the public.

Makwâṇâs (मकवाणा)‖—Hindus as well as Muhammadans. Also a family name among the Miyâṇâs.

Mañdhrâs (मंधरा)—Hindus and Muhammadans in Abḍâsâ.

Mañgariâs (मंगरिआ)—Muhammadans.

Mâyaḍâs (मायडा)—A low sort of Râjpûts.

Memaṇs (मेमण) are Sunni Muhammadan converts, chiefly from Lohâṇâs, originally from Sindh, found in every part of Kachh. They follow all sorts of professions. They are enterprising merchants in Bombay and elsewhere.

---

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 76; Elliot's *Races*, vol. I. p. 144. —ED.

† Wilson's *Infanticide*, p. 159.

‡ Elliot's *Races*, vol. I. p. 155.

§ *J. R. A. Soc.* vol. I. p. 239, 247ff.; *Trans. R. A. Soc.* vol. III. p. 564; *Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc.* vol. II. p. 232; Elliot's *Hist.* vol. I. pp. 145, 151, 192.—ED.

‖ *Asiat. Res.* vol. IX. p. 200; Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I. p. 112.—ED.

M i y â ṇ â s (मीयाणा)¶ reside chiefly in the district of M i y â n i, which receives its name from them. They serve as sepoys, and also live by robbery. They are of the following family and sub-tribal names, some of which indicate their Râjpût origin, though they came originally from Sindh and have long been Musalmâns:—Bânthâ, Bâphan, Bâpû, Bhaloṭa, Bhâmdâ, Bhukerâ, Chalângâ, Chânià, Châvaḍâ, Chhuchhiâ, Dândhi, Dhusâ, Gagadâ, Hoḍâ, Jâm, Jesâ, Jesar, Jhâbai, Kakal, Kandechâ, Katiâ, Kechâ, Kevar, Khârâ, Khirâ, Khod, Lâḍak, Lûniâ, Makwâṇâ, Malak, Maṇkâ, Mathadâ, Mayântrâ, Mayâtrâ, Meḍ, Mendhâ, Mokhâ, Nângiâ, Notiâr, Pâḍâ, Padehâr, Parit, Patrâ, Pehâ, Râjâ, Râyamâ, Rochâ, Sâd or Sâl, Sândhâni, Sannâ, Sayechâ, Sedôt, Siâriâ, Sirâchâs, Sisoliâ, Sodhâ, Trâyiâ, Trilângâ, Vârâ.

M o ḍ h Brâhmaṇs (मोढब्राह्मण) are from Machhû-Kâṇṭhâ in Kathiâwâḍ. They do the duties of other Brâhmaṇs, and are also reciters of Purâṇas, copyists, priests, cooks, &c.

M o ḍ s (मोड) are the descendants of Moḍ, the grandson of Gajanji, son of Jioji and brother of Abḍâ. They are at present mulgrâssiâs, and are to be found in the Moḍâsâ district. Moḍ became a Muhammadan, and worshipped one Bau-ddin-Pir. He undertook an expedition to Hâlâr, where he died.* His body was transferred to Moḍâsâ, where he was buried according to his directions, at Moḍ-Kubâ. There is at present at Moḍ-Kubâ a masjid in the shape of a four-sided temple with pyramidal roof, which contains his sepulchre. He is worshipped there by the Moḍs as a *pir*, or saint.

M o k â s—An offshoot of the M o k a l s i Rajpûts.

N â g a r s (नागर) do not figure among the early settlers. The first among them came to Kachh from Ahmadâbâd in the time of Rao Khangârji, A.D. 1550. One or two families followed him from Pâṭṭan and Dholkâ; but they did not muster strong till the time of Lakhpatji. They do not seem to have played a prominent part in the affairs of the state, except one Lakshmidâs. There are about 465 families, including their priests, in the whole of Kachh. They are well known as a political race. They are divided into Vaḍnâgara and Visalnâgara. The latter are landholders.

N a n d w â ṇ â s (नंदवाणा) are from Marwâḍ. They are found about Anjâr, and are chiefly traders.

N e r s (नेर) and N o ḍ e s (नोडे) are Muhammadans from Sindh.

N o t i y â r s (नोतियार)—Originally Samâs, but now Muhammadans; scattered throughout Kachh. Jamâdâr Fateh Muhammad belonged to this tribe.

O ṭ â r s (ओठार)—Muhammadans about Suthri.

P a d y â r s (पड्यार)—Muhammadans about Tehra and in Mâk.

P â ë r s (पाएर)—Mulgrâssiâs about Roha; reckoned among the Dhangs.

P a l s (पल)—Muhammadan converts from Bhaṭi Râjpûts.

P a s â y â s (पसाइया)—A branch of Kanadde Râjpûts among the Dhangs in Wâgaḍ.

P e h â s (पेहा)—Râjpûts near Nakhatrâṇâ.

P h u l s (फुल)—Muhammmadans near Bitta, Tehra, &c.

P o ä r s (पोअर)—Sindhi Muhammadans.

P o k a r ṇ â s or P u s h k a r ṇ â s (पोकरणा) are a numerous class of Brâhmaṇs, chiefly from Mârwâḍ and Sindh, and are the priests of the Bhâṭiâs.

R â j a ḍ s (राजड)—Muhammadans.

R â j g a r s (राजगर)—Brâhmaṇs of the Audich stock, so-called from their accepting the priestship of the ruling race. They are at present cultivators as well as priests of the Jâdejâs.

R a m d e p o t r â s (रामदेपोत्रा)—A branch of Sodhâ Râjpûts residing in Khâvadâ.

R â y m â s (रायमा)—Muhammadans originally from Mokalsi Râjpûts in the north of Kachh.

R e b â r i s (रबारी)†—also called Bhopâs (भोपा) from their being the priests of Mâtâ. They chiefly tend flocks of sheep, goats, and camels. Their women make wool yarn, from which they get blankets and their *saḍis* woven by the Dheḍs. They are from Mârwâḍ, but most of them have the peculiar Persian physiognomy. One of their family names is Âgâ, which seems to support their Persian descent. They are tall and robust, and have an oval face and aquiline nose. They live for days almost solely on the milk of camels.

¶ Burnes's *Narrative*, p. 236; Postans's *Cutch*, p. 135; Wilson's *Infanticide*, p. 349; *Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc.* vol. II. p. 232.—Ed.

* Perhaps he was the same who destroyed Ghumlî about Saṁ. 1369.—Ed.

† *Jour. Bom. Lit. Soc.* vol. II. p. 232.

Reladiyâs (रेलडीया)—Râjpûts about Nironâ.

Sâchorâs (साचोरा)—Brâhman cultivators in the Wâghelâ towns, originally from Mârwâḍ.

Samâs (समा)‡—Descendants of Jâm Samâ, the son of Jâm Narpat, who built Nagar Samai in Sindh and ruled there. His posterity came into Kachh and settled in Pachham, it is said, about a thousand years ago, where they are still to be found as Muhammadan grâssiâs.

Samejâs (समेजा)—A branch of the Samâs, herdsmen in Banni.

Sañghârs (संघार)§ were one of the tribes that accompanied the Samâs from Sindh. They were subdivided into four castes when they entered Kachh. Other tribes of Râjpûts, such as Châvaḍa, Châhuvân, &c., joined them, and there are at present seventy-two *nukhs* or family names. Some are Muhammadans and some Hindus, but all worship the *Jakhs* (यक्ष), which are supposed to be Romans or some foreign race that saved them from the oppressions of Puvarâ the brother of Lâkhâ Phulâni, by killing him. The Hindus are to be found in Kâṇṭhi, and the Muhammadans in Abḍâsâ, Moḍâsâ, and Mâk. They are originally from Arabia.

Sâraswats (सारस्वत)—Brâhmaṇs chiefly from Sindh, but some have come from Hindustân and Gujarât. They once held important posts under the state, and appear to have played a prominent part in the early history of Kachh. They are a very numerous class in every part of the province, but are fast degenerating. They are the family priests of the Kshatris, Lohânâs, &c., with whom they eat, and follow any other employment. They have no objection to go to Arabia, Mozambique, &c. They are priests, shopkeepers, merchants, sipâhis, and gunners.

Seḍâts (सेड़ात)—Muhammadans in Bhuj and the village of Serât.

Sindhal (सिंधल)—A branch of Soḍhâ Râjpûts in Khadir and Kâṇṭhi. They are regarded as Dhangs because they were once the rulers in Pachham. The name is patronymic.

Śirâchas (शीराच)—Degenerated Râjpûts.

Soḍhâs (सोढा)||—Hindu and Muhammadan Râjpûts in the north of the province. They cultivate lands and serve as sepoys.

Solaṅkis (सोलंकी)—Except the Wâghelâ grâssiâs in Wâgaḍ, there are no Râjpûts of this race in Kachh; but there are many among the Khavâsas bearing this name.

Śrâvaks or Jains (श्रावक) are Wânias mostly of the Oswâl and Śrîmâli castes. The former are cultivators, and are chiefly in Abḍâsâ and Kâṇṭhi. They were originally Râjpûts, but were converted to the religion of the Jains by their missionaries.

Śrîmâlîs (श्रिमाली)—Chiefly from Kathiâwâḍ and Mârwâḍ, mostly cultivators in Wâgaḍ.

Sumarâs (सुमरा)¶—Muhammadans from Sindh, where they once ruled. Now they serve as sipâhis, and also cultivate land in Pâvar and Gardâ.

Trâyiâs (त्राया)—Hindus and Muhammadans.

Ustiyâs (उस्तीया)—A branch of the Jâḍejâs, and hold lands as Hindu Grâssiâs. Also a clan among the Miyânâs.

Wâghelâs (वाघेला)*—Originally from Sardhâr, near Rajkot. Once they were very powerful in the east of Kachh, but they were subjugated by Moḍ, the first Samâ who came to Kachh, and by his successors. They still hold some towns of importance in Wâgaḍ and Prânthal, such as Gheḍi, Belâ, Jatawâḍâ, Lodrani, Bhimâsar, Palâswâ, &c., and are tributary to the Bhuj Durbâr.

Wâghers (वाघेर)—The term has nothing to do with Wâgaḍ. They are both Hindus and Muhammadans, and serve as sailors. They are also fishermen.

Wâṇiâs (वाणिया)—There are nine subdivisions among these,—Śrimâli, Oswâl, Modh, Mesri, Kandoi, Soni, Bhojak, Sorathiâ, Vâiḍâ. Of these, the Oswâls, Bhojaks, and Śrimâlis are Jains, and the rest are Vaishṇavas. They are also subdivided into Visâs and Dasâs. Most of the Oswâls are cultivators, and are found in those parts of Kachh where the best soil is available. Śrimâlis are from Thal and Mârwaḍ, and are generally engaged in trade. They are chiefly found in the eastern part of Kachh, and Wâgaḍ.

‡ Burnes's *Narrative*, &c. p. 147; *Jour. R. As. S.* vol. I. pp. 204, 233, 242ff.; Elliot's *Hist.* vol. I. pp. 145, 191, 215, 266, 272.—ED.

§ *Trans. R. A. Soc.* vol. III. p. 583; *Jour. R. As. S.* vol. I. pp. 203, 212.—ED.

|| Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I. p. 93; Elliot's *Hist.* vol. I. p. 217; Postans's *Cutch*, p. 136ff.; *Tr. Bom. Lit. Soc.* vol. II. pp. 236 ff.—ED.

¶ Elliot's *Hist.* vol. I. pp. 216, 266ff., 343; *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. I. p. 24, 43, 233.—ED.

* Elliot's *Races*, vol. I. p. 49; *Tr. Bom. Lit. Soc.* vol. II. p. 234.—ED.

The Modhs are a political race, and are from Môdherâ, in Gujarât.

Waramsis (वरमसी)—Dhang Râjpûts in Gardâ and Pâvar. They are an off-shoot of the Samâs.

Weṇs (वेण)—Muhammadans who serve as sipâhis.

Wirârs (वेरार)—Dhang Râjpûts about Pâvar and Lakhpat.

## SANSKṚIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. Ć.S.

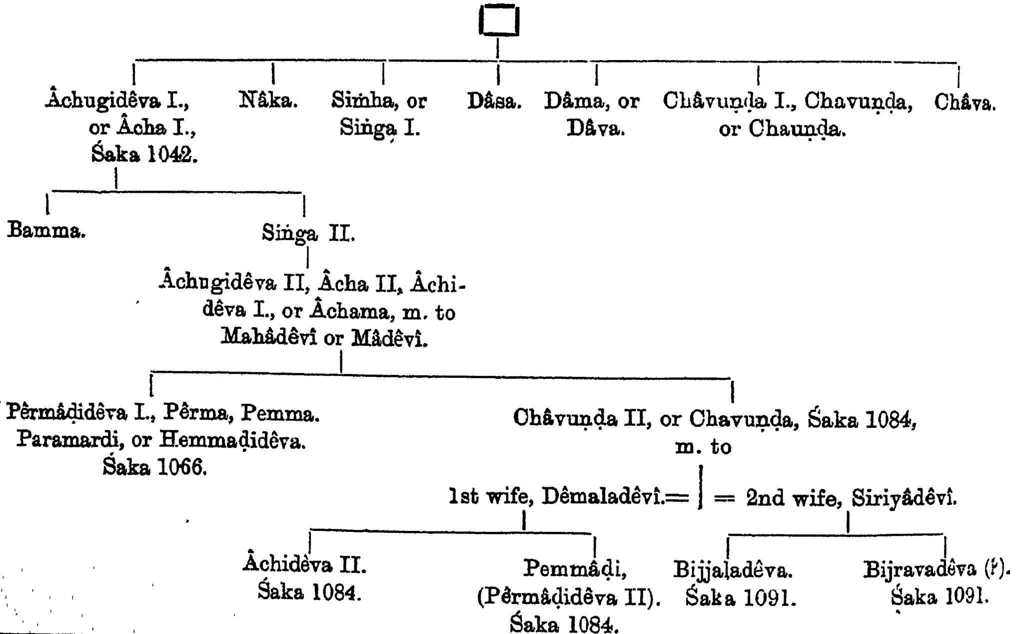
(*Continued from p.* 156.)

### No. XVI.

No. 16 of Mr. Hope's collection is an inscription in the Old Canarese characters and language on a stone-tablet in a temple at Paṭṭadakal, the ancient Paṭṭadakisuvoḷal, on the Malaprabhâ, about eight miles to the east of Bâdâmi in the Kalâdgi District. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a *liṅga* and priest in a shrine; on their right, a figure of Basava, with the sun above it; and on their left, a cow and calf, with the moon above them. The inscription consists of seventy-four lines, of about thirty-eight letters each. At the bottom of the tablet there is another short inscription of ten lines; but it cannot be read in the photograph.

The inscription is one of the family of the Great Chieftains of the Sindavaṁśa, who were the local representatives of the Châlukya kings, and is of the time of Châvuṇḍa II, the subordinate of Nûrmaḍitaila or Tailapadêva II.* It records grants made to the god Vijayêśvaradêva in the Śaka year 1084 (A.D. 1162-3), the Subhânu *saṁvatsara* †, by Châvuṇḍa's chief wife, Dêmaladêvî, and his eldest son, Âchidêva II, who were governing, apparently during Châvuṇḍa's lifetime and as his representatives, at the capital of Paṭṭadakisuvoḷal.

The text of this inscription, with a translation, has been published by me in the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* (vol. XI, No. xxxi, pp. 259 *et seqq.*) Together with the following, and with four other Sindavaṁśa inscriptions at Narêgal and Koḍikop in the Rôṇ Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District, published by me in the same volume, it establishes the following genealogy and dates of the family. Nâka and his younger brothers were the uterine brothers of Âchugidêva I.; their parents' names are not given:—




* Śaka 1072 to 1104,—Sir W. Elliot.

† According to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, Śaka 1084 was the Chitrabhânu *saṁvatsara*, and the Subhânu *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 1085.

These six inscriptions contain many historical allusions, but not all of them can be explained at present. The government of Âchugidêva I. included at first only the Kisukâḍu‡ Seventy and the Nareyaṅgal§ Twelve, and his capital was Rambarage or Rambirage.|| Afterwards he acquired, in the conquests achieved by him at the command of his master, the Châlukya emperor Vikramâditya the Great, the Kêlavâḍi¶ Three-hundred and the Bâgaḍage or Bâgaḍige* Seventy, and also took, probably from one of the later Kâdambas of Goa, Gôve and the Koṅkaṇa. A certain Bhôja, with whom he came in contact, is probably Bhôja I., of the family of the Śilâhâra Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras of Vaḷavâḍa near Kôlhâpûr, whose date is about Śaka 1050 (A.D. 1128-9). A Jayakêśî, who was driven back, perhaps in an attempt to recover Goa, by Pêrmâḍidêva I., would seem to be the Kâdamba Jayakêśî III, whose date is about Śaka 1060 (A.D. 1138-9). The same prince repulsed and pursued Biṭṭiga of Dhôrasamudra, *i.e.* the Hoysaḷa king Vishṇuvardhana or Biṭṭidêva of Dvârâvatîpura, whose date is about the same. Sir W. Elliot has shown that the Hoysaḷa kings first obtained a permanent footing to the north of the Tuṅgabhadrâ in the person of Vishṇuvardhana's grandson, Vîraballâḷa, whose date is about Śaka 1113 (A.D. 1191-2). It would seem, therefore, that it was the Great Chieftains of the Sindavaṁśa who held them in check for the Châlukyas up to that time, and that the Sindavaṁśa finally succumbed to and disappeared in the conquests of the Hoysaḷa dynasty.

No. XVII.

No. 1 of Mr. Hope's collection is another Sindavaṁśa inscription, a fragment, in the Old Canarese characters and language, on a stone-tablet in an old temple, now used as a house by Râjyâ Pûjârî, at Aihoḷe. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a standing figure of some god or goddess; on its right two seated figures, with the sun above them; and on its left, a cow and calf, with the moon above them. The fragment consists of twenty-four lines of about thirty letters each. The text, with translation, has been published by me in the above-mentioned volume of the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* pp. 274 *et seqq.* Since publishing it, I have seen the original and have ascertained the date, which cannot be deciphered in the photograph; lines 23-4 run "[23] * * * *rájyaṁga(ge)-yuttamire* || *Svasti śrímachchálukya-[-vikramadêvavarsha]* *94neya* [24] *virôdhisaṁva-[-tsarada]*", &c. Accordingly it is an inscription of the time of the princes Bijjaladêva and Bijravadêva (?), the sons of Châvuṇḍa II by his second wife Siriyâdêvî, who were governing the Kisukâḍu Seventy, the Bâgaḍage Seventy, and the Kêlavâḍi Three-hundred, and the date of it is the ninety-fourth year of the era of the Châḷukya Vikramâditya the Great, or Śaka 1091 (A.D. 1169-70), the Virôdhi *saṁvatsara*. The portion containing the grant which the inscription was intended to commemorate is lost.

No. XVIII.

This is another copper-plate inscription, in the Cave-alphabet characters and the Sanskrit language, from Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection. The plates are four in number, marked with numerals; and in this instance the inscription commences on the *inside* of the first plate and ends on the *inside* of the last plate. Dr. Burnell has already published† a transcription of this inscription and a facsimile, which in some respects is better than Sir W. Elliot's; in preparing my transcription, I have made use of both.

It records a grant of the Great King Vijayanandivarmâ, the son of the Great King Chaṇḍavarmâ, of the family of the Śâlaṅkâyanas.‡‡ No era is referred to, nor is even the year of Vijayanandivarmâ's reign given. In Sir W. Elliot's facsimiles I have another copper-plate inscription§§ of Vijayanandivarmâ and his Yuvamahârâja, whose name seems to be Vijayatuṅ-

‡ Locality not known.

§ Or 'Narayaṅgal, Nareyagal, Narayagal, or Narigal. The etymology is probably '*nariya-kal(kallu)*', *the stone of the jackal.*

|| Locality not known.

¶ Perhaps Kelavaḍi, about ten miles to the north of Bâdâmi.

* Locality not known.

† *So.-Ind. Palæo.*, p. 86, and Pl. xx. and xxi.

‡‡ Descendants of Viśvâmitra. Perhaps these are the 'Solankis' of Colonel Tod, who are included in catalogue of the thirty-six royal races, and who for a long time ruled over 'Anhilvâḍapattana' in Gujarât. Colonel Tod identifies the 'Solankis' with the Châlukyas; but this identification is rejected by Sir Walter Elliot, on the grounds that "The 'Solankis' were one of the four Agnikulas, whereas the Châlukyas always profess themselves of lunar origin." The Śâlaṅkâyanas, however, being descendants of Viśvâmitra, were of lunar extraction.

§§ Probably the second one mentioned by Dr. Burnell himself, and found, even by him, to be "almost entirely illegible."

gavarmâ or Vijayabuddhavarmâ ||; but in this, also, I cannot discover any date, and the characters are, in fact, so rude and indistinct that I doubt whether a transcription of it can be made. The language, even, is doubtful, but seems to be Prâkṛit or Pâli, as the first line commences '[*Sva-*]-*sti śrîvijayanandi-varmmamahârâjassa*', and in line 2, again, we have the genitive '*yuvamahârâjassa.*'

As regards the date of these kings and the locality of their capital, Vĕṅgî,—I can only quote from Dr. Burnell¶, who, on palæographical grounds, refers the present inscription to about the fourth century A.D.:—"That the dynasty, to which the inscription given in Plates xx and xxi belongs, preceded the Châlukyas, was first pointed out by Sir W. Elliot in the *Madras Journal* (vol. XI, pp. 302-6). The capital (Veṅgî) appears to have entirely vanished; it is said to have been the place now called Pedda Veṅgi or Vegi in the Krishṇa District, but there are several places of the same name in the neighbourhood. As in the Telugu *Mahâbhârata*, which belongs to the twelfth century A. D., Rajamundry is called the Nayakaratnam of Veṅgidêśa, the old capital must have been deserted long before that time. Hiouen Thsang (iii, pp. 105-110) calls the small kingdom that he visited 'Ân-ta-lo' (Andhra), and the capital 'Ping-ki-lo'. It appears to me that this is intended for Veṅgî; the 'lo' being merely the locative suffix '-lo' of the Telugu nouns, naturally mistaken by the worthy Chinese pilgrim monk for a part of the word. Julien's suggestion 'Viṅkhila' only fails in there not being the slightest trace of such a place. The 'î' in Veṅgî is uncertain; it occurs both short and long in the inscriptions.*" * * * "The origin of this kingdom does not probably go back beyond the second century A. D" * * * "This dynasty was supplanted, in the latter half of the seventh century A. D., by a branch of the Châlukyas established at Kalyâṇa about the beginning of the fifth century A.D."

TRANSCRIPTION.

*First plate.*

[1] स्वस्ति [।।] विजयवेङ्गीपुराद्भगवच्चित्ररथस्वामिपादानुद्दया(ध्या)तो बप्पभ-

[2] ट्टारकपादभक्तः परमभागवतश्शालङ्कायनो महाराजा(ज)च-

*Second plate; first side.*

[3] ण्डवर्म्मणस्सूनुर्ज्येष्ठो महाराजश्रीविजयनन्दि†वर्म्मा कुडु(?)हारविषये

[4] विदेनूरपल्लिकाग्रामे मुत्यद‡सहितान्ग्राम्य(म्या)न्समाज्ञापयति [।।] अस्ति [।]

|| The original has, l. 3, 'Vijayabuṅgavarmmassa,' and in the margin, a little above the line, there is the character '*ddhx*'—differing not much from '*nga*', as there written,—apparently intended to be introduced somewhere in the line as a correction.

¶ *So.-Ind. Palæo.*, p. 14, and note 2 below the same.

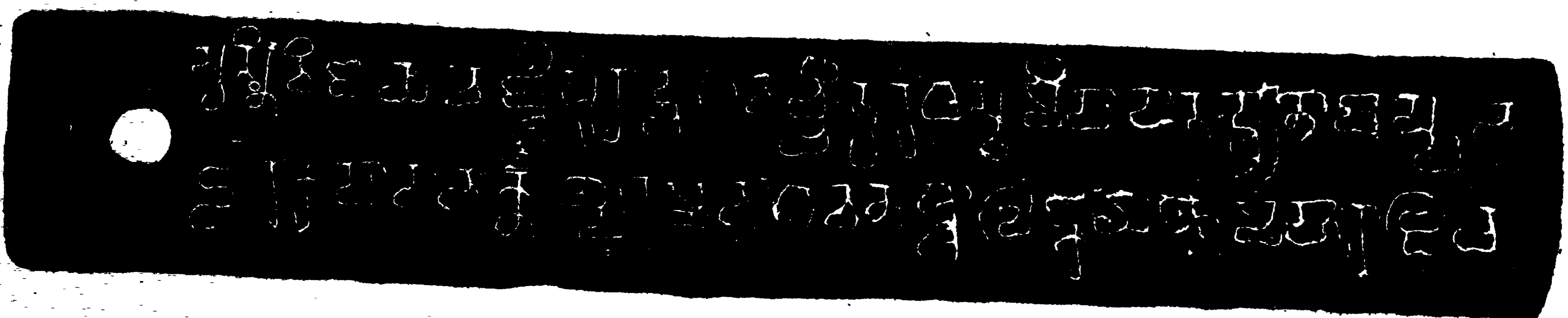
* In his table of Addenda and Corrigenda, Dr. Burnell, on Mr. Kittel's information, gives reasons for considering 'Vĕṅgi', with the 'i' *short*, to be the correct form; but, unless there is a misprint, he finally prefers Vĕṅgî, with the final *long*, as the correct form, on the analogy of the Tamil form in a Tanjore inscription. In the present inscription the final vowel is distinctly long. In metrical passages in Canarese books, which must of necessity be more or less modern, the final vowel might be made either long or short as might be found most convenient; compare 'Kiṇḍi', the final vowel of which, everywhere else short, is made long for the sake of the metre in line 3 of No. VII of my Raṭṭa Inscriptions, *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, No. xxix, vol. X.

† The vowel 'i' is hardly discernible in Sir W. Elliot's facsimile, but is distinct in Dr. Burnell's.

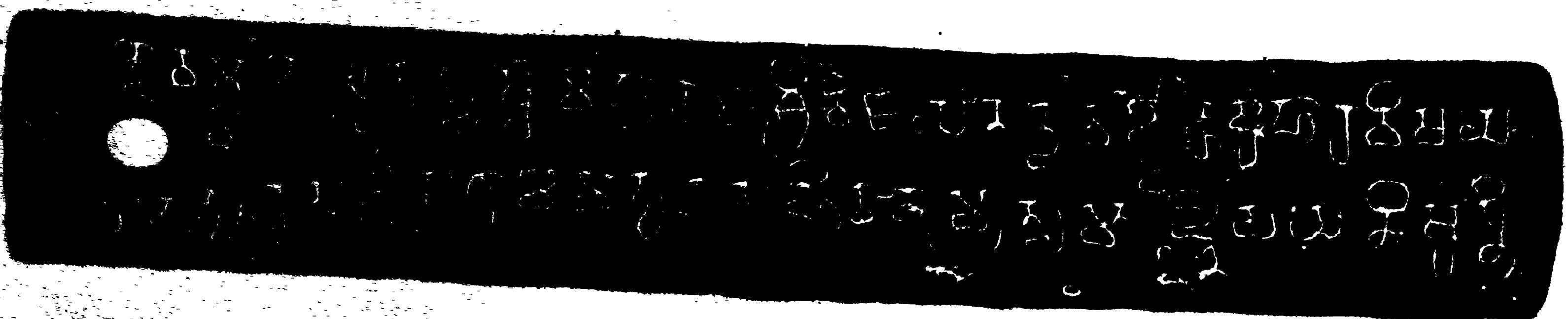
‡ Dr. Burnell reads मुन्यड as a proper name, but the third letter is not the same character as that in the syllable which he reads with certainty, and I doubtfully, as ड्ड in the preceding line, nor the same character as that in the syllable which he reads as ड, and I as द, in this same line. For मुन्यड or मुन्यद as a common noun, I can find no meaning; as a proper name, it is out of place here. Some correction of the text is evidently required. Now, the second syllable may be either न्य or त्य. For, the characters त् and न्, the former *with* a loop at the lower part, and the latter *without* a loop, are constantly interchanged in the older inscriptions; so constantly that such instances can scarcely be regarded as mistakes of the engravers. There are instances of this in the original of No. XV of this series. In the present case, compare the *incorrect* form of न्, *with* the loop, in the syllables नु, line 3; नू, and न्या, l. 4; ना, once in l. 5, four times in l. 6, and twice in l. 7; न, l. 9; and नु, l. 11, with the *correct* form of the same letter, *without* the loop, wherever else it occurs in this inscription; and compare the *incorrect* form of त्, *without* the loop, in the syllables त्र, l. 1; त्कु and र्त्ति, (the first त्), l. 5; and त्रा, l. 10, with the *correct* form of the same letter, *with* the loop, wherever else it occurs in this inscription. The corrected reading, which I would suggest as most in accordance with the letters engraved and the sense of the passage, is [अ]मात्यादि, which I adopt in the translation.

# COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE KINGS OF THE VĔṄGÎ COUNTRY.

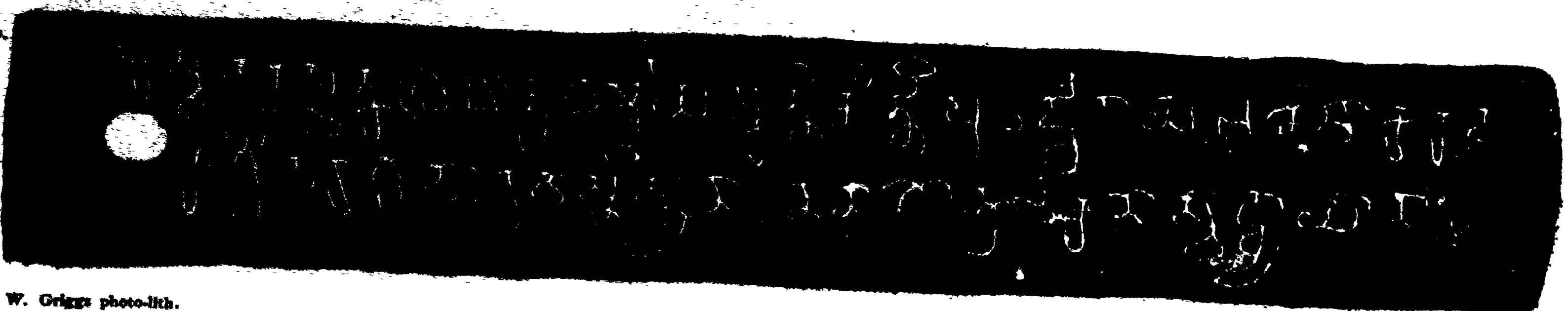
I.



IIa.



IIb.



W. Griggs photo-lith.

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE KINGS OF THE VĔṄGÎ COUNTRY.

*III a.*

*III b.*

*IV.*

W. Griggs photo-lith.

*Second plate ; second side.*

[5] अस्माभिरस्मत्कुलगोत्रधर्म्मयX(यशX)कान्तिकीर्त्तिप्रवर्द्धनाय एतेषा(षां) कुरव-

[6] कश्रीवराग्राहारवास्तव्यानाम् नानागोत्रचरणस्वाद्धया(ध्या)यानाम्

*Third plate ; first side.*

[7] सप्तपञ्चाशदुत्तरशतानाम्ब्राह्मणानामेष ग्रामः प्रत्तः [।।] तदवेत्य

[8] देशाधिपत्यायुक्तकवल्लभराजपुरुषादिभिस्सर्व्वपरिहारैः

*Third plate; second side.*

[9] परिहर्त्तव्यो रक्षितव्यश्च [।।] प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसप्तमस(सं)वत्सर-

[10] स्य पौष्यमासकृष्णपक्षस्याष्टम्याम्पट्टिका दत्ता ।। तत्राज्ञाप्तिः

*Fourth plate.*

[11] मूलकु(क)रभोजकः(का) ।। बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता

[12] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमः(मिः) तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ।।

[13] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे की(क्री)डति भूमिद(दः) आक्षेप्ता चाभिमन्ता च तान्येव न[र§]के वसे[त् ।।¶]

*Translation.*

Hail! From the victorious city of Vĕṅgipura, the Great King Śrî-Vijayanandivarmâ,—who meditates on the feet of the holy Chitrarathasvâmî; who is the disciple of the venerable Bappa; who is a most excellent worshipper of the holy one; who belongs to the family of the Śâlaṅkâyanas; the eldest son of the great king Chaṇḍavarmâ,—commands the villagers, together with the ministers and others*, at the village of Vidĕnûrapallikâ in the country of Kuḍuhâra :—

(Thus) it is. In order to increase our family and *gôtra* and piety and fame and splendour and renown, this village has been given by us to those one hundred and fifty-seven Brâhmaṇs, belonging to various *gôtras* and *charaṇas*† and branches of private study, who reside in the excellent *agrahâra*-village of Kuravaka. It is to be treated with immunity from all taxation, and is to be preserved, by the governors of the country and the ministers and the favourites and the servants of the king and others, bearing this in mind. This charter has been given on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month Pausha of the seventh year of our victorious reign. The command confers the enjoyment of the original royal dues there.‡ Land has been given by many, and has been continued in grant by many; he, who for the time being possesses the earth, enjoys the fruit of it! The giver of land disports himself for sixty thousand years in heaven; but he who confiscates land, or even he who assents (to such confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!

## ON SOME REMAINS OF ANTIQUITY AT HÂNAGAL, IN THE DHÂRWÂḌ COLLECTORATE, SOUTHERN MARÂṬHÂ COUNTRY.

BY SIR WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I.

In many parts of India we meet with deserted sites presenting indications of former importance in the shape of mounds strewn with fragments of sculptured stones or broken pottery, which local tradition connects with some ancient dynasty or family, or with some abandoned line

§ This letter,—र,—is omitted altogether in the original.

¶ This letter—त्,—and the mark of punctuation after it, are omitted altogether in the original, through want of space at the end of the plate.

* See note ‡ to the transcription.

† '*Charaṇa*',—sect, school, branch of the Vêdas.

‡ '*Tatra âjñâptiḥ mûlakarabhôjakâ*',—but the meaning is somewhat doubtful. Dr. Burnell says,—*South-Indian Palæography*, p. 87, note 4,—"The grant is, therefore, of the royal dues from the village. The village itself (or the proprietary right to the ground) could not be given by Hindu law, as it belongs to the occupants; all the king could give, is his right to certain shares of the produce, &c. (See the discussion which settles this point in *Mîmâṁsâsûtra* vi, 7, 2)."

of trade, or, failing these, has recourse to mythological legends or fabulous narratives.

A knowledge of the existence of such neglected and now forgotten places may prove useful to the archæologist investigating points of early history or geography, or if not may serve to elucidate the habits and condition of the prehistoric population.

The following notice refers to such a spot. I can give no explanation of its origin, but I desire to put it on record, in the hope that it may prove useful and interesting to others. The first of the accompanying plates is a rough sketch of the Kasba of Hânagal, in the south-western tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ Collectorate.*

In the course of several visits during successive revenue settlements between 1825 and 1832, my eye was attracted by lines of earthwork surrounding an old fortified centre, which, though no longer conspicuous for their magnitude, yet exhibited a regularity of plan that showed them to have been the work of design, whilst their extent indicated that they were not constructed for a temporary purpose.

The main work, or citadel (if it may be so called), is situated on the left bank of the Dharma river, which flows round its southern and western faces, and then, turning more to the west, falls into the Wardâ near Nerigal, about twelve miles further down the valley.

The south-eastern corner rests on a large tank—the Anikere—after which the single outer wall is developed on the eastern face into three lines of defence, which, sweeping round the north side, join the works on the river, where it diverges to the westward.

The citadel (*A*, *A*) is called the Haḷêkôṭê, or old castle, and contains, besides the old town (*C*), a modern fort (*B*), of which, though now in ruins and deserted, the walls and bastions remain. The interior of this is filled with trees and brushwood, among which is a temple of Vîrabhadra (No. 14).

On the north-west side of the Haḷêkôtê is the modern village (*D*), outside of which is a very fine temple of cut stone (*E*) dedicated to Târakêśwara, of which a plan and elevation is given in the second Plate.

Besides the outer defences above mentioned, the exterior line of the triple wall is carried onward, from the point where it turns to the west, to a low range of hills, through which a ditch has been cut to the *chauki*, or shed, near a large tree (No. 23), from which the wall is continued round to the river.

But as it appears to have been found that the hill still commanded the place, a further work can be traced, though very faintly in some parts, to a trench excavated through the hill to the *Dargah* (No. 24), from which point the rampart is continued till it joins the fourth wall, making in all five lines of defence, exclusive of the walls of the Haḷêkôtê.

Traces of other mounds are perceptible beyond these, stretching eastward towards the hamlet of Mallegar, but whether connected with the defences of Hânagal is not apparent.

The diameter of the Haḷêkôtê is between 700 and 800 yards, and the modern or inner fort about 350 yards; but the circuit of the whole area is upwards of four and a half miles. The lines are obliterated in several places, and can only be traced with difficulty, but in others they are well marked.†

I was unable to discover any reasonable or probable account of the place, either traditionary or historical. According to old inscriptions, which are tolerably numerous, it bore the same

* *References to the first plate.*
A. The Haḷêkôṭê or old Castle. B. The modern Fort.
C. The old town, within the walls of the Haḷêkôṭê.
D. The modern village of Hânagal.
E. Temple of Târakeśwaradêva.
F. Kuntîna-dibba, 'Kuntî's hillock.'
G, G, G. A low range of hills extending in a north-westernly direction from the earthworks towards the Sunda (Sôdâ) frontier.
1. The sluice of the Anikêre.
2, 2, 2. Waste channel, by which the overflow of the tank is discharged into the river.
3, 3. Broken watercourses or little *nalds*.
4. Ruined temple. 5. Temple of Hanumân.
6, 6, 6. Road from the modern village to Gejahalle and other villages across the river.
7. Temple of Nârâyana.
8. Temple of Virûpâkshêśwara, near a tree.
9, 9, 9, 9. Road to Daulêswara, Alûr, and villages to the west.
10. Temple of Durgâ.
11. Temple of Hanumân.
12. Site of ruined temple of Kîchak-âjit.
13. Temple built by Gopâl Raô Dêsai.
14. Temple of Vîrabhadra.
15. Lingâyat *Matha*.
16. North gate of the Fort, and temple of Îśwara.
17. Bungalow.
18, 18, 18. Road from the village to Suralêśwara.
19. Small temple and a tiled shed over Râma-linga.
20, 20, 20. Road to Bomanhalle.
21, 21. Two *honds*, or small tanks.
23. A *chauki* near a large tree.
24. *Dargah*.
25. Hamlet of Pillankatte and temple of Hanumân.

† The plan was roughly drawn by one of Major Jervis's native revenue surveyors, on a scale of 400 feet to an inch, from which the present illustration has been reduced.

# PLAN OF THE FORTS AND WORKS OF HANAGAL.



W. Griggs photo-lith.

Scale 1 inch to 1200 feet.



# PLAN AND ELEVATION OF THE TEMPLE OF TÁRAKESWARA DÉVA AT HANAGAL.

A

B

W. Griggs photo-lith.



Scale 1 inch to 36 feet.

name as at present in the 11th and 12th centuries, viz. Panangal, a sub-division "of the Banavâsi Twelve-thousand," the Hale-Kannadâ *P* being equivalent to the modern *H*. By the inhabitants it is supposed to have been the Virâtanagara of the *Mahâbhârata*, where the Pâṇḍava princes resided during their exile from Indraprastha, as related in the fourth book of the epic. On the right side of the enclosure, near the western wall, is a remarkable conical mound (*F*) exactly like the Teutonic mote-hills (of which many examples remain in Great Britain and elsewhere), which goes by the name of 'Kuntî's hillock,' and is said to have been formed of the husks of the grain ground by her for her sons, the three elder Pâṇḍava princes, during their twelve years' residence in the city.

Thinking this might have been formed from the *débris* of a ruined building, I ran a trench nearly into the centre at the base, and also dug down a few feet from the top, but it appeared to consist entirely of earth heaped up.‡

In connection with the same local tradition, the small ruined temple (No. 12) seems to have been dedicated to Bhima Pâṇḍava as Kîchak-âjit.

The position of the city of Virâta has not been satisfactorily ascertained. Professor Wilson (*s. v.*) says it was "one of the midland divisions of India, probably Berâr." General Cunningham identifies it with Bairât, a place in the North-West Provinces between Jayapûr and Alwar, on an affluent of the Bân-gangâ. He states it to have been the capital of the ancient kingdom of Matsya, which, however, Wilson (*s. v.*) places far to the south-east—about Dinajpûr and Rangpûr. From the General's description it must have been a place of importance, and some of its ruins are associated with the name of Bhîma.§ But every place in India to which no other origin can be assigned is attributed to the Pâṇḍavas; and Bairât, being only a hundred miles south-west of Dihli, is somewhat near to have afforded a safe refuge to the exiled family. According to South-Indian writers, Virâta is one of the seven Koṅkaṇas‖ which Paraśurâma peopled when he recovered them from the sea. This accords better with the pretensions of Hânagal, but the attempts to build anything like a probable theory on such slender foundations is evidently futile.

The position of Hânagal—on the edge of the *Malnâd*, or forest region, bordering the Sahyâdri mountains, and on the frontier between the ancient Châlukya and Chêra kingdoms—may have given it some value as a military post when these two powerful states were in the ascendant. But the absence of compactness and solidity in the character of the defences is unfavourable to such a hypothesis. After these the Yâdavas of Devagiri (now Daulatâbâd) and Dwârasamudra, in Maisur, became the ruling powers in the 12th and 13th centuries, and the latter established their authority in the districts north of the Tungabhadra, of which they have left lasting monuments in the neighbouring tâlukâ of Koda.¶

In the inscriptions Hânagal is described territorially as a subdivision of "the Banavâsi Twelve-thousand." Banavâsi was the seat of the chiefs of the Kâdamba family, but these were nothing more than feudatories during the eight or nine centuries of Châlukya supremacy. Tradition, however, states them to have exercised sovereign power before they were reduced to subjection under Kalyân. The town is situated higher up the valley, about twenty or thirty miles south-west of Hânagal, on an affluent of the Wardâ, and is encompassed by lofty grass-grown walls. It contains some fine temples and other remains, which I had not time to examine on a very hasty visit, during which, however, I was fortunate enough to pick up some fine old coins.*

It was known to the Greeks, and is mentioned by Ptolemy in the 2nd century as Βαναυσέ, Βανάυσα, "in the middle of the Pirates' country" (VII. 1, 174). To whomsoever pertaining, therefore, it may be safely inferred that it had

‡ I do not recollect to have met with similar tumuli in India, except where serving for sepulchral purposes, like those on the Nilagiri Hills described in the *Transactions of the International Prehistoric Congress* for 1868 (p. 250, fig. 10).

§ *Archæol. Rep.* (1862-5), vol. II. p. 244; *Ancient Geog. of India*, p. 337.

‖ These were Kirata, Virâta, Mahârâṭṭa, Koṅkaṇa, Haiga, Tulava, and Kerala.

¶ In three or four villages of that tâlukâ, the names of which I forget, but I think Raṭṭahalli is one, there are temples with groups of statuary on the roof, in front of the *gopura*, representing Hoysala Bellala, the founder of the dynasty, in the act of slaying the tiger from which he derived his name. The figure of the hero is generally bold and spirited, but the tiger is in the form of the mythological *sardula*. I do not recollect to have seen detached groups of statuary in action in other parts of India.

* *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XIX. O. S. (or III. N. S.) plate VIII. fig. 26, 29.

risen to eminence before the Christian era. Failing to discover the relations of Hânagal with any of these powers, or to conjecture what probable circumstances could have led to the construction of such extensive yet rude works, I am inclined to hazard the conjecture that they indicate the location of a prehistoric pastoral tribe, rich in flocks and herds, who were tempted by ready access to the abundant pasturage of the open country during the monsoon and cold weather, and by the close vicinity of the shelter and grazing-ground of the forest during the hot season, to make it their principal station, while a large enclosed area would be required for the protection of the cattle, as well as the herdsmen and their families in times of danger.

Plate II. is a ground-plan and architectural elevation of the temple of Târakêśvara,† one of the finest *Śivâlayas* I have seen, drawn by Vinâyaka Rândêsava, the Assistant Revenue Surveyor.‡ If I recollect right, a photograph of it is given in the collection of Drs. Pigou and Neill and Colonel Biggs, published at Bombay, but by no means doing justice to it. It has much the character of the temples in the Fort of Belgaum figured by Mr. Burgess in his first *Archæological Report*, but is finer than any of them. The roof of the central chamber is in the form of a lotus,§ and round the walls of the interior of the same compartment are figures of the guardians of the eight quarters, in bold relief. Two or three remarkable *vîrgals*, or monumental battle-stones, rest against the outer wall, near the south entrance. They are very large and containing many figures. One of them represents the storming of a fortified place.

## TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM JHÂLRÂPÂṬHAN.

BY G. BÜHLER.

The transcripts of the subjoined two inscriptions have been made according to photozincographs prepared by the Editor.*

Colonel Tod† professes to give an analysis of the first. But his Paṇḍits have served him in this instance as badly as usual. The date, as well as the names of the king, of the donor, of the poet, and of the stone-mason, have been given incorrectly. The former is, according to Tod, 748, while the inscription reads *śateshu saptasu shaṭchatvâriṁśadadhikeshu*, 746. The name of 'the chief of kings' Tod's Paṇḍit read *Durgângal*, while it is plainly Durgagaṇa in No. I., and Durgageṇa in No. II., the latter being, no doubt, a mistake. The name of the donor is not *Kayak* (Kyuk), son of *Takyak*, but Voppaka, brother of Deva. The poet who composed the inscription was not *Gupta*, grandson of *Bhaṭ Gaṇeśvar*, lord of the lords of verse of *Mundal*, and son of *Haragupta*, but simply Bhaṭṭa Śarvagupta. The engraver was not *Olak*, but probably called Vâmana. The inscription, finally, contains nothing about "the Paṇḍu Arjun, and his encounter with the demon Virodhi," nor any of the other touching sentiments and facts given by Tod. If it were worth the while, it would not be difficult to show how some of the errors committed by Tod's Paṇḍit arose, on which Tod himself further improved.

The inscription No. I., though on the whole well preserved, is in many respects unsatisfactory. We obtain the name of a king about whom I, at least, can ascertain nothing, and his date, which latter offers difficulties on account of the want of an indication of the era. Saṁvat 746 *may*, as Tod concluded, have to be referred to the Vikrama era of 56-7 B.C., and correspond to 689-90 A.D. But there is no reason to prevent any one from referring the date to the Śaka or Gupta eras. Again, the rank of the person who built the temple is not clearly stated. I don't think that he really was the keeper of a gambling-house for rich kings. It seems to me much more likely that he was a great court-officer or general who played an important part in the *political* games of the Ṭhâkurs or feudatories of Durgagaṇa. But what his office precisely was must for the present remain doubtful.

† Târakêśvara, *lit.* the lord of Târaka, the *aśura* or demon destroyed by Kârtikêya, the son of Śiva, hence called Târakâjit.

‡ *References to the second plate.*—Plan of the temple of Tarakêśwara Dêva at Hânagal. *A.* The ground-plan. *B.* Elevation, on a scale of one inch to twelve feet.

§ Like that figured in the same *Report* Plate VI.

* These zincographs were prepared from photographs forwarded to the Editor by Capt. W. Muir of Deolî, and had been taken for him by a local photographer, who whitewashed the stone and blackened the letters; and it is just possible a careful examination of the original by a competent scholar might lead to the addition of a few more letters or words, not quite obliterated, at least in the second. Both inscriptions are on one slab—on opposite sides of it.—ED.

† *Annals of Râjasthân* (Madras ed.), vol. II. p. 672.

INSCRIPTION FROM JHÂLRÂPÂṬṬAṆ No. II.

The most interesting point about the inscription is the character of the letters. On the whole they show the Gupta type. But the mason has mostly taken out the *kâṇas*, *i.e.* the vertical strokes for the long *â*, and placed them above the letters after which they are to be read,* converting each, in compliment to Śiva, into a diminutive trident. The medial *i* is also highly ornamented. The form of the *jihvâmûlîya* which occurs in lines 6 and 7 also deserves attention, as it consists simply of a loop above the *ka*, and exactly resembles the sign still used in the Kaśmîrian Śâradâ alphabet.

The inscription No. II. is, unfortunately, in too bad a condition to be translated or to be read entirely.

*Transliteration of No.* 1.

ओं नमः शिवाय ।†
रोषक्रोधप्रवृद्धज्वलदनलशिखाक्रान्तदिक्चक्रवालं
तेजोभिर्द्वादशार्कप्रति ..................राविराशु ।
ब्रह्मेन्द्रोपेन्द्ररुद्रैः प्रलयभयभृतैरीक्षितं भ्रान्तदृग्भि-
र्भालाटं वः पुनातु स्मरतनुदहनं लोचनं विश्वमूर्त्तेः ॥ [१॥]
सन्ध्या वासरकामिनी त्रिपथगा पत्नी तथाम्भोनिधे-
स्तत्सक्तो न बिभेष्यघादपि कथं निर्दग्धकाम व्रतिन् ।
इत्थं वाक्यपरंपराविगर्हणेनोक्तो भवान्या भवो
भूयाद्वल्कचतुष्टयेन विहसन्नुच्चैश्चिरं वः श्रिये ॥ [२॥]
श्रीदुर्गगणे नरेन्द्रमुख्ये सति संपादितलोकपालवृत्ते ।
अवदातगुणोपमानहेतौ सर्वाश्चर्यकलावि[प]श्चितीह [॥३॥]
यस्मिन्प्रजाः प्रमुदिता विगतोपसर्गाः
स्वैः कर्मभिर्व्विदधति स्थितिमुर्व्वरेशे ।
सत्त्वावबोधविमलीकृतचेतसश्च
विप्राः पदं विविदिषन्ति परं स्मरारेः ॥ [४] ॥
यः सर्व्वावनिपालविस्मयकरः सत्वप्रवृत्युज्ज्वल-
ज्वालादग्धतमाश्रतारितिमिरः प्राज्यप्रचेष्टोजसा ।
शोकामन्धकविद्विषश्च कुरुते तुल्याकृतित्वादहो
दग्धोप्येष विशेषविग्रहरुचिर्ज्जातः कथं मन्मथः॥[५]‡
आसीत्कृतप्रस्थिरवागनायासितवान्धवः ।
देवनामान्ययायेषु चित्तस्यादृष्टविक्रयः ॥ [६] ॥
तस्यावरजः प्रवृद्धकीर्त्तिः क्षितिपवल्लभसमा-तिर्व्वदान्यः ।
विदुषामपि बोप्पकाभिधानः स्वगुणैः प्रीतिमुपादधात्यजिह्मः॥[७]॥
तेनेदमकारि चन्द्रमौलेर्भवनं जन्ममृतिप्रहाणहेतोः ।
प्रसमीक्ष्य जराविवियोगदुःखमवर्ति देहभृतामनुप्रसक्ताम् ॥[८]॥
धर्म्म एव सखाव्यभिचारी रक्ष--कृतिनस्खलितेषु ।
प्रायणेप्यनुगतिं विदधाति प्रयं यन्ति सुहृदः किमुतार्थाः॥[९]
काले प्रकाममकरन्दसमीतिमत्त-
भ्रान्तद्विरेफकुलकेलिविरावरम्ये ।
हृष्टान्यपुष्टमधुरातिकलप्रलापे
प्रामोर्मिविष्टमिदमल्पपक्ष्म धार्म ॥[१०]
संवत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु षट्चत्वारिंशदधिकेषु [।]
प्रणहितसायतनमिदं समग्रलोकेश्वरोधिपते ॥[११]
रम्यैर्व्वर्णप्रतीतैरर्थानुगतैरकूर्व्वीशाब्दैः [:।]
रचितेयमनभिमानात्प्रशस्तिरपि भट्टशर्व्वगुप्तेन ॥ [१२॥]
अच्युतस्य सुतेनेव सुतधारेन धीमता ।
उत्कीर्ण्णा--रामणेनेह पूर्व्वविज्ञानशालिना [॥१३]

*Translation.*

*Om!* Adoration to Śiva.

1. May that (third) eye in the forehead of the multiform (Śiva) purify you, the flame of whose blazing fire, when increased by anger and fury, fills the universe, which in splendour resembles the twelve suns . . . . . . . which Brahma, Indra, Upendra, and Rudra, filled with the fear of a universal destruction, eye with amazed looks, and which consumed the body of Cupid.§

2. "Sandhyâ is the wife of the Sun, Gangâ is the spouse of the Ocean; O ascetic, consumer of Cupid, art thou, though thou cleavest to them, not afraid of sin?" Thus chided Bhavânî in successive sentences. May Bhava, who (there-

---

* In this respect, as well as in the form of the letters, the inscription resembles the seal of Śarvavarmâ published in *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. p. 377.

† V. 1, read with No. II शिखाक्रान्त°. End of line 1, before राविराशु; read °दहनं; end of line 2—लोचनं वि°; the first letter of line 3 doubtful. V. 2, read त्रिपथगा. End of line 3—°काम व्र°, end of line 4—श्रियै. V. 3, °ला° in कला° very indistinct, प° in विपश्चितीह gone. Both restored according to No. II; end of line 5 before श्चितीह. V. 4, end of line 6—सत्त्वव°;—read सत्त्वाव°.

‡ V. 5, read °त्युज्ज्वल°; °प्रचेष्टोजसा; °कृतित्वाद° मन्मथः °श्र° in °तमाश्रतारि° doubtful. End of line 7—विस्म°; end of line 8—°विद्वि°. V. 6, perhaps अन्यपायेषु and read विक्रियः; end of line 9—आसी°. V. 7, read °समापतिर्व्व°; °त्यजिह्मः; end of line 10—तस्यावर°; end of line 11—स्वगुणैः. V. 8, read तेनेदमकारि; end of line 12—प्रस°. V. 9, perhaps रक्षणापि कृतिनः; read प्रेत्य यान्ति; सुहृदः °तार्थाः. End of line 13—रक्ष°. V. 10, का in प्रकाम and ल in °रातिकलप्र° indistinct. Perhaps मल्पकपक्ष्म to be read, as an additional syllable is required. End of line 14—°मत्त°. V. 11, read संवत् शतेषु प्र°; end of line 15—हृष्टान्यपुष्ट. V. 11, read °प्रणिहितमयं; लोकेश्वराधिपते, and as required by the metre; प्रणिहितमयं; end of line 17—°प्रतीतै°. End of line 18—°शब्दैः°. V. 12, end of [illegible] of line 18—अच्युतस्य सु°; के in पूर्व्व° very indistinct; perhaps सुतेनैव to be read. Read सूत्रधारेण; [illegible].

§ Metre *sragdharâ.* Twelve suns shine in terrible brilliancy at the end of a *kalpa.* Upendra and Rudra are *avatâras* of Vishṇu and Śiva.

upon loudly laughed with his four mouths, long give you prosperity!||

3. When Durgagaṇa was chief of kings, who performed the deeds of a Protector of the world, who caused (all) brilliant virtues to be compared (with himself), who was skilled in the performance of all kinds of deeds exciting wonder in this (world)¶,

4. During whose reign his subjects, in consequence of (the merit of) their actions, lived joyful and free from misfortunes, while the Brahmans, whose minds were purified by the knowledge of Truth, strove for the highest abode of the foe of Cupid,*

5. Who astonished all rulers of the earth, who, strongly and swiftly acting, utterly destroyed the dark cloud of his unhurt foes by the brilliant flame of his bravery, who caused (Śiva) the foe of Andhaka, to doubt on account of his resemblance (to Cupid and to ask), "How is it that Cupid has recovered brilliant beauty, though he was consumed by the fire (of my eye)?"†

6. Then lived a grateful, truthful man called Deva, who did not oppress his kindred, and who did not lose his presence of mind even in great misfortunes.‡

7. His younger brother was called Voppaka, a bank-holder during the gaming-parties of rich kings, who, being a liberal man and upright, gladdened even the learned by his good qualities.§

8. He, seeing that a chain of sufferings, produced by old age and separation, clings to embodied beings, built this temple of the god who wears the moon on his crest, in order to avoid (future) births and deaths.||

9. Spiritual merit alone is a constant friend, protects the steps of the pious, and follows them even in death. After men die, friends and—how much more!—their possessions leave them.¶

10. In the season which is delightful on account of the noise made in their sports by roaming bees drunk with copious streams of honey, in which sweet and loud resound the voices of rejoicing *Koïls*, this dwelling of Śambhu . . . . was consecrated.*

11. In Saṁvat 746 this house of the king of the rulers of the Universe was erected.†

12. Bhaṭṭa Śarvagupta composed this laudatory inscription, without any arrogance, in sweet and easy terms understood by the people and pregnant with meaning.‡

13. Vâmana, the son of Achyuta, the clever mason who was able to understand the original, has incised it (in the stone).§

*Transcript of No. II.*

......: रुपक्रोधप्रवृद्धज्वलदनलशिखाक्रान्त
दिक्कुक्रवालं तेजोभि || द्वादशार्के प्रति विह
......... — १ —
... इन्द्रोपेन्द्ररुद्रैः प्रलयभयभृतैरीक्षितं
भ्रान्त...... गः ललाटम्वः पुनातु स्मर·
तनुदहने लोच............२
...... गा पत्नी तथाम्भोनिधे-
स्तत्सक्ते न बिभेष्यगाधपि कथं निर्द
ग्धकाम व्रतिन् इत्थं वाक्यपरंपराविग-
र्हणे............३
......येन विहसन्नुच्चैश्चिर वः श्रिये ||
श्रीदुर्ग्गगेणे नरेन्द्रमुख्ये साति संपादित-
लोकपालवृत्ते.........४
वश्चर्यकलाविपश्चितीह || यस्मि प्रजाः
प्रमुषिनाः विगतोपपर्ग्गाः स्वै × कर्म्मभि
विदधनि स्थिाति............५
..........बिप्राः पदं विविदिशाति परं स्मरारे
...... सर्व्वोपारि विस्तुथलरः सत्वप्रवृ
त्युज्वलज्वालाद्ग ... ६–
.........म...क विद्विषश्च कुरुते तुल्य

|| Metre *śârdûlavikrîḍita*. Sandhyâ is the goddess of morning, midday, and evening. In Śaiva mythology the jealousy of Pârvatî against this rival and against Gangâ, who comes out from the braided locks of Śiva, plays a great *rôle*, and it is a favourite subject with the poets.

*Vâkyaparamparâvigarhanena* is against the metre, and it is not impossible that the true reading is *vigahanena*, though under this supposition two letters would have to be changed. The sense remains the same.

¶ Metre *aupachchhandasikâ*. *Sampâditalokapâlavritte* means both 'who acted as protector of the world' and 'who imitated the behaviour of the Lokapâlas,' the eight guardian deities of the points of the horizon. *Avadâtagunopamânahetau*—*lit.* 'who was the cause of the comparing of brilliant qualities'—means that his excellence caused him to be spoken of in the hyperbole called *pratîpâlaṁkâra*, *e.g.* that the lion was said to be possessed of courage similar to his, or the moon to possess a brilliancy similar to that of his fame.

* Metre *vasantatilaka*. *Sattvâvabodha* means, of course, *brahmajñâna*, 'the recognition of the unity of the individual and universal souls.'

† Metre *śârdûlavikrîḍita*.

‡ Metre *anushṭubh*.

§ Metre *gîtyaryâ*.

|| Metre *aupachhandasikâ*. To avoid births and deaths, *i.e.* to obtain *mukti*, or final salvation.

¶ Metre *gîtyâryâ*. 'Protects the steps of the pious' might also be rendered, 'protects the pious (*kritinaḥ*) when they fail, or fall into danger or sin.'

* Metre *vasantatilaka*. The season meant is, of course, spring. If *alpakapakshma* is the correct restoration, it may mean 'to which small wings are attached.'

† Metre *upagîti*.

‡ Metre *gîti* or *udgîthâ*.

§ Metre *anushṭubh*. '*Pûrvavijnâneśâlinâ*,' *lit.* "who is able to completely understand the preceding," apparently indicates that the mason was a person versed in Sanskrit.

क्रु...न्वादहः यद्धेः पविशेपविग्रहरुचि
ज्ञोतऽ कथमम ........................ ७—
........................................ ८—
......... शरणागतार्त्तदीनार्त्ति ...... ९.

......... ममधीरि ॥ नस्य वरत्तः ......... कृ
ने पितृ्शार्चनांवमप्रज्ञा ......... ............ १०—
......... मिशुजिना सुनार्धां प्रयानः स्वगुह्यात्कदमी ...... ११.
......... ग्रहगन ........................................ १२—

# THE WASHERMAN VÎRASENA: A LIÑGÂYTA LEGEND.

BY THE REV. F. KITTEL, MERKARA

The following legend is taken from the *Vîra mâheśvara Tantra*, which belongs to the *Vîrâgama*, *i.e.* the Âgama of the Liñgâytas or Liñgavantas. The *Tantra* is composed in Sanskrit verse. Our copy of it is accompanied with a Kannaḍa (Canarese) commentary by Kâśikâṇḍa Channavîra of Kuṇṭikâpura, which, judging by its language, may have been executed in the 15th or 16th century A.D. Regarding the age of the *Tantra* I can only say that it has been written after the time of Basava of Kalyâṇa,* the founder of the Liñgavanta sect, which is called also the sect of the Vîraśaivas or Vîramâheśvaras. The legend adduced forms the 33rd Paṭala (chapter), and immediately follows the *Pañchâkshari mantra varṇana.* Among other things it will be seen from it in connection with its commentary that Liñgavanta nomenclature is rather peculiar. It is further to be remarked that the whole work bears the form of an instruction given by Śiva to Pârvatî.

*The Washerman Vîrasena.*

(Gaurî says:) God of the gods, lord of the world, thou who givest thy *bhaktas* the desired fruits, what is the fruit of the service (*sevâ*) of the Vîraśaivas† who use the *mantra* (*just described by you*)? Tell me all that, O Śambhu, pure one who exceedest the Vedas!

(Śiva says:) Dear wife with beautiful brows! There is a story which concerns thy question, forms the basis for the service (*sevâ*)‡ of the *munis*, and pleases the whole world. I shall tell it. Listen!

In Âryâvarta on (the hill) Svarṇakhaṇḍa there shone the town Ratnamâlâpura. In that town lived Vîrasena,§ a gaṇâdhyaksha,|| who had overcome the objects (of the world). He was a prâṇaliñgin,¶ his body consisted of the prasâdas,** he was performing a clean âchâra,†† was doing (good) works, was an añga‡‡ of Rudrabhadra,§§ and bore all the characteristics.|||| He was full of glory,¶¶ possessed much riches, had conquered the three worlds, was a guru,* used to put on rudrâkshas, protected the true law, and bedaubed himself with ashes. He honoured the shaṭsthala brahmins,† knew the meaning of the six circles (*chakra*),‡ was able to overcome the speeches of antagonists, and had worthy members (of the body). He had attained emancipation (*moksha*), his body consisted of the fundamental science,§ he had performed all the vows that become them who desire emancipation, and scrutinized the ceremonial works of them who were engaged in the sixty-three śîlas.|| He had got rid of the wrong notions regarding the fetters of the mâyâ life and lust, knew the mantra,¶ was

* Mr. Fleet, the publisher of the texts of so many interesting inscriptions of the North Kannaḍa country, would oblige the writer, and certainly many others also, if he would be kind enough to edit, in this journal, all the Śâsanas in his possession that have any reference to this Basava, who revolutionized a large portion of India. The *Channa Basava Purâṇa* (of 1585 A.D.) makes him die 785 A.D.—a circumstance that militates, for instance, against what has been stated by Sir Walter Elliot (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, No. 18, January, 1838).

† Commentary: Liñgavantas.

‡ C.: kâyaka, a favourite Liñgâyta term.

§ C.: who was the grandfather of Mâcha. This Mâcha, also a maḍivâḷa, *i.e.* rajaka, washerman, is one of the old gaṇa (host) to which Basava, Channa Basava, and others belong. See Śabdamaṇi Toṭadeva's *Asañkhyâta gaṇa*, v. 84.

|| A gaṇa-overseer. C.: śivabhakta.

¶ C.: a person to whom the liñga had been tied at his very birth.

** C.: the eleven prasâdas are—śuddha, siddha, prasiddha, bhakta, samaya, viśishṭa, vikîrṇa, ghrâta, pîta, bhṛita, and [illegible]ta.

†† C.: he attended to the kâyaka connected with clean clothes (maḍi).

‡‡ C.: avatâra.

§§ C.: Vîrabhadra, who was born of the sparks of the eye in Śiva's forehead.

|||| C.: he had the 32 purusha lakshaṇas.

¶¶ C.: in his body.

* C.: he was an elder amongst the Vîraśaivas.

† The shaṭsthala brahma comprises the six forms of Śiva called sadyojâta, vâmadeva, aghora, tatpurusha, îśâna, and gopya.

‡ C.: the six âdhâra chakras.

§ C.: *i.e.* oṁ namaḥ śivâya.

|| C.: niyama.

¶ C.: the *manu* called oṁ namaḥ śivâya.

intelligent, and had overcome the eight self-conceits (*garva*). He was the spirit himself (*[illegible]*),** had a perfect knowledge of the essence (*[illegible]*),†† and despised all the sciences.‡‡

Goddess! He had taken upon himself the vow only and solely to wash the trowsers, sashes, coats, jackets, turbans, mattresses, covers, clothes of females, bodices and other clothes of the bhaktas.§§ Bhûrudras,|||| munîndras,¶¶ amala brahmachârins,* Mâheśvaras,† prasâdins,‡ prâṇaliṅgins,§ śaraṇas,|| and aikyas,¶ (*to be seen*) of all those who attended to the various (*śaiva*) ordinances. Be it in Svarga, Satyaloka, or on earth, the excellent cleverness in cloth-washing** of V î r a s e n a,†† of the prasâda brahmachârin,‡‡ of the stern one,§§ was the wonder of the worlds. My dear! The washermen (*rajaka*)|||| in Svarga, Satyaloka, and on earth desired to see him daily delivering the clean clothes of the Pramathendras,¶¶ Viraktas,* and Mahâtmans.† Venerable one! in continually washing the various garments of the gurus‡ in the town§ he was serving. The Gaṇanâyakas|| perpetually used to stay in the house of stern V î r a s e n a, as they were anxious to see his service. All the gaṇâdhipas¶ on my mountain** heard of the stern one's faithfulness in his vow of clothes-washing, and rejoiced. Gauri! I also, together with thee, was always in his house, and longed continually to see the (*performance of the*) vow which was worthy of the v r a t i n s,†† and rested upon the thought of overcoming the world (*lokajaya*),‡‡ (*to see*) the virtuous vow (*śîlavrata*)§§ of the Mahâtman, which (*vow*) was world-pure, presenting all riches, and glorious.

Thou with the handsome face! When the people and the rulers of the people heard that he did not desire anything mean (*prâkṛitanirmoha*),|||| but washed the clothes of the Vîraśaivas,¶¶ Gurus,* and Yogins,† they said: "V î r a s e n a, at once abandon the talk about refusing to wash the garments of the world,‡ and wash our garments too!" When Vîrasena heard the words of these persons of mean bodies (*prâkṛitadehin*),§ he, who alone was honoured by the world,|| was silent for a moment, and then said to the people and the heads of the people¶: "I am one who is occupied in V î r a ś a i v a works,** am honoured by the world,†† and have a vow.‡‡ How do you dare to ruin my virtuous work among these people§§?" As soon as the people and the princes of the people|||| heard that, they became blind from pride, full of delusion, tormented with immense selfishness, and subject to sinful nature and great wrath. (*But,*) thou with the handsome face, what shall I say regarding the ruin of those rulers of the earth who in the world try to ruin the vows of the good? What did the y o g i n¶¶ care for the bad language and the power of them who were seized by the darkness of pride?

** C.: *jîvasvarûpin.*

†† C.: he knew the s a ñ k a l p a s and v i k a l p a s.

‡‡ C.: śabda, tarka, vedânta, mîmâṁsâ, sâṅkhya, yoga.

§§ C.: the b h a k t a s t h a l a s, *i.e.* simply bhaktas.

|||| C.: Ârâdhyas.

¶¶ C.: Atitis. This is probably a Tadbhava of *atithin*, a person wandering about, = j a ṅ g a m a.

* C.: v i r a k t a s and g h a n a *liṅgas.*

† C.: m â h e ś v a r a s t h a l a s.

‡ C.: p r a s â d a s t h a l a s.

§ C.: p r â ṇ a l i ṅ g a s t h a l a s.

|| People that have taken refuge with Śiva, dependents. C.: ś a r a ṇ a s t h a l a s.

¶ C.: a i k y a s t h a l a s. Here is seen the peculiar use that the L i ṅ g â y t a s make of the term *sthala*; in these cases it is simply expletive. As one list of their six *sthalas* (in this case the word is neuter) we have here—bhakta sthala, mâheśvara sth., prasâda sth., prâṇaliṅga sth., śaraṇa sth., and aikya sth.

** C.: k â y a k a.

†† C.: of the m a ḍ i v â ḷ a (washerman) who was an avatâra of V î r a b h a d r a.

‡‡ C.: a person who has the firm belief that the ten t î r t h a s and the eleven ś e s h a s are Ś i v a.

§§ C.: who was stern on account of the liṅga-box (*śajje*) being tied to his neck, on account of the dangling ends of the sash of the short breeches round his loins, on account of the bundle of washed clothes on his back, on account of the drawn sword in his right hand, and on account of the bell in his left.

|||| C.: the m a ḍ i v â ḷ a s who have been born of thy *rajas*, O Gauri.

¶¶ C.: b h a k t a s. The p r a m a t h a s, with the Liṅgâytas, form a number of primitive divine beings around Śiva, and their gaṇa is different from the gaṇa of the Rudras.

* C.: *nirâbhârins.* † C.: m a h a n t s.

‡ C.: b h a k t a m â h e ś v a r a s.

§ C.: in the m a ṭ h a s and g e h a s of the town.

|| C.: L i ṅ g a v a n t a s.

¶ C.: p r a m a t h a n â y a k a s. ** C.: Rajatagiri.

†† C.: Liṅgavantas of a kâyaka.

‡‡ C.: of overcoming the b h a v i n s (bhavis, *i.e.*, people subject to transmigration, worldlings, non-Liṅgâytas).

§§ C.: kâyaka.

|||| C.: that he did not desire to wash the clothes of the b h a v i n s.

¶¶ C.: Liṅgavantas. * C.: Ârâdhyas.

† C.: of the v i r a k t a s, a t i t i s, and g h a n a l i ṅ g a s.

‡ C.: of the bhavins.

§ C.: of these people who had bhavitva tanus.

|| C.: by the Liṅgavantas.

¶ C.: who were all b h a v i s.

** C.: *i.e.*, a Liṅgavanta.

†† C.: am a well-known man among the Liṅgavantas.

‡‡ C.: the ś î l a of the kâyaka connected with clean clothes.

§§ C.: the Liṅgavantas of Ratnamâlâpura.

|||| C.: who were bhavis.

¶¶ C.: l i ṅ g â ṅ g a s a ṅ g i n.

The princes of the earth, thinking of their power and being full of wrath, wanted to fetter the śivayogin* washerman with a rope, and to bring in forcibly the pure gaṇas (*vimalân gaṇân*)† that were in his house, and the clothes,‡ all the princes of the earth, in delusion as to their own glory, overlooking the power of Vîrasena yogin, and becoming angry precipitately and without cause. Thou with the handsome face! Vratins in connection with Śambhu (*śâmbhavâḥ*)§ certainly ruin the riches, the army and the great power of the princes of the earth who are blind from anger and ungrateful. The enmity which the wicked princes of the earth had against him concerned me too. Because the yogîndra of washing‖ had mastered the mantra (*oṁ namaḥ śivâya*) of gurus,¶ he could not listen to the bad advice of the princes of the earth. Everywhere listen to the valid order also of that gaṇâdhyaksha! **

Hill-born one! The mercenaries of the princes and the followers of the princes, like sparks of fire, fell on Vîrasena. All the princes,†† with their sharp weapons, overlooking his pure and brilliant glory that consisted in his having mastered the *mantra*, came to attack him with bows and arrows, accompanied with troops of elephants, many horses and chariots. When the gaṇanâyaka saw the moving of the leaders and soldiers, he spoke jokingly: "A moving of what people is this like a vimâna of the earth?"‡‡ The glorious Vîrasena, the gaṇâdhipa,§§ all at once took a resolution, made a whip of a washed cloth, and beat the ground with it. They did not pay any attention to the lashes of the whip, which were given by the strong fist of the gaṇâdhyaksha and were well known and the seat of heroism, but led on the furious elephants, the bodies of which were like mountains, and which ran driven by the hands and feet of the riders. The gaṇeśvara‖‖ thoughtfully looked at the elephants, putting his feet in position and bearing the pure liñga on his body. He became full of the wrath of the world-destroying Bhairava,¶¶ quickly struck them with his fists, and put to flight the hundred thousands of elephants, Mâheśvari! The mountain-like elephants fell to the ground by his blows as if by Jambhâri (*Indra*). He pounded with his feet the troop of swooned elephants as if it had been a mass of clouds. Gauri! The intelligent and glorious Vîrasena without delay pulled out two elephant-tusks, and beat down with them the swift horses. They fell to the ground with their heads cut off. When they saw the horses all fallen, the chiefs of the people and the foot-soldiers moved their feet, and covered him, O Hill-born one, as dark clouds cover the sun, with swords, mallets, lances, sharp spears, darts, clubs, discuses, and hatchets. But he lashed the powerful warriors with his whip. Pârvati! When the god-honoured man saw how the warlike, proud in their Cupid-resembling lustre, low-minded warriors tumbled from their seats on the necks of the elephants, he beat them furiously as the storm beats the clouds. The full-armed warriors with bows, arrows, and many badges of honour, seeing the crowned,* shining,† lordly (*vibhu*),‡ wind-swift liñgâñgasañgin who was boxing with a fist like a thunder-bolt, lost their courage and fled, Śive! Then the warriors on the huge chariots, who were expert in the use of all earthly weapons for cutting and thrusting, and were filled with the intoxication that arises when stepping on the battle-field, covered the washerman as darkness at night covers the moon, him, the gaṇâdhyaksha,§ who was whooping, dispersing the army, and faithfully keeping his vow, Gauri! O thou with the handsome face! they let a rain of arrows and other weapons fall on him.

This washerman of the śaraṇyas,‖ the agent of the pure Brahman (*vimalabrahma sâdhakaḥ*),¶ Vîra,** the washerman of the Bhûrudras,†† beat the army with the points of his

* C.: Liñgavânta. † C.: Liñgavantas and Jañgamas.
‡ C.: which they had laid down there.
§ C.: Śivaśaraṇas.
‖ C.: the ayya (master) of the maḍivâlas (washermen).
¶ C.: bhaṭṭârakas.
** C.: the avatâra of Vîrabhadra.
†† C.: that had come from the 56 countries to do homage (to the ruler of Ratnamâlâpura).
‡‡ C.: like frameworks or biers (*mâḍa*) for the corpses of the town.
§§ C.: the master of them who had the kâyaka of washing clothes.
‖‖ C.: Vîrasena.
¶¶ C.: pralaya Rudra.
* C.: who had a crown of rudrâkshas.
† C.: who had a kavacha of rudrâkshas.
‡ C.: who was an avatâra of Vîrabhadra.
§ C.: Liñgavanta.
‖ C.: Śivabhaktas.
¶ C.: nirañjana jañgama dhâtṛi.
** C.: the avatâra of Vîrabhadra.
†† C.: Liñgavantas. Compare "*bhûsuras*" as a title of the Brâhmaṇs.

hands as if he were beating clothes, he Vîrasena,‡‡ who was a lion to the elephant-like furious enemies, a lord of the gods, whose body was purified on account of the cloth-washing, who longed to conquer the world-births, §§ was firm (*samâtma*). ||| consisted of essence (*sârabhûta*),¶¶ was completing all virtuous acts, was faithful to his vow, possessed great power, had the s h a ḍ b a i n d a v a k r i y â s, * was the full-moon for the sea of the bhaktas, † whose members were strewn over with ashes, to the feet of whom Brahmâ and Vishṇu used to make obeisance, who was a V i r û p â k s h a,‡ incomprehensible and above the sciences, had mastered all the Tantras,§ was consecrated through the everlasting mantra (or *mantras*), had burned Cupid's weapons, used to say over his beads (*akshamâlâjapopetaḥ*),|| shone by the greatness of the mantra, possessed a body in which the nine bhaktis had taken refuge (*navabhaktiśaraṇyâṅgaḥ*), whose form was a new spectacle, who had the lustre of a crown of honour, wore his sash after the fashion of a boxer, had rid himself of the eight kinds of pride, and possessed bow and arrows in his hands. Gauri! when the men, enraged at the frustration of their desire, saw the calm guru who stood above the guṇas, they said to the gaṇâdhipa :¶ "Hollo, washerman of the Bhûrudras!** Thou standest on the head of the worthy people!†† Thou bearest a śaraṇyaka janma that is highly praised by the world! The furious elephants, warriors on chariots, horses and foot-soldiers that appear in the front, we shall cause to disappear (*lîna*)‡‡ in thy body within a moment, certainly!" When the g a ṇ â d h i p a §§ Vîrasena heard these words of the warriors and the assembled princes, he answered with the following words, which pleased all the good:—"I am under a vow. Without inquiring into my vow, from groundless wrath, you princes of the earth|||| oppose me to the ruin of all." To be sure he did not care for the inimical behaviour of the kings with their elephants, horses, chariots and soldiers, for their inimical behaviour on account of the vows of men under a vow¶¶ and of mahâtmans,* who may be compared to the wick of the lamps of knowledge. Daughter of the hill-king, devotedly look at the pair of feet that destroys (*even*) victors and bears pure and worthy sandals of wood, (*at the pair of feet*) of them† who offer their bodies,‡ of the glorious (*prabhâva*),§ of the vratins|| who belong to the very excellent V i r a ś a i v a s ! ¶ I shall come with thee.

When the rulers of the earth heard the words of V i r a s e n a, who had made the vow of washing the various garments of them whose mind was rooted in the sensible works (*viveka*)** of which the first one is the p i ṇ ḍ a†† and the last one the ś û n y a,‡‡ (*of them*) who desired to overcome the world by means of the beauty of their self-lustre,§§ of the great,|||| of the guṇins¶¶ and of the best of the gurus,* O Gauri, they blazing up like streams of ghee which fall on flaming tongues of fire, with their bows, arrows, shields and swords, began to beat the g a ṇ â d h i p a † with their fists and hands. As soon as the chief of the washermen‡ observed that, he began joyfully to fight as if Kâmahara's son

‡‡ C.: V î r a s e n a, the father of K a l i d e v a (*i.e.* hero-king). This K a l i d e v a, like the above-mentioned M â c h a, belongs to the old gaṇa-list at the head of which B a s a v a of Kalyâṇa stands. Śabdamaṇi Toṭadeva's list, verse 59. §§ C.: the b h a v i n s.

|||| C. had sthira buddhi.

¶¶ C.: possessed the saṁsârapañchamahâbhûtas.

* C.: was united with the arpaṇas of sadyojâta, vâmadeva, aghora, tatpurusha, îśâna, and gopya, that are united with the six ś a k t i s which are called p a r â c h i t s, *e.g.* kriyechchhâjñâna.

† C.: Liṅgavantas.

‡ C.: was a person by whom the objects (of the world) had been dismissed.

§ C.: whose âchâra was the śivaśaktikumâraguruśishyâgamavidhâna.

|| C.: who performed japa by means of the rudrâksha-string. ¶ C.: Liṅgavanta.

** C.: Liṅgavantas.

†† C.: Liṅgavantas.

‡‡ C.: b a y a l (Kannaḍa).

§§ C.: pramathanâyaka.

|||| C.: you kings of the j i n a m a t a near the P â ṇ ḍ a v a s at Ratnamâlîpura.

¶¶ C.: *e.g.* B a s a v a and (his nephew) C h a n n a B a s a v a.

* C.: (Allama) *Prabhu, Siddharâma* (both of whom are cotemporaries of Basava) and other jaṅgamas.

† C.: the M â h e ś v a r a s.

‡ C.: Their bodies, minds, and riches, on account of âchâra.

§ C.: the viraktas, ârâdhyas, atitis, and ghanaliṅgas.

|| C.: the bhaktas, mâheśvaras, prasâdins, prâṇaliṅgins, śaraṇas, and aikyas (*i.e.* persons who belong to the six sthalas).

¶ C.: to the Liṅgadhâraṇasamaya, and stand highest among the thirty Śaivas.

** C.: sîla.

†† C.: piṇḍasthala (adding again the expletory sthala)

‡‡ C.: jñânaśûnya sthala. The piṇḍâdiśûnyânta sthala form the 101 sthalas of the Liṅgâytas; see, *e.g.* Viveka-chintâmaṇi, 2nd prakaraṇa.

§§ C.: which is their âchâra.

|||| C.: mahants like G h a ṭ ṭ i v â ḷ a, M u d d a, and others. G h a ṭ ṭ i v â ḷ a occurs, v. 56, in the Basava gaṇa list mentioned above.

¶¶ C.: those who havė aṅgaguṇas and liṅgaguṇas.

* C.: of the Ârâdhyas.

† C.: Liṅgavanta.

‡ C.: who was the father of (the above-mentioned) K a l i d e v a, and the grandfather of (the above-mentioned) M â c h a.

played with ball. When they saw his glorious form they ran at him as owls at the sun. They who had mounted horses, elephants and chariots, and the foot-soldiers and princes who had escaped with their lives, whilst encouraging one another, fell to the ground under the lashes of the whip in his hand, which was formed of the damp garment, just as doves fall under the strokes of a falcon. The lords of the earth, who were masters (*guru*) in the art of archery, stood with bows bent and arrows put on, and had bodies like Cupid, seeing how he threw down, remained himself unhurt, and destroyed the wicked people,§ how he showed a glorious and terrible fortitude, how his whole body, like that of virâgins, had a dark-red lustre, and how the ends of the bundle which contained the washed clothes of the Bhârudias,|| were tied round his shoulders, became afraid indeed and all who were assembled there did homage to the sword-bearer, with his pair of arms and thighs that belonged to a body which consisted of an essence glittering like poison, to the figure which was purified through Indra's hymns of praise. And the gods (*sura*) praised him who was endless, without a second,¶ an undivided form (*akhaṇḍamûrti*),** had red hairs as the sun drawn by seven horses, resembled Somakalâdhara (*Śiva*), bore an umbrella (*-like bundle of clothes on his shoulders which was white*) as the moon, and was Svayambhu himself.

§ C.: the army of the Pâṇḍavânvaya.
|| C.: Liñgavantas.
¶ C.: had the ekavratanishṭhâ of being a Śivabhakta kulaja.
** C.: had a shoḍaśavarshaprâya.

---

# LEGENDS AND NOTES ON CUSTOMS.

BY THE REV. JOHN CAIN, DUMAGUDEM.

*Legend of Kukkakâkâni, Krishṇa District, S. I.*

In the village of Kukkakâkâni, which is situated between Gaṇṭur and Mangalagiri, in the southern part of the Krishṇa District, is a stone very rudely carved. The top part of the stone is broken off, but any one can see at a glance that the figures cut on the stone were a horseman and two dogs pursuing what seems to be a pig. There is an interesting legend connected with this stone and the village, which, as told at the village itself, is as follows :—

Some two hundred years ago a man went to the village of Koṇḍapaḷḷi to borrow some money from a merchant residing there. He promised to repay the money within two or three months. The merchant, however, naturally asked for some better security than his bare word, and to his great astonishment the borrower proposed to leave his favourite hound in pawn. To assure the merchant that the security was good, he turned to the dog and gave it several orders, which were instantly executed. Looking at the dog he then said, "Now I have put you in pawn for two months, and you are *not* to return till the money is paid; so go now and sit down by the merchant." Fully understanding all that was said, the dog immediately left his master and took up his station by the side of the merchant. The latter, now fully trusting the applicant for money, paid it over at once, and the dog remained with him. Before the two months had elapsed, one night the merchant's house was plundered excepting the room where the dog was tied up. In the morning when the merchant arose he discovered his loss, but going to the dog he unloosed him, and saw to his astonishment the dog set off as if following the scent of the rogues. Thinking that he could not do better than follow the dog, he likewise set off in pursuit, and at last, searching carefully the place where the dog came to a stand-still, he found all his property carefully concealed. On returning home he called the dog, and having written a note saying that he considered that the dog's intelligence and faithfulness had fully cleared off the debt, he tied the note to the animal's neck and sent him off to his master. The latter happened to have been able to procure a sum of money, and was on his way to redeem his favourite, when he met him on the road. Angry at what he thought a breach of honour on the part of the dog, he hastily raised his spear and killed him on the spot. He had no sooner done this than he spied the note, and on opening and reading it he discovered the terrible mistake he had been guilty of. Deep remorse now filled his mind, and turning round he slew his horse and then himself. A very short time after this u *mani* who was living near happened to come by, and saw the corpses, the money, and the note.

Being a man of great understanding, he comprehended the whole in an instant, and taking up the money, called in certain masons and had the above-mentioned stone carved in commemoration of the event. He also built a small mud tower around the stone. For some time the spirit of the dog assumed the shape of a *piśâchi* and troubled the passers by, but before very long this ceased. The former name of the village close by was K â k â n i, but after the above-related event occurred it was changed to K u k k a k â k â n i: *kukka* is the Telugu name for a dog.

### *The Razu and the Tiger.*

Near Dumagudem a stone with a rudely carved figure of a man seizing a tiger and killing it, was shown to me some three months ago. It was said to have been put up two hundred years ago to commemorate one of the former petty *razus* of Pedda Nallapalli being attacked by a tiger on his way home. A fierce struggle ensued, which ended in the death of both the man and the tiger. Whether similar stones are often to be met with or not I do not know.

### *Notes on Customs.*

After the days of ceremonial uncleanness consequent upon the birth of a child are over, it is the custom amongst many women of the Śûdra caste in the Northern Sarkârs to repair to the banks of a river, or to a tank or well. There they take a lump of mud, and the happy mother shapes it into something like the form of a frog; she then places on its forehead the *boṭṭu* (spot), and having adorned it with turmeric offers the *naidvedyam.* This done, she distributes to the friends who have accompanied her a number of small cakes, &c., and then they return home.

I have not been able to find out the reason of this ceremony.

### *Worship of the Cobra.*

Whilst I was living in Ellore Fort, in September 1873, a large crowd of people, chiefly women and children, came in, and visiting every white-ant hill poured upon each their offerings of milk, flowers, and fruit, to the intense delight of all the crows in the neighbourhood, who thereby had a feast which lasted them all the afternoon. The day was called the *Nagula Chaturdhi*—Chaturdhi, the fourth day of the eighth lunar month—and was said to be the day when Vâsuki, Takshakâ, and the rest of the thousand *nagulu* were born to Kaśyâpa-Brahma by his wife Kadruva. See the *Skanda Purâṇa.*

The other chief occasions when these ant-hills are resorted to are when people are afflicted with ear-ache, or pains in the eye, and certain skin diseases. They visit the anthills, pour out milk, cold rice, fruit, &c., and carry away part of the earth, which they apply to the troublesome member, and if they afterwards call in a Brâhmaṇ to repeat a *mantra* or two they feel sure the complaint will soon vanish. Many parents first cut their children's hair near one of these hillocks, and offer the first-fruits of the hair to the serpents residing there.

### *The Erikelavandlu.*

The Erikelavandlu women (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. iii. p. 151) are accustomed to honour their lords and masters with the dignified title of 'cocks.'

### *The Vaddevandlu.*

The women of the Vaddevandlu section of the tank-digger caste only wear the glass bracelets on the left arm, as in years gone by (according to their own account) a seller of these bracelets was one day persuading them to buy, and leaving the bracelets on their left arms went away, promising to return with a fresh supply for their right arms. As yet he has not re-appeared.

16*th March* 1876.

## CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

### *To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.*

SIR,—As I was perusing the other day Mr. R. V. Tullu's interesting account of Maheśvara, published at p. 347 of vol. IV. of the *Indian Antiquary,* I found that one of Malhârrao Holkar's attributes (भोगिभोगातपत्रः), occurring in the second śloka of the inscription transcribed from the temple of Ahalyabai (?), was translated thus :—"Having an umbrella white as the skin of the snake."

I beg to propose another interpretation of the passage as follows :—"Having the expanded hood of a snake for his umbrella."

I dissolve the *bahûvrihi* compound thus :—

भोगिभोगः (Ttp. 6) आतपत्रं यस्य सः

Referring the word भोग to Dr. Benfey's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* I find that it also means

"a snake's expanded hood;" and in support of this meaning the learned lexicographer refers the reader to *Panchatantra* 53. 6. Bhavabhûti also uses the word in the same sense in his Nândi to the *Mâlatî Mâdhava* (Śloka 1, line 2).

त्रासान्नासाग्ररन्ध्रं विशति फणिपतौ भोगसङ्कोचभाजि,

where, according to the celebrated commentator Jagaddhara, the word may mean either the *body* of a snake or its *hood*, in support of which he quotes an authority from *Vishva Kośa*, which is this:—

भोगः सुखे स्त्र्यादिभृतावहेश्च फणकाययोः

The interpretation which I propose above exactly corresponds to the popular tradition indissolubly associated with Malhârrao Holkar's name, and running thus:—

Once upon a time as the shepherd-boy Malhâri was tending his flock of sheep, he fell asleep at noon. A serpent seeing the future king of Mâlwâ suffer from the scorching rays of the sun, immediately crawled out of its hole and expanded its *hood* over the face of the boy, thereby foreshadowing his future greatness.

The above tradition has also been referred to by Major-General Sir John Malcolm, in his *Memoir of Central India*, chapter VI., on the Holkar family.

In the interpretation which Mr. Tullu puts upon the compound it is necessary to get the word 'white' from without. Besides, I am not sure that the word भोग means 'the skin of a snake.'

Allow me, as I conclude, to thank Mr. Tullu for the service he has rendered to the antiquities of Maheśvara by visiting them personally and committing to paper his remarks thereon, thereby attracting the attention of the antiquarian to the famous city of the great Sahasrârjuna in times of yore, and of the venerable Ahalyâbâi in modern times!

*April 13th*, 1876. B.

---

BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS IN CEYLON.

The Ceylon Government has just published a report by the Chief Translator, Louis de Zoyza Mudliâr, on four official visits paid by him to the temple libraries in Ceylon for the purpose of estimating the value of the literary treasures of the island. The Mudliâr, though a Christian, met on the whole with a very favourable reception from the heads of the various Buddhist monasteries, though we regret that in three or four instances he appears to have been received with a good deal of mistrust, the monks evidently suspecting Government of some design upon their collections. Thus at Galkanda monastery, the librarian, an exceedingly learned Buddhist priest, "politely refused" to allow the Mudliâr to inspect the books under his charge, on the plea (which, however, appears to be a just one) that he had already furnished Government with a complete catalogue of the library. At two important monasteries known to possess wealthy libraries only a few common books were produced, and the Government representative was informed that there were no others. On the other hand, at Mulgirigal temple, from which Turnour obtained his famous MS. of the commentary on the *Mahawansa*, the priest in charge "was exceedingly civil and frank, and seemed highly to appreciate the object of Government in wishing to preserve the manuscripts of Ceylon." At a temple near Tangalle the librarian not only produced all his books, but helped the Mudliar to make a catalogue of them. At the Ridi Vihâra, or "Silver Abbey," the manuscripts, some of which were of extraordinary beauty, were preserved in a large box curiously painted and set with precious stones, and from the depths of this box the monks produced "with some pride" a copy of the first volume of Professor Childers's "Pali Dictionary"! At Madawela it turned out that a once magnificent library had been destroyed by the British troops in the Kandyán rebellion of 1818. At Tissawa the monk ruefully exhibited "a heap of fragments of books, of which nothing could be made, said to have been destroyed by the white ants." It is reassuring to hear that they also possessed "a good collection of valuable manuscripts." Mr. de Zoyza—who, it must be remembered, is a Simhalese, though, like many of his countrymen, bearing a European name—appears to have carried out the task entrusted to him with tact and energy, and his report is interesting reading. The results of his mission are not inconsiderable. Some seventy or eighty rare or unknown MSS. were examined, many of which are likely to be of much historical and philological value. Probably the greatest "trouvaille" is a copy of a Simhalese gloss on the *Dhammapada*, which, with the exception of the rock inscription at Mahintale, is now the oldest known specimen of Simhalese prose. It is to be hoped that the Ceylon Government will order the publication of this unique work, which, apart from its literary value, may be expected to throw much light on the growth and history of the Simhalese language. Incidentally he gives some interesting archæological notes, and he describes his discovery of several rock inscriptions, one of which has enabled him to correct an error of thirteen years in Turnour's "*Chronology of the later Simhalese Kings.*" —*Pall Mall Gazette.*

---

DR. GOLDSCHMIDT'S REPORT ON THE CEYLON INSCRIPTIONS.

The following is the text of Dr. Goldschmidt's Report on the Inscriptions in the North-Central

Province. Dr. Goldschmidt's services have been engaged for two years, and he has as yet only examined the inscriptions in a single district of Ceylon.

"In giving a general report of my work on Ceylon inscriptions during the last six months, I cannot attempt yet to connect the data to be derived from them into an historical account.

"A comparatively small portion of the inscriptions has come down to us in perfect preservation, the great majority of them being more or less considerably damaged, partly from natural causes, partly by wilful destruction, the natives supposing the ancient Siṁhalese letters, which by a curious misnomer they invariably style 'Nâgara,' to indicate some hidden treasure; thus, at Maṇḍagala (thirteen miles from Anurâdhapura, in the jungle near the Kurunægala road), a long inscription was, for this reason only, completely destroyed some twenty years ago.

"My collection now contains eighty-three copies, comprising about one-half of all the inscriptions to be found in the North-Central Province, among which there are three in Tamiḷ, and these not very ancient ones, the remainder being Siṁhalese of various ages.

"No inscription of the pre-Buddhistic period having been discovered, we may infer from this fact that the custom, and perhaps even the art, of writing was unknown to the Siṁhalese as late as the reign of Devânampiya Tisso; from that time to the present day Siṁhalese has always been written in the same alphabet, made known to us in its original shape by J. Prinsep, the decipherer of King Aśoka's inscriptions, but so changed in the course of nearly 2,100 years as to exhibit hardly any trace of resemblance between the ancient characters and the letters now in use.

"By finding out the links between the old Indian alphabet and the modern Siṁhalese, I was enabled after a short time to decipher inscriptions of all ages.

"The general squarish or angular character of the old letters is maintained as far down as to the third century A.D., while in the beginning of the eighth century we already meet with an alphabet similar to the rounded modern Siṁhalese in its whole aspect. It is in the intermediate time that Siṁhalese and Pâli literature seems to have flourished most; this circumstance accounts for the rapid change of the letters, as well as for the great development we find the language to have undergone simultaneously.

"As for the places where inscriptions are found, the old *Vihâras* rank foremost. The most ancient and a very numerous portion of them is seen in caves, with no more contents, generally, than the dedication by some king or private person of the cave to the priesthood.

"There are nine such caves at Mihintale, two at Wessagiri near Anurâdhapura, four near the village Nettukaṇḍa (eighteen miles from Mihintale, in the jungle towards Trinkamali), and some at several other places I have visited.

"The inscriptions at Wessagiri refer to the donation of two caves by the wife and son, respectively, of the Brâhmaṇ Halikada, who seems to be the identical Brâhmaṇ mentioned in the *Mahâvaṅśo* as one of the ambassadors sent by King Devânampiya Tisso to King Dharmâśoka. These, together with many other cave-inscriptions in which Brâhmaṇs appear as donors, furnish us with the interesting fact that originally the Brâhmaṇ caste must have been a powerful and zealous member of the Buddhist community of Ceylon, while later every trace of them is lost among the Siṁhalese. Short though they are, and generally devoid of historical interest, these inscriptions are highly valuable as being the oldest specimens of the Siṁhalese language; and by comparing them with the contemporary languages of India, known to us by the inscriptions of King Aśoka, as well as with the other Âryan dialects, we obtain the first foundation for a history of the Siṁhalese language and an explanation of its grammar.

"There is another large class of inscriptions engraved on huge rocks, generally in the immediate vicinity of ancient *Vihâras*, to which particularly my above remark about wilful destruction of the old letters applies. They also mostly refer to donations to the priesthood, supply of the four requisites (*pratyayas*), construction of a *Vihâra*, *Chaityas*, &c., the relationship of the donor being often mentioned. King Gajabâhu (113-125 A.D.), to whom I have reason for ascribing the numerous inscriptions I have found bearing the name of Gâmini Abhaya (while King Dushṭagâmini, who is known to have styled himself Gâmini Abhaya, must have used a more ancient form of the alphabet), tells us, as far as I have made out, nothing of his wars in India. One inscription found on the Ruwanwæli Dâgoba at Anurâdhapura, and containing the full name of the king ('Gayabâhu Gâmini Abhaya'), refers to *Vihâras* constructed for the Dakshiṇa and Abhaya divisions of the priesthood. The names of several tanks are given in another inscription of the same king, engraved on an enormous rock at the entrance to the *Vihâra*, Mihintale, and covering a space of 27′ × 14′ 6″; but this is unfortunately defaced in too many places to admit of an explanation of the contents. The successor of King Gajabâhu, Mallaka Nâga, states on the rock of Mahâ Ratmala

(three miles from Anurâdhapura, towards Kurunægala) that he supported the priesthood with rice-gruel (*yâku*) and boiled rice (*bata*). There are inscriptions belonging to King Bâtiya Tisso, probably the second of this name, at Galgirikanda (eight miles from Mâdawachhiya, near the road to Jaffna), to Sirinâga at Anurâdhapura, and to others, written in the same characters.

"I have met with no inscription of the most famous king of the earlier centuries of the Christian era, Śrî Saṅgabo I.; but his murderer and successor, Meghavarṇa (Golu) Abhaya, has left us an inscription on a rock at Dubelgalpansala (about three miles from the road to Trinkamali, eleven miles from Mihintale), and the minister of king Mahâsena, son of Gothâbhaya, also called Meghavarna Abhaya, appears in a long but defaced inscription on the Ruwanwæli Dâgoba, Anurâdhapura. Then follows a long period, inscriptions of which I have not seen as yet, before we meet with the name of Śrî Saṅgabo III. on several stones. A long inscription of his at Mihintale, written on fourteen broken slabs of stone, refers, as far as it is preserved, to several weights of gold, the use of which I have not been able to make out. A stone pillar at Anurâdhapura contains an edict of this king about fishing in Abbayawæwa; another one, found at Mahâkalattæwa (six miles from Anurâdhapura, on the road to Galkulam), grants freedom from taxation to the place where the king had built a nunnery in honour of his mother; a fourth one was lately found at Goṁkollæwa near Mâdawachhiya.

"The four last-mentioned inscriptions are dated, giving the year of the king's reign and the day of the lunar month. It is a matter of surprise to find, in the inscription at Anurâdhapura, the king reigning in his nineteenth year, while, according to the *Mahâvaṅso*, the time of Śrî Saṅghabodhi III.'s reign did not exceed sixteen years (702-718 A.D.). The full date of this inscription is the thirteenth day of the lunar month Mændindina (March), in the nineteenth year; the date of the inscription at Mihintale, the full day of the lunar month Hihila (*i.e.* the 'cold' month, November), in the twelfth year; the date of the inscription at Mahâkalattæwa, the tenth day of the lunar month Nawaya (February), in the fifteenth year of the reign of Śrî Saṅgabo. The date of the inscription at Goṁkollæwa, which is much defaced, I am not able to make out, except that it was written on a *poya* or full-moon day.

"Besides these, I have copied a great number of other stone-pillar inscriptions of the same and later periods. Often we meet with such pillars having a crow and a dog engraved on one side. This, according to the interpretation of the natives, means a curse, viz., whoever shall violate this property of the priesthood shall be punished by being re-born in the low condition of one of these animals; often the same pillars show also the signs of the sun, a half-moon, a priest's fan.

"As the inscriptions latest in date copied by me, I have to mention one long one of King Nissanka Malla, the same king whose three inscriptions at Pollanaruwa have been published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April 1874), found on the Ruwanwæli Dâgoba at Anurâdhapura, and one inscription of Lag Vijayasingankit, general to King Salamevan of the Okâka branch, husband to the (famous) queen Lilâvatî, written in the third year of the king's reign, according to which the general had built near Abhayawæwa (now generally called by its Tamil name, Bassâvakkulam) a golden palace (*ruwanpâya*), which word perhaps may only imply a palace called so after the Ruwanwæli Dâgoba for the use of the priesthood, and furnished them with the four *prayatyas*. The alphabet in which these last-named inscriptions are written is in many letters already almost identical with the modern Siṁhalese alphabet.

"I have examined and copied until now the inscriptions at Anurâdhapura, at Mihintale, in the jungle in the direction of Trinkamali, Puttalam, Kurunægala, near Madâwachhiya on the Central road, and at a few other places.

"Of the ancient and famous Dâgobas at Anurâdhapura, only the Ruwanwæli Dâgoba (the Mahâthûpo of the *Mahâvaṅso*) exhibits a considerable number of inscribed stones, most of which I have mentioned above; the Thûpârâmo has two short old inscriptions without special interest. The Abhayagiri Dâgoba contains one of the longest inscriptions in the island (written about the tenth century), which is, however, so much defaced that little of its contents can be guessed. The other Dagobas, the Marichavaṭṭi, the Jatavanârâmo Dâgoba, have not yet been cleared. I have not seen as yet, in the inscriptions found near the ancient tanks, any notice concerning the means by which they were constructed.

"As the history of the Siṁhalese kings is comparatively well known from the chronicles, and statements about the culture and the development of the people are rarely met with in the Orient, either in historical books or in inscriptions, the chief result to be derived from a compilation of the Siṁhalese inscriptions will be a linguistic one, as we shall have the rare advantage of tracing out from the inscriptions a continued history of the Siṁhalese language. Siṁhalese is now proved to be a thorough Âryan dialect, having its nearest relations in some of the dialects used

in King Aśoka's inscriptions, as well as in the Mahârâshṭrî Prâkrit of the Indian middle age, while it differs from Pâli in very essential points; many of the difficulties of Siṁhalese grammar can already be explained by the help of the ancient inscriptions.

"For the reproduction of inscriptions I have applied paper copies (squeezes) wherever it was possible, but a great number of the inscribed stones, rough, worn out, and defaced, do not admit of this; in many cases the restoration of the old letters is left to conjecture.

"P. GOLDSCHMIDT.

"Anurâdhapura, Sept. 2, 1875."

(From *The Academy*, Nov. 20, 1875.)

## THE TEXT OF TABARI.

Mr. H. W. Freeland, of Chichester, has forwarded to us the enclosed letter for publication. Mr. Freeland will be happy to receive and transmit to the proper quarter any contributions which the friends of Oriental literature may be willing to make:—

*Leyden, November* 2, 1875.

"DEAR SIR,—Allow me to give you some more particulars about a great literary undertaking at which I just hinted during your visit to our town: the publication of the large original *Chronology of Tabari*, the greatest historical work of the Arabic literature. The labour being too great for a single person, it has been divided between several scholars, under the superintendence of my friend and colleague, Professor de Goeje. Dr. Barth, of Berlin, will give the introduction and the Biblical history; Professor Nöldeke, of Strassburg, the Sassanides; Professor Loth, of Leipzig, the Prophet and the four first Khalifs; Dr. Müller and Dr. Grünert, of Berlin, and Professor Thorbecke, of Heidelberg, the Omaiyades; Professor de Goeje himself the Abbasides. 'It will be,' as Professor Sprenger writes, 'the task of this age to publish a critical edition of Tabari's history, just as well as to explore the interior of Africa and the Polar regions.' In comparison with the two last-named undertakings the expenses of the first will be small. But expenses there will be—not for the printing, Messrs. Brill of this town being quite ready to do that at their own risk, but for the copying of those MSS. which are inaccessible to the editors. In Constantinople those parts have been copied already which are not to be found in Western Europe, with the exception of a fragment, which will still cost 42*l*. In the British Museum one part has been copied, and another collated. Mr. de Goeje has been able to defray those expenses by a donation, of 210*l*. from Professor Stähelin, of Basle, and by a subsidy of 125*l*. from our Government. What remains is to obtain a copy of the other MSS. in Constantinople and the British Museum, which are to be collated with those we have, and a copy of a *complete* MS. which exists in Medina. Mr. de Goeje cannot state precisely the sum he wants for all that, but it certainly will be more than what has been already expended. The money is hard to find, and it would be a pity if the splendid undertaking miscarried through a merely pecuniary hindrance. Perhaps you and your friends in England will be disposed to lend a hand towards its realization. English gentlemen have shown very often that to large fortunes they join the love of science and the will to promote it; so I come to you as a beggar, the more confidently as I have no personal interest in the matter, my time being wholly taken up by quite another work. Believe me, dear Sir, yours very truly, R. DOZY."—*The Academy*.

## CUSTOM AMONG THE LAMAS OF THIBET.

The following strange custom of the Lamas of Tibet is related in the Report of the Yarkand Mission. At the yearly festival held at Joh, the bones of defunct Lamas, brought from all quarters, are boiled in a huge cauldron. On this occasion two or three aged Lamas always sacrifice themselves by jumping into the boiling liquor, and become converted into soup which is called *sholandrshan*. At the conclusion of the festival, this soup is distributed amongst the attendant Lamas, who fill it into copper vessels covered with red cloth: these copper vessels are called *lonkha*, and are carried about the person, suspended on one side from the girdle. When all these Lamas disperse and return to their own homes, they distribute their store of *sholandrshan* to the other Lamas, who receive it in little copper vessels the size of a thimble, and similar in shape to the *lonkha*. They are always worn slung at the waist from the girdle; and when he eats, the Lama first dips a wood pencil into the little copper bottle, and passes it across his tongue.

## THE SNAKES.

The Heaven is your Father, and the Earth is your Mother,
Soma your brother, Aditi your sister, O serpents!
Unseen but all-seeing, remain in your holes, and hiding
Enjoy and amuse yourselves there in your fashion.

*Ṛig-Veda*, II. 5. 12.*

* From Baierlein's *Land of the Tamulians*, by J. D. B. Gribble, M.C.S.

# REMARKS ON THE ŚIKSHÂS.

BY DR. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE, PUṆA.

(*Concluded from p. 144.*)

I NOW proceed to give a short account of the Śikshâ treatises which I have been able to collect up to the present. Owing to the imperfect condition of my MSS., this account will not in every case be as accurate or complete as I could wish it to be. I nevertheless venture to hope that it will not be considered entirely useless or void of interest.

1. The AMOGHÂNANDINÎ ŚIKSHÂ belongs to the *Mâdhyandina Śâkhâ* of the *Yajurveda.* My MS. of this work contains 57 ślokas, which, so far as I can make out from the very incorrect text, treat of the pronunciation of certain letters. The treatise begins :—

प्रणम्य शिरसा स्थाणुं त्रिलोकेशं त्रिलोचनम् ।
त्रिपुरघ्नं त्रयीमूर्तिं शिक्षेयं क्रियते मया ॥ १ ॥
यथाबुद्ध्या यजुर्वेदे सोमेश्वरप्रसादतः ।
माध्यंदिनस्य शाखायामुदाहरणसंयुता ॥ २ ॥
पाणिनीयादिशिक्षाभ्यो यत्साक्षान्नोपलभ्यते ।
शिष्याणामुपदेशाय तदशेषं मयोच्यते ॥ ३ ॥

and it ends :—

लक्षा [लक्ष्या ?] नुसारिणी ह्येषा कृता वाजसनेयिनाम् ।
अमोघनन्दसंज्ञेयं पूजनीया मनीषिभिः ॥ ५७ ॥

The Library of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta possesses a work entitled *Amoghânandinî Śikshâ*, which contains only 17 ślokas, all of which are found in my own copy. Dr. Râjendralâl Mitra (*Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* No. I. p. 72) mentions another work which bears the same title, but contains 120 ślokas.

2. The ÂPIŚALÎ ŚIKSHÂ treats of the classification and pronunciation (*sthâna* and *prayatna*) of the letters of the alphabet. It is written in prose, but ends with three ślokas which give a *résumé* of the preceding prose portion. My MS. contains 44 lines each of about 42 aksharas.—A very large portion of this Śikshâ is quoted by *Hemachandra* in the commentary on his Sûtra तुल्यस्थानास्यप्रयत्नः स्वः (तथा चापिशलिः शिक्षामधीते । नाभिप्रदेशात्प्रयत्नप्रेरितः प्राणो नाम वायुरित्यादि ), and its contents are given in the *Sikshâdhyâya* of the *Bharatabhâshya* mentioned above.*

3. The ARAṆYA-ŚIKSHÂ treats chiefly of the peculiar accentuation of Vedic passages met with in the *Taittirîya Âraṇyaka*: it professes to have been based on nine other Śikshâs. It begins :—

गणपतिमभिवन्द्यावद्यजातामयघ्नं
स्वरपदमिति वर्णोद्बोधनं (?) शीलनेन ।
क्षितिसुरगणहेतोरेतदारण्यशिक्षा-
मृतमिह नवशिक्षावारिधेरुद्धरामि ॥
आद्युदात्तानि वाक्यानि चैकद्वित्र्यादिसंख्यया ।
त्रिविधानि तु वृन्दानि विस्पष्टान्यत्र कृत्स्नशः ।
उदाह्रियन्तेऽध्येतॄणां संदेहानां निवृत्तये ॥
आदिमध्यान्तग्रहणं क्रियते यत्र तत्र तु ।
वाक्यानामिति मन्तव्यं श्रुतिस्त्वेकश्रुतेरिति ॥
भवेतामाद्युदात्तौ च यत्तच्छब्दौ तु सर्वतः ।
योषित्प्रतिमया चेम इमे नित्यं परं न चेत् ॥

and it ends :—

इत्थं निरूप्य सकलं स्वरवर्णजालं
प्रश्नेषु पञ्चसु मुदे निगमे पटूनाम् ।
आरण्यके यदिह किंचन नन्यरूपि (?)
तद्बुद्धिमद्भिरखिलं स्वयमूहनीयम् ॥

This Śikshâ is accompanied by an anonymous commentary. Both the text and the commentary fill in my MS. 60 pages, each of which contains 9 lines with about 35 aksharas in each line.

4. The KEŚAVA-ŚIKSHÂ belongs to the *Mâdhyandina Śâkhâ* of the *Yajurveda.* It treats, like the *Pratijnâsûtra* 9-27, of the pronunciation of the letters य्, व्, ष् (to be pronounced as ख्, *e.g.* इषे = इखे), र (to be pronounced as रे, *e.g.* दर्शत = दरेशत), ल् (to be pronounced as ले, *e.g.* शतवल्श = शतवलेश), Anusvâra, the doubling of consonants, the

* See also Jinendrabuddhi's *Kâśikâ-vivaraṇapanjikâ* on P. I, 1, 9, where the *Âpiśalî Śikshâ* has likewise been made use of.—Patanjali, in his comment on the Vârttika सिद्धमनच्त्वात् on P. I, 1, 10, appears (in the words स्पृष्टं करणं स्पर्शानाम् । ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तःस्थानाम् । विवृतमूष्मणाम् । स्वराणां च विवृतम् । ) to quote a Śikshâ which may have resembled the *Âpiśalî*,—unless indeed the rules given by him should have been quoted from the *Atharvaveda-prâtiśâkhya* I, [illegible] ( स्पृष्टं स्पर्शानां करणम् । ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तःस्थानाम् । ऊष्मणां विवृतं च । स्वराणां च । ).

pronunciation of ऋ (to be pronounced as रे, *e.g.* कृष्ण = क्रेष्ण), and the somewhat prolonged pronunciation of short vowels. Altogether this treatise contains nine sûtras called *Mádhyandiniyaveda-paribhâshânkasûtrani*, which are accompanied by a full commentary and the contents of which are repeated in six kârikâs. The following are the two first sûtras and the first kârikâ :—

पदादौ पूर्वहल्व्योर्द्वयोश्चारौ. संपूर्वयोश्च च्छन्दसि ॥ १ ॥

*e.g.* वायवः । यज्ञपतिः । संयौमि ॥

पदाद्यन्तमध्य ऋहरेफयुग्यस्य यश्च ॥ २ ॥

*e.g.* सामान्यृग्भिः । मह्यम् । धुर्यौ ॥

पूर्वाहल्व्योः पदादौ च वेदे संपूर्वयोर्द्वयौ (?) ।
यस्यर्हरेफयुक्तस्य यः पदाद्यन्तमध्यके (?) ॥ १ ॥†

My MS. begins :—

नत्वा गणपतिं देवं परिभाषाङ्कसूत्रकम् ।
उच्यते केशवेनेदं वेदाध्यायिसुखाप्तये ॥

and it ends :—

इति माध्यंदिनीयवेदपरिभाषाङ्कसूत्राणि ॥ इति केशवशिक्षा समाप्ता ॥

The Calcutta MS., however, which I have compared, ends as follows :—

इति माध्यंदिनीयवेदपरिभाषाङ्कसूत्राणि समाप्तानि । इति केशवकृतनवसूत्रव्याख्या समाप्ता ।.

It thereupon repeats the nine sûtras, and concludes with the words इति कात्यायनाचार्यकृतनवसूत्राणि समाप्तानि, ascribing thereby the nine sûtras to Kâtyâyana, and only the commentary and the six kârikâs to Keśava.

5. The CHÂRÂYAṆÎYA-ŚIKSHÂ or *Chârâyaṇî Mahâśikshâ*, or, as it is several times called in the body of the work, the *Chârâyaṇîyakam*, consists of 10 adhyâyas with 335 ślokas, if my calculation be correct. The expression एतच्चाराय-णेर्मतम् which occurs in the second adhyâya shows that this treatise professes to have been composed by C h â r â y a ṇ i. It quotes Vasishṭha and Sanatkumâra,‡ and its contents are as follows :—

Adhyâya I, 64 ślokas : On the classification and pronunciation of the letters.

A. II, 57 śl. : On the combination of letters.

A. III, 37 śl. : On the combination of words ; ends :—

संहितायां विधिः प्रोक्तः कवीनामनुकम्पया ।
पुरा सक्तुधैर्जुष्टः सैनिकैरिव केशवः ॥

A. IV, 28 śl. : On the study and recitation of the Veda.

A. V, 18 śl. : On the different Svaritas, &c.

A. VI, 19 śl. : On Virâma, the Mâtrâs, and Vivṛittis (containing an enumeration of metres used in classical Sanskṛit : Vasantatilaka, Mâlinî, Mandâkrânta, &c.).

A. VII, 8 śl. : On the Vṛittis (drutâ, &c.).

A. VIII, 46 śl. : On the Piṇḍas, Svarabhakti, and Ranga.

A. IX, 18 śl., and A. X, 40 śl. : On Krama, &c.

The MS. which I have used was procured by Dr. Bühler in Kâshmîr ; it begins :—

ओं नमो नारायणाय ।
ओं प्राक्प्रपद्ये विभुं भक्त्या सर्वलोकपितामहम् ।
शिक्षां साक्षात्प्रवक्ष्यामि तेनैवालपितामहम् ॥
चारायणीं महाशिक्षां प्रवक्ष्याम्यनुपूर्वशः ।
निबोधत बुधैर्जुष्टां नित्यं वाङ्मलशान्तये ॥
वर्णानां चैव संख्यानं संज्ञा स्थानं पृथग्विधम् ।
स्वराः सव्यञ्जनाश्चैव तेषां भेदमशेषतः ॥

and it ends :—

षट्पञ्चाशत्प्रथमे वै त्रिंशच्छ्लोका द्वितीयके ।
तृतीये त्रिंशच्चैवोक्ता एकेनोनाश्चतुर्थके ॥
षट्त्रिंशत्पञ्चमे प्रोक्ताः सप्त चत्वारि एव हि ।
चत्वारिंशदष्टमे वै नवमे तु त्रयोदश ॥

† Instead of य्र a Calcutta MS. which I have compared reads everywhere ज .—I am enabled to state on the best authority that all the rules laid down in the *Keśava-śikshâ* are strictly observed by the followers of the *Mâdhyandina śâkhâ*.

‡ Adhyâya III, 2 :—

तथा सनत्कुमारः ।
स्वरेऽक्षरमिति प्राहुराचार्याः शब्दचिन्तकाः ।
समुदायः पदं तेषां तत्रतुर्धा व्यवस्थितम् ॥
नासिकाख्याभिके (!) चोभे नैपातिकमनन्तरम् ।
उपसर्गश्चानिष्पत्तिः पदमेवं चतुर्विधम् ॥
नासिकं (!) सविता व्योम वृत्वित्याख्यातिकं स्मृतम् ।
पर्युपेत्युपसर्गश्च चवाहेति निदर्शनम् ॥
नाम वायव्यमैन्द्रं वा सौम्यमाख्यातमिष्यते ।
आग्नेयस्तूपसर्गः स्यान्निपातो वारुणः (!) स्मृतः ॥
भारद्वाजकमाख्यातं भार्गवं नाम गोत्रतः ।
वासिष्ठा उपसर्गास्तु निपाताः (!) काश्यपाः स्मृताः ॥

चत्वारिंशत्तु दशमे श्लोका वै परिकीर्तिताः ॥
एकत्रैव तु संख्यातं श्लोकानां तु शतत्रयम् ।
चत्वारिंशदधिकं वो (!) शास्त्रं चारायणीयकम् ॥
अमत्सर इदं देयं मत्सरे न कदाचन ।
मत्सरे तु भवेद्दत्तं न्युप्तं बीजमिवोषरे ॥
य इदं पठते नित्यं यश्च वाध्यापयेद्द्विजम् ।
अस्यार्थं बुध्यते यो वै ब्रह्मलोकं स गच्छति ॥
इति चारायणीयशिक्षायां दशमोऽध्यायः ॥

6. The NÂRADÎ ŚIKSHÂ has been described by Professor Haug, *l. c.* p. 57, and by Dr. Burnell, *Catalogue of a Collection of Sanskrit MSS.*, p. 42. It belongs to the literature of the *Sâmaveda*. It consists of two prapâṭhakas, each of which is divided into 8 chapters. At the end of my MS. the number of ślokas is stated to be 240, which will be found to be fairly correct when one counts the prose portions which occur in the 3rd chapter of the first prapâṭhaka in the way native writers do. The authorities quoted are :— Nârada, Kaśyapa, Tumburu, Somaśarman, Vasishṭha, and the old (?) Audavraji (Prâchînaudavraji).

I do not think that there is anything to prove the existence of two different recensions of this Śikshâ. All that appears from Dr. Burnell's description of the work is that in his MS. the first chapter of the second prapâṭhaka is omitted. The end of the first prapâṭhaka shows that the second prapâṭhaka *must* commence with the verse with which Prof. Haug's and my own MS. make it commence, and which my MS. gives correctly thus :—

सयकारं सवं वापि अक्षरं स्वरितं भवेत् ।
न चोदात्तं पुरस्तस्य जात्यः स्वारः स उच्यते ॥

I have not been able yet to procure a copy of Śobhâkara's *Nâradîyaśikshâ-vivaraṇa*, although several MSS. of it seem to be in existence. That it cannot be a very modern work would appear from the fact that a *Nâradîyaśikshâvivaraṇaṭîkâ* is quoted already in the *Bharatabhâshya* (p. 16*b* of my MS.).

7. The PÂṆINÎYA-ŚIKSHÂ has been edited by Professor Weber. I have procured a very modern and worthless anonymous commentary of the so-called Yajus version of this Śikshâ, entitled *Śikshâ-panjikâ*, which commences thus :—

पातु वो निकषग्रावा मतिहेम्नः सरस्वती ।
प्राज्ञेतरपरिच्छेदं वचसैव करोति या ॥ १ ॥
छन्दःकल्पनिरुक्तानि विवृतानीह सूरिभि ।
शिक्षा त्वविवृता यस्मात्तस्मात्तां विवृणोम्यहम् ॥ २ ॥

Verses 1 and 15-22 the author has left unexplained; the authorities he quotes are :—Audavraji (to judge from the quotations, author of a Śikshâ), Nârada (the *Nâradî Śikshâ*), Pâṇini, a *Prâtiśâkhya*, the *Bhâshyakâra* (Patanjali), Manu, a *Vishṇupurâṇasthasahasranâmabhâshya*, Vyâsa, the *Śabdakaustubha*, the *Śabdenduśekhara*, Śaunaka, Śrîdhara, and Suyajna.

8. The BHÂRADVÂJA-ŚIKSHÂ, which belongs to the *Taittirîya-veda*, differs altogether from the Śikshâs described above. It has nothing whatever to do with the classification and pronunciation of the letters, nor with the manner of reciting or accentuating the Vedic texts, but, like the *Siddhânta-śikshâ*, it lays down empirical rules by which to distinguish, and to employ in their proper places, words of similar sound or form. It teaches, *e.g.*, where to read वृजन and where वृजिन, where सुहुत and where सुहुति, आहुत and आहुति, परशु and पर्शु, अकार्षम् and अकारिषम्, रुधाति and रुधति, त्रिष्टुक् and त्रिष्टुप्, रुसाति and रुधाति, सौम्य and सौर्य, &c. The object of this, as well as of the *Siddhânta-śikshâ*, appears to be no other than to keep the text of the *Taittirîya-saṃhitâ* free from wrong readings.

The number of ślokas contained in this Śikshâ is stated in my MS. to be 133; the text is accompanied by an anonymous commentary which together with the text fills 152 pages, each containing 8 lines of about 38 aksharas.

My MS. begins :—

ओं गणेशं प्रणिपत्याहं संदेहानां निवृत्तये ।
शिक्षामनुप्रवक्ष्यामि वेदानां मूलकारणम् ॥

श्रीगणाधिपतिं नमस्य वेदानां ग्रन्थनस्थितानामादिकारणम् एषु पदेषु संदेहा वर्तन्ते तेषां संदेहानां निवारणाय शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामीति भारद्वाजमुनिना प्रणीतम् ॥

वृजने [MS. व्रजने] ज उदात्तभेदकारेण सहोच्यते [MS. सहोच्यते] ।

एतदारभ्य भस्वरसहितानि पदानि क्रमेण कथ्यन्ते । वृजनशब्दे [MS. व्रजन॰] जकार उदात्तश्चेत्त जकारोऽकारसहितो भवति । यथा । वृजन [MS. वृजिन] दोहते ।...जकार उदात्त इति किम् । वृजिनमनृतं दुरितम्.....॥

and it ends:—

यो जानाति भरद्वाजशिक्षामर्थसमन्विताम् ।
स ब्रह्मलोकमाप्नोति गृहमेधी गृहं यथा ॥ १३३ ॥

9. The MÂNDÛKÎ ŚIKSHÂ has been described by Professor Haug, *loc. cit.* p. 55, and by Professor Weber in the appendix to his essay on the *Pratijnâsûtra*, p. 106. It forms part of the literature connected with the *Atharvaveda.* It contains 16 chapters with altogether 184 verses, and cites, besides Manḍûka (मण्डूकस्य मतं यथा), Kâśyapa.

10. The MÂDHYANDINÎ ŚIKSHÂ contains 25 verses. V. 1-14 lay down the same rules which are given in the *Keśava-śikshâ*, and the remaining verses treat of the pronunciation of Visarga and the motions of the fingers which are to accompany its pronunciation.

My MS. begins:—

अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि माध्यंदिनमतं यथा।
षकारस्य खकारः स्याद्दक [MS.°टुक°] योगे तु नो भवेत् ॥ १ ॥

and it ends:—

दीर्घो (!) ऽपि चोभयो (!)क्षेप इति शास्त्रव्यवस्थितिः।
इति चोष्मा प्रयोक्तव्या(!)हीहुहेहो निदर्शनम् ॥ ६४॥

11. The YÂJNAVALKYA, or KÂTYÂYANA-ŚIKSHÂ. Of this work I possess three different MSS., of which two generally agree with each other, while the third appears to contain a somewhat different recension of the text. In the last the work is described as *Yâjnavalkyoktâ Śikshâ*, while in the first it is called *Yâjnavalkyavirachitâ Brihachchhikshâ*, and in the second, which is slightly defective, *Kâtyâyana-śikshâ*. Both as regards its contents and the number of ślokas, this treatise resembles the Mâṇḍûkî more than any other Śikshâ. Yâjnavalkya himself is cited at the beginning, and other authorities quoted are Somaśarman and 'Śaunaka and others.'

The MS. of the *Yâjnavalkya-Śikshâ* begins:—

श्रीयाज्ञवल्क्याय नमः ॥

अथातस्त्रैस्वर्यलक्षणं व्याख्यास्यामः ।
उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च तथैव च ।
लक्षणं वर्णयिष्यामि दैवतं स्थानमेव च ॥

That of the *Brihadyâjnavalkya-śikshâ*:—

अथातस्त्रिस्वरलक्षणं व्याख्याम ।
उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च . . . . स्थानमेव च ॥

That of the *Kâtyâyana-śikshâ*:—

याज्ञवल्क्य उवाच । अथातस्त्रैस्वर्यलक्षणं व्याख्यास्यामः ।
उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च . . स्थानमेव च ॥

12. The LOMAŚÎ ŚIKSHÂ or *Lomaśinyâ*, as it is also called in my MS., appears to belong to the *Sâmaveda.* It is said to have been composed by Gargâchârya, and it cites Tumbura (तुम्बुरस्य मतं यथा). It consists of 8 khanḍas with altogether about 80 verses. The incorrect state of my MS. prevents me from giving an accurate account of the contents of this treatise, but I may state that it treats in the usual fashion of the Mâtrâs, the doubling of consonants, Kampa, Ranga, Svarabhakti, &c. It refers distinctly to the Sâmâni, Sâmagâs, and Ârchika.

My MS. begins:—

ओं लोमशिन्यां प्रवक्ष्यामि गर्गाचार्येण चिन्तिताम् ।
साभिधानां यथोक्तां त्वाचार्यवचनं यथा ॥ १ ॥
ह्रस्वं दीर्घं तथा वृद्धमभिगीतं तु सामगाः ।
मुहुर्मृदङ्गवत्कुर्युः सांपातोत्थानसंज्ञवत् ॥ २ ॥

and it ends:—

शून्यगृहे पिशाचस्तु गर्जते न च दृश्यते ।
एवं यकारा वक्तव्या धियग्निर्जं निदर्शनम् ॥

13. The VÂSISHTHA-ŚIKSHÂ.—Of this treatise I have not been able to procure more than a few ślokas, which together with an anonymous commentary fill 7 pages each containing 8 lines with about 30 aksharas in each line, and which treat of the doubling of consonants and of Svarabhakti.

My MS. begins:—

परं[MS. स्वरं] स्वराचानुस्वाराद्व्यञ्जनं व्यञ्जने परे ।
स्वरात्परं [MS. स्वरात्स्वरं] व्यञ्जनं व्यञ्जने परे द्विरूपमिष्यते ।
अनुस्वाराच्च परं व्यञ्जनं व्यञ्जने परे द्विरूपमिष्यते ॥
द्विरूपमिष्यते रेफात्स्वरपूर्वात्परं च तत् ॥
स्वरपूर्वाद्रेफात्परं च तद्व्यञ्जनं द्विरूपमिष्यते ॥

14. The VYÂSA-ŚIKSHÂ is the longest and certainly one of the most important and in several respects most interesting Śikshâs which I have examined. I have stated already above that it so closely follows the *Taittirîya-prâtiśâkhya* as to be little less than a metrical version of the latter, and I trust that my statement will be borne out by the following short description of its contents. To facilitate a comparison

with the *Taittirîya-prâtiśâkhya*, I have cited, after the several verses quoted below, the rules of the *Prâtiśâkhya* on which they appear to have been based.

The first chapter of this Śikshâ treats of Saṃjnâs, or technical terms, and begins as follows :—

श्रीवासुदेवं वरदं प्रणम्य
श्रीमद्गणेशं वचसां च देवीम् ।
शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्ये श्रुतिकारणाङ्गं
सुबोधकं लक्षणशीर्षभूषाम् ॥ १ ॥
अथ स्वरादिसंज्ञाश्च तत्प्रयोजनमेव च ।
तत्फलं च प्रवक्ष्यामि विदुषां प्रमुदे यथा ॥ २ ॥
अवर्णेवर्णावुवर्ण ऋवर्णाव्लृत्वमेस्त्वमैत् ।
ओदौद्गङ्गौ क्रमादौ तु स्वराः स्युर्व्यञ्जनान्यथ ॥३॥

(I, 5-6.)

कादिमान्ताः स्मृताः स्पर्शा अन्तस्था यादिवोत्तराः ।
जिह्वामूलादिहान्ताश्च षडूष्माण उदीरिताः ॥ ४ ॥

(I, 7-9.)

स्पर्शानां पञ्च पञ्च स्युर्वर्गा वर्गोत्तरो ऽस्य च ।
तत्प्रथमादिसंज्ञाः स्युः पञ्चमस्योत्तमः क्रमात् ॥ ५ ॥

(I, 10-11 ; 27.)

अघोषाः स्युर्विसर्गोष्मद्वितीयप्रथमा न हः ।
गजडाद्या दबाद्याश्च घोषवन्तः परे हलः ॥ ६ ॥

(I, 12-14.)

सविशेषस्तु यस्तस्य ज्ञेयं वर्णान्तरं बुधैः ।
तुल्यरूपं सवर्णं स्याल्लोपः स्यादप्यदर्शनम् ॥ ७ ॥
ऋवर्णस्य ऌवर्णस्य पृक्तसंज्ञाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।
अवसाने ऽन्त्यवर्णाश्च नादा इति बुधैः स्मृताः ॥८॥
आख्यानेकस्य वर्णोध्वः स्वरस्य कारतोत्तरः ।
भवेदकारः कारेञ्चों हलां रस्त्वेफगो भवेत् ॥ ९ ॥

(I, 16-21.)

अदन्तं ग्रहणं वा स्यात्संदेहे संनिधिं तयोः ।(I, 22, 25.)
निर्देशाः कारमुख्याश्चान्वादेशावपिचेत्यथः ॥ १० ॥

(XXII, 4-5.)

त्वयैवेति निवृत्तिस्थो ऽधिकारश्चावधारकः ।
अनमान निषेधे स्युर्वेति वैभाषिको भवेत् ॥ ११ ॥

(XXII, 6-8.)

संमिश्रः स्यादथैकत्वं संबन्धः श्रवणे द्वयोः ।
अनेकव्यञ्जनश्लिष्टः संयोगश्च प्रकीर्तितः ॥ १२ ॥
वर्णाभावो विरामश्चावसानं सार्धमात्रकः ।
नानापदवदिङ्गयं चासंख्याने चाद्यवग्रहः ॥ १३ ॥

(I, 48-49.)

A large portion of this first chapter treats of *Pragrahas*, and the rules which are given on this subject agree entirely with those contained in chapter IV. of the *Taittirîya-prâtiśâkhya* ; the introductory verse reads thus :—

अथ प्रग्रह एवान्त उच्यते ऽवग्रहो न चेत् ।
ऊकारः स्थित ओकारो ऽप्यकारव्यञ्जनोत्तरः ॥

(IV, 1-6.)

The first or *Saṃjnâ-prakaraṇa* is followed by several chapters which treat of the relation to each other of the Pada and Saṃhitâ-pâṭhas and contain rules of Sandhi. These again are followed by the *Svara-dharma-svarûpa-prakaraṇa* and the *Svâra-saṃhitâ-prakaraṇa*, on the accents and particularly the different Svaritas ; and by the *Svara-nyâsa-prakaraṇa*, on the denotation of the accents by means of the fingers, which last chapter has nothing to correspond with it in the Prâtiśâkhya. The following chapters treat of the doubling of consonants, and of augments ; the first of them begins :—

स्वरपूर्वमियाद्द्वित्वं व्यञ्जनं व्यञ्जनोत्तरे ।
लपूर्वं च वपूर्वं च द्वित्वं स्पर्श उपाप्नुयात् ॥ (XIV, 1-2.)

Then follows a chapter on syllabication (*Taitt.-prât.* XXI.), called *Anga-saṃhitâ-prakaraṇa*, with a full description of Svarabhakti. This again is followed by the *Sthâna-prakaraṇa*, corresponding with *Taitt.-prât.* II, and this by the *Kâlanirṇaya-prakaraṇa*, on the Mâtrâs, on ओम्, and on the three Vṛittis. The two following chapters, with which the treatise concludes, appear to be called *Savarṇa* (?) and *Uchchâraṇa-prakaraṇa*.

The *Vyâsa-śikshâ* appears to me to be a work of very great importance for two reasons : firstly, because it shows to us, more clearly than this is done by any other Śikshâ, how Śikshâs are based on and have their origin in the Prâtiśâkhyas ; and, secondly, because, being older than the *Tribhâshyaratna*, it cannot but be of great value for the interpretation of the *Taittirîyaprâtiśâkhya*.

The text of this Śikshâ is accompanied in my MS. by a full commentary, called *Vedataijasa*, which begins thus :—

वागीशप्रभृतिस्तुत्यं प्रणम्याहं गणाधिपम् ।
करोमि व्यासशिक्षाया व्याख्यानं वेदतैजसम् ॥

About the name of its author I am not certain; at the end of the first chapter we read इति श्रीवेलमीकन्यासूर्यनारायणावधानिविरचिते वेदतैजसन्यासशिक्षाविवरणे संज्ञाप्रकरणं समाप्तम्; but at the end of the whole work—

श्रीरातरंगिण (!) व्यासशिक्षाया भाष्यमुत्तमम्।
वेलमीकन्यापूर्जातस्वरावधानिना कृतम् ॥
इति श्रीवेलमीकन्यास्वरावधानिविरचिते व्यासशिक्षाविवरण उच्चारणप्रकरणं संपूर्णम् ॥

The commentator quotes, besides other works, the *Kâlanirṇaya-śikshâ*, *Âraṇya-śikshâ*, *Lakshmîkânta-śikshâ*, the *Śambhû* (!)-*śikshâ*, and *Âtreya-śikshâ*. The text and commentary fill in my MS. no less than 258 pages with 8 lines on each page, each line containing about 35 aksharas.

15. The ŚIKSHÂ-SAMUCHCHAYA contains about 300 ślokas, which are divided into 24 chapters with the following titles:—Svarabhaktiprakaraṇa, Dviroshṭhya-p., Prayatna-p., Nakâra-p., Nakârânta-p., Anusvâra-p., Anunâsika-p., Mâtrâkâla-p., Ekaśruti-p., Varṇânyatva-p., Kâṭhaka-p., Dvirukti-p., Apûrva-p., Svaravishaya-p., Dvirukti-p. (!), Yama-p., Krama-p., Jaṭâ-p., Ranga-p., Kampa-p., Svarochchâraṇa-p., Varṇotpatti-p., Uchchâraṇa-p., Anga-p.—The treatise cites, so far as I can see from my very incorrect MS., Âtreya, Nârada, and Parâśara, and its author has freely used the *Pâṇinîya-śikshâ*.

16. The SARVASAMMATA-ŚIKSHÂ gives in 134 ślokas a very clear and intelligible *résumé* of what is generally taught in the Śikshâs. It treats of the doubling of consonants, Svarabhakti, Vivṛitti, the Vedapâṭhakadoshâḥ, the Mâtrâs, Ranga, of syllabication, of the accents, and especially the different Svaritas, of the denotation of the accents by means of the fingers, of Kampa, &c. It begins:—

कृपालुं वरदं देवं प्रणिपत्य गजाननम्।
द्वित्वादीनां प्रवक्ष्यामि लक्षणं सर्वसंमतम् ॥१॥
स्वराद्द्वित्वमवाप्नोति व्यञ्जनं व्यञ्जने परे।
स्पर्शो लकारपूर्वो यो वपूर्वश्च द्विरुच्यते ॥२॥

and ends:—

ऋषिभिर्बहुधा प्रोक्तं वेदविद्भिस्तथापि हि।
अध्येतृभिः समस्तैस्तु यद्गृहीतं तदीरितम् ॥१३४॥

The verses which describe the denotation of the accents by means of the fingers are as follows:—

गोकर्णाकृतिहस्ते तु निर्दिशेद्दक्षिणे स्वरम्।
निवेश्य दृष्टिं (?) हस्ताग्रे शास्त्रार्थमनुचिन्तयन् ॥
दक्षिणे गोकर्णाकृतिहस्ते हस्ताग्रे दृष्टिं (?) निवेश्य प्रातिशाख्यादिशास्त्रार्थमनुचिन्तयन्नङ्गुष्ठेन स्वरं निर्दिशेत् ॥

पुरुषो हि व्रजेन्नारीं न नारी पुरुषं व्रजेत्।
यथाङ्गुलीषु सर्वासु नयेदङ्गुष्ठमेव तु (?) ॥
सर्वास्वङ्गुलीष्वङ्गुष्ठमेव नयेत्। पुरुषो हीति दृष्टान्तः ॥

शिरःकम्पं विहायैव स्वरन्यासो विधीयते ॥
स्पष्टम्। किंच
कनिष्ठानामिकामध्यातर्जनीमध्यपर्वसु।
नीचस्वारधृतोदात्तानङ्गुष्ठाग्रेण निर्दिशेत् ॥
कनिष्ठानामिकामध्यातर्जन्यङ्गुलीनां मध्यपर्वस्वेवानुदात्तस्वरितप्रचयोदात्तान्क्रमेणाङ्गुष्ठाग्रेण विनिर्दिशेत्। पक्षान्तरमाह

तर्जन्यादि कनिष्ठादि तथैवानामिकान्त्यकम्।
मध्यमाङ्गुलिमध्यं स्यात्स्वरस्थानं विधीयते ॥
तर्जन्या आदिमं पर्वोदात्तस्य स्थानं कनिष्ठाया आदिमं पर्वानुदात्तस्थानमनामिकाया अन्त्यं पर्व स्वरितस्थानं मध्यमाङ्गुल्या मध्यमं पर्व च प्रचयस्थानमिति विधीयत इत्यर्थः ॥

The text of this Śikshâ is in my MS. accompanied by an anonymous commentary which, besides other authorities, quotes a work by the same author entitled *Śikshâ-chandrikâ*. The commentary begins:—

ध्यात्वा सर्वजगन्नाथं साम्बं सर्वार्थसाधकम्।
व्याख्यायते ऽधुना शिक्षा सर्वसंमतलक्षणा ॥
and it ends:—
सर्वसंमतशिक्षापि संप्रदायानुसारतः।
वासुदेवप्रसादेन व्याख्याता लक्षणेन वै ॥

The text and commentary fill in my MS. 65 pages, each containing 8 lines with about 38 aksharas in each line.

17. The SIDDHÂNTA-ŚIKSHÂ I have mentioned already when speaking of the *Bhâradvâja-śikshâ*, and I have also stated the object for which it appears to have been composed. It belongs to the *Taittirîya-veda*, and is the work of Śrînivâsa-dîkshita. In my own MS. the end of this treatise is wanting, but according to Dr. Burnell's description the whole consists of 74 ślokas. The text of this Śikshâ is accompanied by an anonymous commentary, according to which the author of the original had studied the nine Śikshâs of

Bhâradvâja, Vyâsa, Pâṇini (?), Śambhu, Kauhala, Vâsishṭha, Vâlmîki, Hârita, and Baudhâyana, besides the *Taittirîya-prâtiśâkhya* with the *Tribhâshya-ratna* and other works. The commentator on his part quotes the *Bhâradvâja* and the *Sarvasammata-śikshâ*, the *Vaishṇavâbhidhânakośa*, *Gangeśa*, &c.

The two first verses of this Śikshâ, together with the commentary on the second verse, are as follows:—

संप्रणम्य सकलैककारणं
ब्रह्मरुद्रमुखमौलिभूषणम्।
लक्षणं श्रुतिगिरां विलक्षणं
श्रीनिवासमखिना प्रणीयते ॥ १ ॥
पूर्वशिक्षाः परामर्श्य प्रातिशाख्यं च सर्वशः ।
सिद्धान्तशिक्षां वक्ष्यामि वेदभाष्यानुसारिणीम् ॥ २ ॥

भारद्वाजव्यासपारि (!) शंभुकौहलवासिष्ठवाल्मीकिहारीनबौधायनोक्तशिक्षानवकं परामर्श्य तदनुक्तसंदिग्धपदानि पर्यालोच्य त्रिभाष्यरत्नवैदिकाभरणादिव्याख्यानपुरःसरतया कृत्स्नं प्रातिशाख्यं च परामृश्य वेदभाष्यानुसारिणीं भट्टभास्करीयादिशोधनजन्यतया विश्वसनीयां दुष्पाठपरित्यागे निष्कम्पप्रवर्ति (!) हेतुभूतां च सिद्धान्तशिक्षां वक्ष्यामि । सिद्धान्तशिक्षेत्यन्वर्थसंज्ञाविज्ञानात्प्राचीनप्रबन्धानां पूर्वपक्षत्वं सूचितम् । न रेफे वा हकारे वा द्विर्भावो जायते क्वचिदित्यादिशिक्षावचनानां प्रातिशाख्यविरोधो ऽस्ति नेह तथेति भावः ॥

The Śikshâs or works on Śikshâ which are mentioned in the above, but copies of which I have not yet been able to procure, are—

18. The *Âtreya-śikshâ.*
19. The *Anduvraji-śikshâ* (?).
20. The *Kâlanirṇaya-śikshâ;* this is probably the work quoted in the *Tribhâshyaratna*, XVIII. 1.
21. The *Kauhala-śikshâ.*
22. The *Parâśara-śikshâ.*
23. The *Baudhâyana-śikshâ.*
24. The *Lakshmîkânta-śikshâ.*
25. The *Vâlmîki-śikshâ.*
26. The *Śambhu-śikshâ;* I believe this to be the title of the so-called Ṛig-version of the *Pâṇinîya-śikshâ.*§ The lines quoted in the commentary on the *Vyâsa-śikshâ* from the *Śambhu-śikshâ* are—

मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ।
मारुतस्तूरसि चरन्मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ॥

27. The *Śikshâ-chandrikâ.*
28. The *Hârîta-śikshâ.*

Dr. Burnell (*On the Aindra Grammar*, p. 46) enumerates besides—

29. The *Kauśikî Śiksha.*
30. The *Gautamî Śikshâ.*

From the above short description of the Śikshâ-treatises which I have collected, it will appear that the term Śikshâ, or, as it is occasionally spelt in MSS. from the south of India, Sîkshâ, is applicable to any work which treats of the classification and pronunciation of letters, and that in particular it denotes such works as profess to teach the correct pronunciation and recitation of the Vedic texts; lastly, the term Śikshâ has been applied, as it would seem to me, somewhat improperly, also to works composed for the purpose of keeping the Vedic texts free from incorrect readings. The 17 works described above may be classified thus:—

A. Works which teach the classification and pronunciation of letters without special reference to the Vedic texts:—The *Âpiśalî Śikshâ.*

B. 1. Works which profess to lay down all the rules to be observed in the pronunciation and recitation of the Vedic texts,

(*a*) Without, so far as I can judge, reference to any particular Veda:—The *Chârâyaṇîya-*, *Pâṇinîya-*, *Mâṇḍûkî-*, *Yâjnavalkya-*, and *Vâsishṭha* (?)-*Śikshâs.*

(*b*) With particular reference to the *Taittirîya Veda*:—The *Vyâsa-śikshâ.*

(*c*) With particular reference to the *Sâmaveda*:—The *Nâradî* and *Lomaśî Śikshâs.*

(*d*) Professedly compilations:—*Śikshâsamuchchaya* and *Sarvasammata-śikshâ.*

B. 2. Works which lay down particular rules to be observed in the pronunciation and recitation of Vedic texts:

(*a*) Works teaching the peculiar pronunciation of certain letters only, as adopted by the followers of the *Mâdhyandinî Śâkhâ* of the *Yajurveda*:—The *Amoghânandinî* (?), *Keśava-*, and *Mâdhyandinî Śikshâs.*

(*b*) Works teaching the peculiar accentuation of Vedic passages in the *Taittirîya Âraṇyaka*:—The *Âraṇya-śikshâ.*

C. Works composed with the object of keeping the Vedic texts free from wrong words:—The *Bhâradvâja-* and *Siddhânta-śikshâs.*

§ See the expression शम्भुमते in v. 3 of the Ṛig-version of the *Pâṇ. Ś.*, and compare with it expressions such as मंडूकस्य मतं यथा । एतच्चारायणीमतम् in the *Mâṇḍûkî*, *Chârâyaṇîya*, and other Śikshâs.

Concerning the relation between the Prâtiśâkhyas and such Śikshâs as are enumerated under B, which may be called the Śikshâs κατ' ἐξοχήν, my views are, shortly expressed, as follows :—

Much of what is taught in these Śikshâs was taught before them in the *Prâtiśâkhyas*, but as the latter were found to contain many rules with which the reciter of the Vedic texts had no concern, manuals—such as the *Śikshâs* are which are known to us—had to be composed which professed to give only the rules required for the correct recitation of the Vedas, and to give them in both an intelligible and an easily remembered form; the composition of such manuals became the more necessary when the recitation of the Vedic texts had become so artificial that it no longer was sufficiently accurately described by the comparatively simple rules of the *Prâtiśâkhyas*.||

## ŚRÁDDHA CEREMONIES AT GAYÂ.

BY PROF. MONIER WILLIAMS.

The city of Gayâ is most picturesquely situated on the river Phalgû, about 60 miles southwest of Paṭna, near some isolated hills, or rather short ranges of hills, rising abruptly out of the plain. The town itself crowns two low ridges, whose sides, covered with the houses of its narrow, tortuous streets, slope down to an intervening hollow occupied by the temple and sacred tank dedicated to the Sun. But the most sacred temple, and the great centre of attraction for all Hindus who wish to perform once in their lives a Gayâ-*śrâddha* for their forefathers, is the *Vishṇupada* temple, situated on one of the ridges, and built of black stone, with a lofty dome and golden pinnacle. It contains the alleged footprint of Vishṇu in a large silver basin, under a silver canopy, inside an octagonal shrine. *Piṇḍas* and various kinds of offerings are placed by the pilgrims inside this basin round the footprint, and near it are open colonnades for the performance of the *śrâddhas*. About six miles from the city is the well-known place of pilgrimage called *Bodh-Gayâ*, celebrated for a monastery and numerous temples, but chiefly for the ancient tower-like structure said by the natives to be more than 2200 years old, and originally a Buddhist monument. It has near it other alleged footprints of Vishṇu (probably once assigned to Buddha), under an open shrine. Behind the tower, on an elevated stone terrace reached by a long flight of steps, is the sacred *pîpal* tree under which, according to popular belief, the Buddha attained supreme knowledge. The tree must be many centuries old, but a succession of trees is secured by planting a new one inside the decaying stem of the old. In a chamber at the bottom of the tower-like Buddhist monument—now used as a temple—a substitute for the original figure of Buddha (carried off by the Burmese about a hundred years ago) has been placed, for the sake of the Buddhist pilgrims who come to repeat prayers and meditate under the tree; and in the same place a *liṅga* has been set up, to which the Hindus do *pûjâ*. When I visited the spot many persons were in the act of worshipping, and several members of the Burmese embassy, who had come to meet the Prince of Wales at Calcutta, were to be seen reverentially kneeling, praying and meditating under the sacred tree.

Before describing the *śrâddhas* at Gayâ, I may state that I asked several paṇḍits in different parts of India to give me the reasons for attaching special efficacy to the celebration of religious rites for ancestors in that locality. The only reply I received was that in the *Gayâ-mâhâtmya* and *Gayâ-śrâddha-paddhati* it is declared that a powerful demon (*asura*), named Gaya, formerly resided there and tyrannized over the inhabitants. Vishṇu took compassion on them, fought and killed the demon, and

|| I cannot conclude these remarks without a word of thanks to the gentlemen whose kindness has enabled me to collect the treatises described in the above. The Secretary of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta has placed at any disposal all the Śikshâ MSS. which belong to the Society. Dr. Râjendralâl Mitra has, with his usual kindness, furnished me with copies of the Amoghânandinî, Kâtyayana, and Lomaśî Śikshâs. My friend Dr. Bühler has collected for me, on his travels in Gujarât, Râjputana, and Kâshmîr, besides the Śikshâpanjikâ, no less than eight Śikshâs: the Amoghânandinî, Âpiśalî, Keśava, Chârâyaṇîya, Nâradî, Mâṇḍûkî (3 copies), Mâdhyandinî, and Yâjn.. alkya. And to the kindness of Colonel Malleson of Maisur I owe copies of the Âraṇya, Bhâradvâja, Vâsishṭha, Vyâsa, Sarvasammata, Siddhânta-śikshâs, and of the Śikshâ-samuchchaya, together with their commentaries.

left a print of his foot (*Vishṇu-pada*, commonly called *Bishanpada*) on the spot where the fight occurred, ordaining that it should be ever after called Gayâ and consecrated to him, and that any *śrâddha* performed there for fathers, forefathers, and relatives should be peculiarly efficacious in securing the immediate conveyance of their souls to his own heaven, Vaikuṇṭha.

It is also stated in the *Gayâ-mâhâtmya* that the great Râma, hero of the *Râmâyaṇa* (himself an incarnation of Vishṇu), and other heroes set the example of performing *śrâddhas* to their fathers at Gayâ. Brahmâ is also said to have performed an *aśvamedha* there, and to have consecrated the whole locality by this act. The plain truth probably is that as the Indo-Âryans proceeded southwards, the Brâhmaṇs found it necessary to invent reasons for attaching sanctity and attracting pilgrims to other spots besides those already held sacred in the North-West.

It was on this account that the Mâhâtmyas of various places were gradually written and inserted in the Purâṇas. Some of these additions, intended to exalt the importance of places like Gayâ, are comparatively modern, and the Mâhâtmyas of one or two *tîrthas*, such as Paṇḍharpur in the Dekhan, are said to have been added during the last fifty or a hundred years. I was even told that Paṇḍharpur has become of late years a kind of rival to Gayâ. Alleged footprints of Vishṇu like those at Gayâ are shown, and the Viṭhobâ sects perform *śrâddhas* there. Models of the Gayâ *Vishṇupada* are made in brass and in black stone, and sold for worship. Several were presented to me. They are often placed, like the Śâlagrâm stone, in the houses of the natives, for domestic *pûjâ*.

With regard to the *śrâddha* ceremonies generally, there seems to be much confusion of thought and obscurity, besides great inconsistency, in the accounts given by paṇḍits of the exact object and effect of their celebration. It may be useful to explain to those who have not made the subject their study that a distinction is made between *śrâddhas* and funeral ceremonies (*antyeshṭi*). The latter are *amangala*, 'inauspicious,' while the former are *mangala*, 'auspicious.' To understand the reason for this, it should be borne in mind that when a man dies his *sthûla-śarîra* or 'gross body' is burned, but his soul quits it with the *linga-śarîra* or 'subtile body,' sometimes described as *angushṭha-mâtra*, 'of the size of a thumb,' and remains hovering near it. The deceased man, thus reduced to the condition of a simple individual soul invested with a subtile body, is called a *preta*, *i.e.* a departed spirit or ghost. He has no real body capable of enjoying or suffering anything, and is consequently in a restless, unsatisfactory and uncomfortable plight. Moreover, while in this condition he is held to be an impure being. Furthermore, if he dies away from his kindred, who alone can perform the funeral ceremonies, and who are perhaps unaware of his death, and unable therefore to perform them, he becomes a *piśâcha*, or foul wandering ghost, disposed to take revenge for its misery upon all living creatures by a variety of malignant acts. I heard it remarked not long ago by a paṇḍit that ghosts are much less common in India now than formerly, and, on my inquiring the reason, was told that communication was now so rapid that few die without their deaths becoming known and without having funeral rites performed very soon afterwards. Besides, he added, it is now so easy to reach Gayâ by rail and by good carriage roads. The object, then, of the funeral rites, which are celebrated for ten days after death, is not only to soothe or give *sânti* by libations of consecrated water to the troubled spirit, but to furnish the *preta* with an intermediate body, between the *linga* or 'subtile' and the *sthûla* or 'gross' body—with a body, that is to say, which is capable of enjoying or suffering, and which, as leading to another future gross body, is sometimes called the *kâraṇa-śarîra* or 'causal body.'

In this manner only can the *preta* obtain *gati*, or 'progress' onward through the temporary heaven or hell (regarded in the Hindu system as a kind of purgatory) to other births and ultimate emancipation. On the first day after death a *piṇḍa*, or round ball (generally of some kind of flour), is offered, on which the *preta* is supposed to feed, and which endows it with the rudiment or basis of the requisite body, whatever that basis may be. Next day another *piṇḍa* is offered, which gives it, perhaps, limbs, such as arms and legs. Then it receives hands, feet, &c. This goes on for ten days, and the offering of the *piṇḍa* on the tenth day gives the head. No sooner does the *preta* obtain a complete body than it becomes a *pitṛi*, when, instead of being regarded as impure, it is held to be a *deva*, or 'deity,' and

practically worshipped as such in the *śrâddha* ceremonies. Hence a *śrâddha* is not a funeral ceremony (as some have described it), but a *worship of departed ancestors;* which worship, however, is something very different from *pûjâ* to a god, as it is continued at stated periods with a view to accelerate the *gati*, or 'progress,' of the *pitṛis* onwards to heaven, and then through the various stages of bliss, called *sâlokya*, *sâmîpya*, and *sârûpya*, and thence through future births to final union with the Supreme (*sâyujya*). And the efficacy of *śrâddhas* performed at Gayâ is this, that wherever in this progress onwards departed relatives may have arrived, the *śrâddhas* take them at once to Vaikuṇṭha, or Vishṇu's heaven. The departed relatives especially entitled to benefit by the *śrâddha* rites are as follow:—1. Father, grandfather, great-grandfather. 2. Mother, mother's father and grandfather. 3. Stepmother, if any. 4. Father's mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother. 5. Father's brothers. 6. Mother's brothers. 7. Father's sisters. 8. Mother's sisters. 9. Sisters and brothers. 10. Fathers-in-law.

An eleventh person is sometimes added, viz. the family spiritual teacher (*guru*).

Let no one suppose that the process of performing *śrâddhas* at Gayâ is either simple or rapid. To secure the complete efficacy of such rites, a whole round of them must be performed at about fifty distinct places in and around Gayâ, besides at the most holy spot of all—the *Vishṇupada* temple—the time occupied in the process being at least eight days, and sometimes protracted to fifteen, while the money spent in fees to the officiating priests (who at Gayâ are called Gaywâls = *Gayá-pâlas*, regarded by some as an inferior order of Brâhmaṇs), is never less than Rs. 40. But only the poorest are let off thus easily The Mahârâja of Kashmîr, who is a very strict Hindu, and performed *śrâddhas* at Gayâ the other day on his way to Calcutta, is reported to have distributed Rs. 15,000 to the Gaywâl Brâhmaṇs.

When I was recently staying with Mr. Halliday, the Collector of the district, I obtained, through his kind influence, from the principal Gaywâl, named Choṭâ Lâl, a detailed account of all the ceremonies connected with the Gayâ *śrâddhas*—which, considering the important position they hold in the Hindu religious system, and considering that no trustworthy description of them has, so far as I know, hitherto appeared, it may be worth while to place on record.

First Day.—The ceremonies begin near the sacred river Phalgû. The first duty is to make a *sankalpa*, or 'religious vow,'—that is to say, a promise to perform all the rites in regular course. This is done by repeating *mantras* and pouring out water on the banks of the sacred river. The pilgrims bathe in the Phalgû and perform *tarpaṇa*, or homage to the spirits of departed ancestors, with water, *kuśa* grass, and sesamum seed. Then comes the first full *śrâddha*, consisting of offerings of balls made of rice or barley flour with milk, water, flowers, sandalwood, fragrant gum, betel-leaves, areca-nuts, sesamum seed, honey, coagulated milk, and small lighted lamps. All this is done in or near the Phalgû river, which in the dry season dwindles to a narrow stream, leaving a dry sandy bed on each side. 2. The second place is called *Preta-Śilâ* or *Râma-Śilâ*. Here the *piṇḍa śrâddha* only is performed, *i.e.* balls of rice-flower with milk are offered to the *pitṛis* and afterwards thrown into the river or given to the cows. 3. *Râma-kuṇḍa*. Here they bathe and make both *tarpaṇa* and *piṇḍa-dâna*, 'presentation of the balls.' 4. *Kâkâbali:* here they perform three *piṇḍa-dânas*.

Second Day.—5. *Brahma-kuṇḍa*. Here they only bathe and perform *tarpaṇa*. 6. *Preta-parvata*. Here they make *piṇḍa-dâna* and scatter round upon the ground parched barley reduced to meal or made into a paste.

Third Day. 7. *Uttara-mânasa*. Here they bathe and make *tarpaṇa* and *piṇḍa-dâna*. They also do homage (*praṇâma*) to the Northern Sun. Pilgrims pass from this station to the next without uttering a word. 8. *Udîchî*. 9. *Kanakhala*. At these two stations they bathe, make *tarpaṇa* and *piṇḍa-dâna*. 10. *Dakshiṇa-mânasa*. Here, after *tarpaṇa* and *piṇḍa-dâna*, they do homage to the Southern Sun. 11. *Jihvâ-lola*. Here, after bathing in the *Pancha-tîrtha* (five different sacred places near each other), and after *tarpaṇa* and *piṇḍa-dâna*, they do homage to Mahâdeva (as Pitṛi and Maheśvara). They also do homage to Gadâdhara with *panchâmṛita*, *i.e.* with coagulated milk, clarified butter, milk, honey, and sugar, and adore him with flowers, sandalwood, fragrant gum, cloth, ornaments, and lamps.

Fourth Day. 12. *Matanga-vâpî*. Here they bathe with *tarpaṇa* and *piṇḍa-dâna*, as well as

perform *praṇâma* to Matangeśvara. 13. *Dharmâraṇya.* Here they offer *piṇḍas* in the *Chupkûpa*, and do homage to Dharma and Dharmeśvara Mahâdeva. 14. *Bodha-taru* at Bodha-Gayâ. Here they do homage to the *Bodh*-tree.

FIFTH DAY. 15. *Brahma-saras.* Here, after bathing, *tarpaṇa*, and *piṇḍa-dâna*, they sprinkle water over a mango-tree, go round the *Brahmkûpa*, and make *praṇâma* to Brahmâ. 16. *Kâkabali.* Here they offer three *piṇḍas.* (*N.B.* There seems to be here a repetition of No. 4.)

SIXTH DAY.—On this day they present *piṇḍas* at the following stations, near the *Vishṇupada* temple:—17. *Rudrapada.* 18. *Vishṇupada.* Here there is adoration, as well as *piṇḍa-dâna.* 19. *Brahmapada.* Only *piṇḍa-dâna* here and at the following stations, where footprints, or marks like them, are supposed to be found:—20. *Gârhapatyapada.* 21. *Âhavanîyapada.* 22. *Sabhyapada.* 23. *Âvasathyapada.* 24. *Dakshinâgnipada* (only one *piṇḍa*). 25. *Indrapada.* 26. *Sûryapada.* 27. *Kârttikeyapada.* 28. *Agastyapada.* 29. *Kraunchapada.* 30. *Gaṇeśapada.* 31. *Chandrapada.* 32. *Matangapada.* 33. *Karṇapada.* 34. *Dadhîchapada.* 35. *Kaśyapapada.* 36. *Gayâ-sira.* (Here two *piṇḍas* are offered.)

SEVENTH DAY.—37. *Râma-Gayâ* (*piṇḍa-dâna*). 38. *Sîtâkuṇḍa* (three *piṇḍas* made of sand). 39. *Gayakûpa.* One *piṇḍa* and often three *piṇḍas* are presented at this and the following five stations:—40. *Muṇḍa-prishtha.* 41. *Kraunchapada* or *Âdi-Gayâ.* 42. *Dhautapada.* 43. *Bhîma-garta* or *Bhîma-gayâ.* 44. *Goprachâra.* 45. *Gada-lola.* Here they bathe, perform *tarpaṇa* and *piṇḍadâna.* 45. *Akshayavaṭa.* Here, after the regular *śrâddha*, particular gifts are presented, which strictly ought to consist of the following articles:—gold, silver, copper, brass, a cow, an elephant, a horse, a house, land, a bullock, cloth, a bed, an umbrella, shoes, money, grain. Here also they feed the Gaywâls and do homage to the *Bar*-tree and to Mahâdeva and Mahâdevî.

EIGHTH DAY.—47. *Gâyatrî-tîrtha.* Here in the early morning they bathe, perform *prâtaḥ-sandhyâ*, or morning devotions, with *tarpaṇa* and *piṇḍa-dâna.* 48. *Sâvitrî.* Here they perform *mâdhyandina-sandhyâ*, midday devotions, with *tarpaṇa.* 49. *Sarasvatî.* Here they perform evening *sandhyâ.* 50. *Vaitaraṇî.* Here, after bathing and *tarpaṇa*, they present gifts, technically called *godâna*, which ought properly to consist of the following articles:—a cow, a calf, a cloth, a vessel for holding milk, a silver hoof, a golden horn, a tail made of pearls and copper, and gold.

The above sacred places are the most famous, but there are others where the pilgrims perform ceremonies, such as—1. *Viśâlâ*, 2. *Lelihâna*, 3. *Bharatâśrama*, 4. *Akâśagangâ*, 5. *Devanadî*, 6. *Yamunâ*, &c., to the number of about twenty-two.

With regard to the *śrâddhas* I myself witnessed at Gayâ, they were all performed in colonnades and open courts round the *Vishṇupada* temple. One example will suffice. The party celebrating the rite consisted of six men, who were of course relations, and one Gaywâl. The men sat on their heels in a line, with the officiating Gaywâl (sometimes called Paṇḍa) priest at their head. Twelve *piṇḍas* were formed of rice and milk, not much larger than the large marbles used by boys (called 'alleys'). They were placed with sprigs of the sacred *tulsi*-plant in small earthenware platters. Then on the top of the *piṇḍas* were scattered *kuśa* grass and flowers. I was told that the *piṇḍas* in the present case were typical of the bodies of the twelve ancestors for whom the *śrâddha* was celebrated. The men had *kuśa* grass twisted round their fingers, in token of their hands being perfectly pure for the due performance of the rite. Next, water was poured into the palms of their hands, part of which they sprinkled on the ground, and part on the *piṇḍas.* One or two of the men then took threads off their clothes and laid them on the *piṇḍas*, which act is alleged to be emblematical of presenting the bodies of their departed ancestors with garments. Meanwhile *mantras*, or Vêdic texts, were repeated, under the direction of the Gaywâl, and the hands were sometimes extended over the *piṇḍas* as if to invoke blessings. When all the *mantras* were finished, and one or two added to pray for pardon if any minute point in the ritual had been omitted, the whole rite was concluded by the men putting their heads to the ground before the officiating Brâhmaṇ and touching his feet. Of course the number of *piṇḍas* varies with the number of ancestors for whom the *śrâddhas* are celebrated, and the size of the balls and the materials of which they are composed differ according to the caste and the country of those who perform the rite. I saw one party in the

act of forming fourteen or fifteen *piṇḍas* with oatmeal, which were of a much larger size than large marbles. This party was said to have come from the Dekhan. Sometimes the *piṇḍas* were placed on betel-leaves with pieces of money (afterwards appropriated by the priests), and sometimes the water used was taken out of little pots with stalks of *kuśa* grass, and with these sprinkled over the balls. At the end of all the ceremonies the earthen platters employed were carried to a particular stone in the precincts of the temple and dashed to pieces there. No platter is allowed to be used a second time.

Amid this crash of broken crockery, the tedious round of rites, ceremonies, and vain repetitions, which, if they effect nothing else, certainly serve to enrich a goodly company of Brâhmaṇs, is perhaps not inappropriately concluded.

## GRANTS FROM VALABHÎ.

BY G. BÜHLER.

Two of the three Valabhî grants of which transcripts are given below (B and C*) were sent to me by Mr. Burgess, and A by Major J. W. Watson, Acting Political Agent, Revâkânṭhâ. The contents of all three so nearly agree with the *śâsanas* already published, that it would be a waste of paper to give a translation. For the future historian of Valabhî and for the Sanskritist it will be sufficient to be put in possession of the facsimiles and transcripts, and to have notices of the particulars in which the new inscriptions add to our knowledge of the Valabhî kingdom.

### *A.—The Grant of Dhruvasena I.*

This grant is inscribed on two plates measuring 13 inches by 8 each. The rings with which they had been fastened together in the usual manner, as well as the seal, have been lost, otherwise their preservation is perfect. They were found in the Bhaunagar State. The letters closely resemble those of the grant of Dhruvasena I. published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV. p. 106.

The grant is dated from Valabhî. As regards the *vaṁśâvali*, or the portion giving the genealogy, it is to be noted that the five titles occurring in the grant first published last year are here not given to Dhruvasena. But it is stated that he meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭâraka, the Supreme Lord. The grantee was a Brahman Sachitiśarman, of the Droṇâyana gotra, and a student of the Âtharvaṇâ Veda (Pl. II. ll. 3-4). This last particular is of some interest, as there are few proofs for the early existence of the Atharvaveda, or for the age of the small colonies of Atharvavedîs now found in Western India. The donee resided at Hastakavapra—probably the modern Hâthab in the Bhaunagar territory, which is held in great esteem by the Nâgar Brahmans on account of its temple of Nîlkaṇṭh. The objects given to him appear to be two,—a well (*kûpa*) and *śada, i.e.* the wild growing produce, roots, fruits, grass, &c., of a certain locality (Pl. II. ll. 2-3). The latter word occurs in the compound *yotilapratyayaśîtâpâdâvarttaśadaṁ*. Two portions of this word, *yotila* and *śîtâpâda*, evidently are proper names, and *yotilapratyayaśîtâpâdâvartta* must therefore designate the place where the grass and other natural produce grew. *Pratyaya* occurs in the grant of Dharasena II. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XI. p. 361), repeatedly placed after the names of persons and before words, like *kshetra*, 'field,' *vâpî*, 'reservoir.' Rao Sâheb V. N. Maṇḍlik renders it 'held by,' and this rendering may be defended by the statement of the Kosha that *pratyaya* means, among other things, *adhîna*, 'dependent.' I am inclined to translate the whole by 'the pasture and wild growing produce in the *śîtâpâdâvarta* held by *Yotila*.'

Both the pasture and the well are further stated to be situated *hastakavapråharaṇyaṁ kukkaṭagrame*, which I am inclined to render by 'in the village of Kukkaṭa, (situated) in the Hastakavapra Âharaṇî." Kukkaṭa is the modern Kûkaḍ, in the Gogo Tâlukâ, which lies a few miles from Hâthab.

*Hastakavapråharaṇyaṁ* cannot be correct as it stands. The compounds standing in the Valabhî and other grants before the names of villages contain usually the territorial division, *i.e.* the zilla or tâlukâ, to which the villages belonged.† A locative is therefore required, and *âharaṇyaṁ* should be changed to *âharaṇyâṁ*. An *âharaṇî* must have been—like the *sthalî* which so often occurs in the Valabhî grants, like *bhukti*,

* The grant B was kindly lent me by Mr. Wait of Bhaunagar; and C was borrowed from the Darbâr for me by Major J. W. Watson.—Ed.

† Conf., *e.g.*, below—Grant C.

*vishaya*, and *râshṭra*—a territorial division. I am, however, not aware that the word occurs anywhere else.

The wording of the second part of our grant differs not inconsiderably from that usually adopted on the Valabhî śâsanas. Thus we have (Pl. II., l. 2) *anudarśayati* for *samâjñâpayati* (Pl. II., l. 6), *anujñâtaṁ* for *atisṛishṭaṁ* or *pratipâditam*, the Prakrit-like form *karshâpayataḥ* (Pl. II., l. 7) instead of *karshayataḥ*, &c. Two terms, *dhruva* and *sthânâdhikaraṇa*, which occur in the enumeration of the officials and functionaries to whom the king addresses himself (Pl. II., l. 1), deserve a word of explanation. In translating formerly the grant of Guhasena† I rendered the equivalent *dhruvâdhikaraṇika*, which occurs there, by 'faithful judges,' adding, however, that *dhruva* might be a technical term. I have since found that this is really the case. 'Dhruvs' or 'Dhrus' are actually at the present day employed in K â ṭ h i â v â ḍ and K a c h h, and are persons who on the part of the Râjâ superintend the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain, which is made by the farmers of revenue. Their duty is to see that he does not collect more than his proper share.‡ D h r u is also not uncommon as a family name among Gujarâtis. In such cases it has, no doubt, come down from an ancestor who held the office. The 'Sthânâdhikaraṇas' appear to correspond to the 'Thânadârs' of the present day, who in Kâṭhiâvâḍ and Râjputâna combine police and magisterial functions.

Lastly, the date of the grant—the seventh day of the bright half of Kârttika, of Saṁvat 207, which is very distinct, deserves attention. It makes the plate the oldest Valabhî grant known.

*Transcript.*

1 स्वस्ति वलभीतः प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबल-
2 सपन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तसंप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापः प्रतापोपनतदा §
5 नमानार्ज्जवोपार्ज्जितानुरागानुरक्तमौलभृतमित्रश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रीः प-
4 **रममामाहेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिभटक्कः** तस्य सुतस्तत्पादरजोरुणनतप-
5 वित्रीकृतशिराः शिरोवनतशत्रुचूडामणिप्रभाविच्छुरितपादनखपङ्क्तिदीधि-
6 तिः दीनानाथजनोपजीव्यमानादिभवः **परममाहेश्वरस्सेनापतिधर-**
7 **सेन**स्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादाभिप्रशस्तविमलमालिमणिर्म्मन्वादिप्रणीतविधिवि-
8 धानधर्म्मा धर्म्मराज इव विहितविनयव्यवस्थापद्धतिरखिलभुवनमण्डलाभोग-
9 स्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपहितराज्याभिषेकमहाविश्राणनावपूतरा-
10 जश्रीः **परममाहेश्वरो महाराजद्रोणसिंहः** सिंह इव तस्यानुजस्स्वभुजबलघ-
11 टानीकानामनेकविजयी शरणैषिणां शरणमवबोद्धा शास्त्रार्थ्थतात्वानां कल्पतरुरि-
12 व सुहृत्प्रतयिनां यलाभिलषितफलोपभोगद **परमभागवतः परमभट्टा-**
13 **रकपादानुध्यातो महाराजध्रुवसेन**× कुशली सर्व्वानेव स्वानायुक्तक-

*Plate II.*

1 विनियुक्तकद्रंगिकमहत्तरचाटभटध्रुवस्थानाधिकरनदण्डपाशिकादीनन्याश्च य- ¶
2 थासंबध्यमानकाननुदर्शयत्यस्तु वस्तविदितं यया मया हस्तकवप्राहरण्यं कुक्कटग्रा-
3 मे योतिलप्रत्ययसीतापादावर्त्तशदं कूपश्च हस्तकवप्रवास्तव्यब्रह्मण सचितिशर्म्मणे
4 द्रोणयनसगोत्रायाथर्व्वणसब्रह्मचारिण मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मि-

---

† *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 175.

‡ I owe this explanation to Mr. Dalpatrâm Khâkhar, Deputy Educational Inspector, Kachh.

§ Line 2, read प्रपन्न° with the other plates. L. 4, *dele* first मा°, read भटार्क्कः. L. 6, read °विभव. L. 7, read मौलि. L. 10, read °ज्यश्री. L. 11, read °तत्त्वानां. L. 12, read °प्रण-यि°; यथा°; °दः.

¶ L. 1, read °द्रांगिक°; °धिकरण° °न्यांश्च. L. 2, read वस्संवि°. L. 3, read ब्राह्मण°. L. 4, read द्रोणायन°; °चारिणे; पुण्याप्यायनाय°.

5 कयथाभिलषितफलावाप्तिनिमित्तमाचन्द्रार्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनं पुत्र-
6 पौत्रान्वयभोज्यं ब्रह्मदेयमनुज्ञातं यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुंजतः प्र-
7 दिशतः कर्षापयतः कृषतो वा न कैश्चित्स्वल्पाप्याबाधा कार्य्यास्मद्वशजैरागामिनृप- *
8 तिभिश्चानित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं चावेक्ष्य सामान्यं च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भि-
9 इयमस्मदनुमतिरनुमन्ताव्या यश्चाच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत्स पचभिर्म्महाप-
10 तकैस्सोपपातकैस्संयुक्तस्स्यादिपि चात्र व्यासगीतः श्लोको भवति षष्टिं वर्यसहस्रा-
11 णि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति
12 स्वहस्तो मम महाराजध्रुवसेनस्य दूतकः प्रतीहारमम्मकः लिखितं किक्ककेन

सं [illegible] (२०७) कार्त्तिक सु [illegible] (७)

*B.—The Grant of Guhasena.*

The grant of Guhasena is inscribed on two plates 14″ by 9″ each. The ring and seal which held them together are preserved, and the latter shows the usual cognizance, the reclining bull with the inscription *Śrîbhaṭârkkaḥ*. As the seal has been forcibly torn out of its place, the parts of the plate adjoining the ring-holes have been damaged. Both plates are thickly covered with verdigris. Very few words only on Plate I. are legible. But these suffice to show that the grant was dated from Valabhî, and that the first plate gave nothing but the *vaṁśâvali* from Bhaṭârka to Dharapaṭṭa, such as it is known to us from the grants of Dhruvasena I. and Dharasena II. Plate II. begins with the last portion of the description of the grantor, Guhasena. There it is that the most interesting statement occurs. For in line 2 the illustrious king Guhasena is called *Paramopâsaka*, '*the ardent devotee of Buddha,*' whence it appears that this ruler was actually converted to Buddhism. In the grant formerly published (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 174) he still professed Śaivism and called himself *Paramamâheśvara*.

The donee is (ll. 6-7) the "community of foreign monks belonging to the eighteen schools (of the Hînayâna) and living in the Abhyantarikâ Vihâra or monastery, which had been built by the venerable Mimmâ, and was situated close to the monastery of *Bhaṭârka* presented to the Râjasthânîya *Śûra*" (l. 7). If the reading *Bhaṭârka* were quite certain, it would be of some interest, as it would prove that the founder of the Valabhî dynasty already favoured the Bauddha faith. This Bhaṭârka Vihâra must afterwards have been alienated from its original destination, as the phrase *râjasthânîyaśûrâya prasâdikṛita* shows.

Mimmâ was, no doubt, like the venerable Duḍḍâ, whose name occurs in the formerly published grants of Dhruvasena I. and Guhasena. a Bauddha nun.

The object granted is *Vaṭasthalîkâprâyîyabahumûlâgrâme kutumbiśyâmaṇeragopakachheṇḍavakadâsakâstrâyaḥ* (l. 5), which I translate tentatively by "the income (*âya*) (to be paid) by the Kaṇabî Syâmaṇera, the herdsman Cheṇḍavaka, and the Dâsaka Astra in the village of Bahumûlâ belonging to Vaṭasthalîkâ-prâya (?)."

The date is the 14th day of the dark demilunation of Aśvayuja of Saṁvat [illegible], which possibly may be 268. The second sign is, however, read 40 by General Cunningham† and Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Inderjî, and 50 by Professor Bhâṇḍârkar.‡ I have given the reason which inclined me to read it 60 in the *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 174. I think that the question does require further consideration, but that more plates are required in order to decide it. The last sign has been taken for 6 by Professor Bhâṇḍârkar. But the sign for six is [illegible]. My reading was suggested by a remark on the subject which Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl made to me last year.

Among the officers to whom king Guhasena addresses his commands there are two not

* L. 7, read °वंश°. L. 9, read रियम°; °मन्तव्या पंचभि°; महापा°. L. 10, read दित्यपि; श्लोको; वर्ष°.

† *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*

‡ See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. X. p. 69.

VALABHI GRANT OF GUHASENA (2ND. PLATE) DATED 248.

found in the other grant—the *anutpannâdânasamudgrâhaka* and the *śaulkika*. The latter are probably custom-house officers, who collect the *śulka* or dues?§ Regarding another officer, the *râjasthânîya*, whom our grant mentions twice, some information is found in the *Lokaprakâśa* of Kshemendra. There it is said—Prak. IV. (beginning)

प्रजापालनार्थमुद्वहति रक्षयति स राजस्थानीयः ॥

"He who carries out the object of protecting subjects and shelters them is called a *Râjasthânîya*, *i.e.* 'a viceroy.'

*Transcript.*

*Plate II.*

1 ! नाधिकार्त्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोग

2 प्रमोदः **परमोपासकःमहाराजश्रीगुहसेन** × कुशली सर्व्वानेवायुक्तकविनियुक्तक . . . . महत्तर¶ चाट-

3 भटध्रुवाधिकरणिकदाण्डपाशिकचोरोद्धरणिकानुत्पन्नादानसमुद्ग्राहकशौल्किकराजस्थानीयकुमारान- मात्यादिकान्यांश्च यथा

4 संबध्यमानकान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनार्त्थमात्मनश्चैहिकामु- ष्मिकयथाभि-

5 लषितफलावाप्तये वटस्थलीकाप्रावीयबहुमूलाग्रामे कुटुंबिश्यामणेरगोपकछेण्डवकदासकास्त्रायस्सोद्र- ङ्ग सोपरि-

6 करास्सभूतवातप्रत्यायः सर्व्वधान्यहिरण्यादेया सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः राजस्थानीयशूराय प्रसादीकृत-

7 भटार्कविहारप्रत्यासन्नमिम्मापादकारिताभ्यन्तरिकाविहारे नानादिगभ्यागताष्टादशनिकायाभ्यन्तरा- र्य्यभिक्षुसङ्घाय

8 ग्रासाच्छादनशयनासनग्लानभैषज्यादिक्रियोत्सर्प्पणार्थमाचन्द्रार्कार्ण्णवसरित्क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनंभू- मिच्छिद्रन्यायेन प्रति-

9 पादितं यतोस्य न कैश्चित्परिपन्थना कार्य्यागामिभद्रनृपतिभिश्चास्मद्वंशजैरनित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यं च

10 भूमिदायफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च यश्चैनमाच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं- वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभि-

11 र्म्महापातकैस्सोपपातकैस्संयुक्तस्स्यादपि च । बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः यस्ययस्य यदा

12 भूमिः तस्यतस्य तदा फलम् ॥ यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्धनानि धर्म्मायतनीकृतानि निर्म्माल्यवान्त-

13 प्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ लक्ष्मीनिकेतं यदपाश्रयेण प्राप्नोसि . . . . . . .

14 . . . . . . . . पक्षंन्येव च पुण्यान्यभिवद्धा यथा न कर्शनीयो ह्युपकारिपक्ष इति

15 स्वमुखाज्ञा ॥ लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतस्कन्दभटेनेति सं आश्वयुजबदि ७ ८ ६

*C.—The Grant of Śilâditya III.*

The grant of Śîlâditya III. is written on two plates of large size, 16 inches by 13. They are in perfect preservation, and the ring and seal belonging to them are in their proper place. The characters resemble those of the two grants of Śîlâditya IV. published by the Hon'ble Rao Sâheb V. N. Maṇḍlik in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XI. p. 334. The greater portion of its contents agrees closely with the other grant of Śîlâditya published in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* and the above-mentioned two śâsanas.

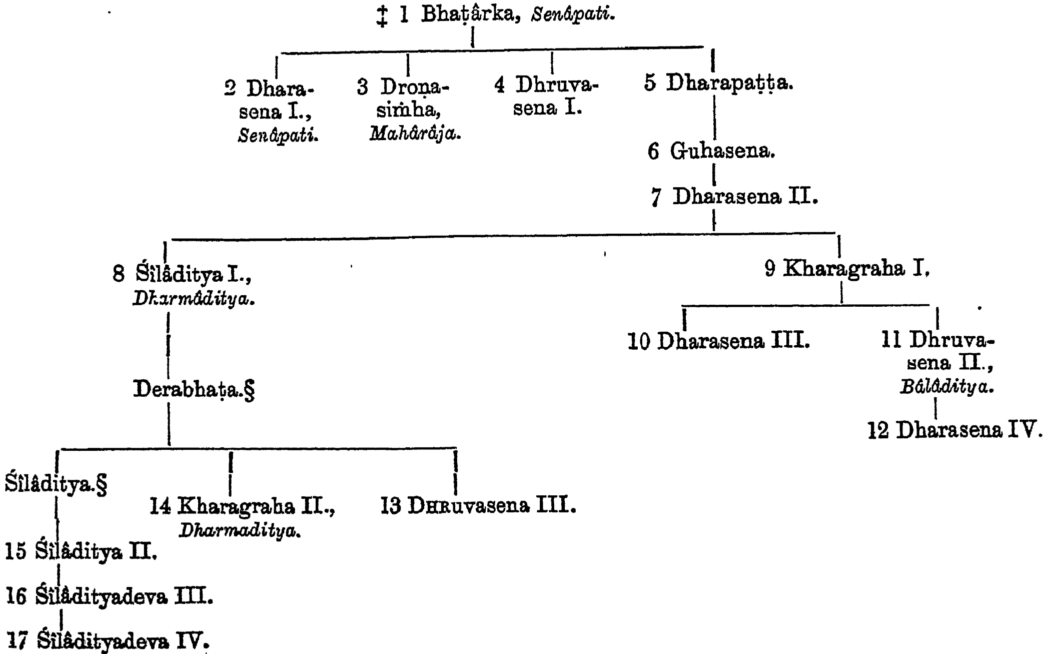
The grant is dated (Pl. I., l. 1) from the 'camp of victory fixed at the tank of Bâlâditya,'

§ See also the *Pet. Dict. s. v.*

¶ Line 2, महत्तर indistinct. L. 5, वटस्थ° doubtful. L. 6, read करास्स°; °देयः. L. 7, भटार्क° doubtful. L. 14, except the last five words, all indistinct and doubtful.

and was therefore issued during a royal progress.* The B â l â d i t y a after whom the tank was named is probably king D h r u v a s e n a II. of Valabhî, who, according to Pl. I., ll. 25-26, bore that surname.

The *vaṁśâvali* teaches us absolutely nothing new. But it may be as well to extract from it and the preceding grants a correct list of the kings of Valabhî. For the Hon'ble Rao Sâheb's pedigree of the Valabhî dynasty, given *loc. cit.* p. 331, is disfigured by an error regarding his No. X., which probably is due to the printer. Dr. Bhâû Dâjî's list,† though it gives the names correctly, does not distinguish between actual rulers and princes who, though not kings, were fathers of kings.




The last two Śîlâdityas II. and III. of our grant are said 'to meditate on the feet of the supreme Bhaṭṭâraka the king of kings the supreme lord B â v a (Pl. II., l. 27), and of the supreme Bhaṭṭâraka the king of kings the supreme lord B a p p a" (Pl. II., l. 21), respectively; and in the grant of Śîlâditya IV. that king also professes his devotion to B a p p a. The Hon'ble Rao Sâheb V. N. Maṇḍlik expresses his belief (*loc. cit.* p. 355) that B â v a and B a p p a were

* The Valabhî and Gurjara grants begin always, and those of other dynasties sometimes, with a statement of the place where the grant was issued. They are in fact dated just like our documents and letters. Sometimes we find simply the name of the town, as Valabhîtaḥ, from 'Valabhî.' But frequently we find the expression *jayaskandhâvârât*, 'from the camp of victory,' which in every case is followed by a compound ending in *vâsakât*, 'fixed at . . .' Thus we have in the grant of Dhruvasena (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 106) *jayaskandhâvârât Khuḍḍavediya-vâsakât*, 'from the camp of victory fixed at Khuḍḍavediya;' in the grants of Śîlâditya IV. *jayaskandhâvârât Śrîkheṭakavâsakât*, 'from the camp of victory fixed at Śrîkheṭaka,' &c. All such grants dated from a *camp* were evidently issued during royal progresses, or whilst the king was on a warlike expedition. This long note may appear unnecessary to many; but the mistranslation of the beginning of the grant of Śîlâditya IV. given in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. p. 346 will show that mistakes on so simple a matter are even now not impossible.

This inscription disproves also the assertion made in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XI. p. 352, note, that 'all copper-plates since the time of this Dhruvasena (IV.) are dated from K h e ṭ a k a'—which must be identified not with Kheḍâ in Gujarât, but with one of the homonymous villages in Kâṭhiâwâḍ. The assertion made in the same note that Kheḍâ in Gujarât became the capital of the Valabhî kings has, hitherto, not been proved.

† *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VIII. p. 245.

‡ The numbers prefixed to the names show the order of the succession. The names without numbers marked § are those of princes who, according to the grants, did not actually reign at Valabhî.

Kings Nos. 1-4 are to be found on the plates of Dhruvasena I. (see above), Nos. 5-6 on the plates of Guhasena (see above), and Dharasena II. (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*); for the remainder there are the plates of Dharasena II., of Śîlâditya I. (*Jour. Bo. Br. As. Soc.* vol. XI. p. 359), Dharasena IV. (*Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 14), Śîlâditya III. (the one under discussion), and Śîlâditya IV. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XI. p. 335).

The extreme limits between the dates known at present are 196 years (Dhruvasena I., Saṁvat 207, and Śîlâditya IV., Saṁvat 403), which have to be divided among nine generations. As regards the spelling of the names, Bhaṭârka and Derabhaṭa ought not to be spelt with two ṭ's, as is sometimes done on the plates and by antiquarians. For it is inappropriate to make a ruler a *bhatta* or priest. *Bhaṭa*, *i.e.* 'warrior,' on the other hand, is a fitting appellation. We owe the *bhaṭṭa* in the grants merely to the carelessness of the engravers, who usually did their work no better than bad copyists do it nowadays.

the *gurus* or religious teachers under whom the three kings sat, and appeals to the Vengî grant of Vijayânandivarmâ, as well as to unpublished Nepâl inscriptions, where a Bhaṭṭâraka Bappa is mentioned. I regret that I have to enter my protest against this explanation. For as the *Bâva* and Bappa of the Valabhî grants are both styled 'kings of kings' and 'supreme lords'—in fact receive exactly the same epithets as the rulers of Valabhî—they cannot, it seems to me, have been mere priests or *gurus*, but must have been real kings. At least I should like to see a well authenticated instance where a *guru* receives exactly the same titles as a king.

Secondly, the Bappa of Vijayânandi could not have been the Bappa of our grant —even if the latter were a priest. For Vijayânandivarmâ styles himself *paramabhâgavataḥ*, 'the great or ardent worshipper of Vishṇu,' while our kings call themselves *paramamâheśvaras*, 'great or ardent worshippers of Śiva.'. The *gurus* must be of the sect of the worshipper, and the Valabhî *Bappa* must therefore have been a Śaiva, whilst the Vengî *Bappa* must have been a Vaishṇava.

In the present stage of our knowledge of the history of the kings of Valabhî, I do not think it advisable to hazard any conjecture as to the country of king Bâva and king Bappa, or regarding their relations to those of Valabhî, though Hiwen Thsang's account of the kingdom *does* seem to furnish us with materials for them.

The donee of our grant is Bhûtakumâra, son of Droṇaputra, a Brahman of Valabhî, an emigrant from *Gomûtrikâ*, who belonged to the Bharadvâja gotra and studied the *Maitrâyaṇîya* redaction of the Black Yajurveda. He also receives the epithet *tachchâturvidyatraividyasâmânya*, which is not quite clear to me. (Pl. II., l. 23.) The object granted is the village of Loṇâpadraka, which is described as situated in the Loṇâpadrakasthalî, and is qualified by a further unintelligible epithet, *khoḍasthalakoparipaṭakasahita*.§

The date of the grant is the ninth day of the dark demi-lunation of Śrâvaṇa of Saṁvat 342. The second sign of the Saṁvat is doubtful; I read it tentatively as 40 on the strength of Dr. Bhâu Dâji's statements, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VIII. p. 230.

*Transcript.*

1 स्वस्ति जयस्कन्धावारात् बालादित्यतटाकवासकात् प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मत्रकाणामतुलबलसंप-
न्नमण्डलाभोगससक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापा प्रतापोपनत¶
2 दानमानार्ज्जवोपार्ज्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटा-
र्क्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवशान्मातापितृचरणारविंदप्रणतिप्रविधौताशे-
3 षकल्मषः शैशवात्प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्वनिकषस्तत्प्रतापप्रण-
ताराविचूडारत्नप्रभाससक्तपादनख-
4 रश्मिसंहतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्ग्गः सम्यपरिपालनप्रजाहृदयरंजनान्वर्थराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्थै-
र्य्यगांभीर्य्यबुद्धिसंपद्भिः स्मरशशाङ्कादिराजोदधित्रिदश-
5 गुरुधनेशांनतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफल प्रार्त्थनाधिकार्त्थप्र-
दानानंदितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः प-
6 दचारिसकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानखमयूख-
संतानबिसृतजान्हवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मष
7 प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसंपद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितः सरभसमाभिगामिकैर्म्गुणैः सहजशक्तिशिक्षावि-
शेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्दरः प्रथमनरप-
8 तिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयित धर्मदायानामुपकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामपप्लवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्व-
त्योरेकाधिवासस्य संहताराविपक्षलक्ष्मीप-

§ "With cultivated land and salt marsh."—ED.

¶ L. 1, read मैत्रकाणा;—संसक्त; प्रताप :- L. 2, read राजवंशा.° L. 3, read संसक्त- L. 4, read मार्ग्गसम्यक् प- L. 5, *dele* anusvâra over धनेशान°;—read °फल: L. 6, read पादचारीव;—पादनख°; °कल्मष :- L. 8, read पालयि-ता;—मुपप्लवानां.

9 रिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य** सुतस्तत्पादानु-
ध्यातः सकलजगदानंदनात्यद्भुतगुणसमु-

10 दयस्थगितसमग्रदिङ्मण्डलः समरशतविजयशोभासनाथमण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुररांसपीठो व्यूढगुरुमनो-
रथमहाभारः सर्व्वविद्यापरापरविभागा *

11 धिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतः सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषः समग्रालोकागाधगांभीर्य्यहृद-
योपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमक-

12 ल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्त्तिर्द्धर्मानुपरोधोज्वलतरिकृतास्थासुख-
संपदुपसेवानिरूढ**धर्मादित्यद्वितीय-**

13 **नामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः** स्वयमुपेद्रगुरुणेव गुरुणात्यादर-
वता समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्तां परम-

14 भद्र इव धुर्य्यस्तदाज्ञासंपादनैकरसतयैवोद्वहन्खेटसुखरतिभ्यामनायासितसत्वसंपत्तिः प्रभावसंपद्वशीकृ-
तनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपी-

15 ठोपि परावज्ञाभिमानरसानालिगितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेकां परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्यराति-
भिरनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवनामोद-

16 विमलगुणसंहतिः प्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगतिनीचजनाधिरोहिभिरशेषैर्द्दोषैरनामृष्टात्युन्न-
तहृदयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशला-

17 तिशयः गणतिथविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयंग्राहप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगमः **परममाहेश्व-
रः श्रीखरग्रहस्तस्य** सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातः

18 सर्व्वविद्यागमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशय सत्वसंपदा त्यागौदार्य्येण च विगतानुसंधा-
नासमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाक्षिभंगसंम्यगुप-

19 लक्षितानेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरितगव्हरविभागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरकृत्रिमप्रश्रंयविनयशोभाविभूषण-
समरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्यलोदग्र-

20 बाहुदण्डविध्वंसनखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्प्पोदय स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिपूतास्त्रकशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिमण्डलाभि-
नंदितशासनः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेन-**

21 **स्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः** सच्चरितातिशयितसकलपूर्व्वनरपतिरतिदुःसाधानामपि साधयिता विषया-
णां मूर्त्तिमनिव पुरुषकारः परिवृद्धगुणानुरागनिर्भ्भररचितवृ-

22 त्तिर्मनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः कान्तिमान्निव्यातिहेतुरकलंकः कुमुदनाथः
प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितदिगन्तरालप्रध्वंसितध्वान्तराशि-

23 सततोदित सविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्थवन्तमतिबहुतिथप्रयोजकानुबन्धमागमपारिपूर्णां विदधानः
सन्धिविग्रहसमासनिश्चयनिपुणः

24 स्थानेनुरूपमादेशं दद्गुणवृद्धिविधानजनितसंस्कारः साधूनां राज्यशालातुरीयसूत्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्ण-
तः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि करुणामृदुहृदयः श्रुत-

25 वान्यप्यगर्व्वितः कान्तोपि प्रशमी स्थिरसौहृदय्योपि निरसिता दोषवतामुदयसमयसमुपजनितजनतानुरा-
गपरिपिहितभुवनसमर्त्थितप्रथितबाला-

* L. 10, read द्युतिभासुरतरांस°. L. 12, read °तरीकृता°. L. 13 read °गुरुणेव (˜). L. 15 read लिंगित: L. 16, read गतिर्नीच°. L. 18, read °विद्याधिगम° with other plates, °षातिशयः; °क्षिभंगः. L. 19, read °विभागोपि; °प्रश्रय°; विभूषणः. L. 20, read परिभूता°; विध्वंसितनिखिलं° —दर्पोदयः— °कौशला°. L. 21, read मूर्तिमानिव; निर्भरचित्त°:. L. 22, read त्तिभिर्मे;° °नि-र्वृति°;— ° दिगन्तरालः; °राशिः. L. 23, read सततोदितः प्रयोजना°; परिपूर्णं;. L. 24, read निष्णातः. L. 25, read वान°.

VALABHÎ GRANT OF ŚILÂDITYA III. (SECOND PLATE.)

26 **दित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनस्तस्य** सुतस्तत्पादकमलप्रणामधरणिकषणजनित-
किणलांछनललाटचन्द्रशकलः शिशुभा-

27 व एव श्रवणनिहितमौक्तिकालंकारविभ्रमामलश्रुतविशेषप्रदानसलिलक्षालिताग्रहस्तारविंदः कन्याया
इव मृदुकरग्रहणादमदीकृता †

28 नन्दविधिर्व्वसुधरायाः कामुके धनुर्व्वेद इव सभाविताशेषलक्ष्यकलापः प्रणतसामन्तमण्डलोत्तमांग-
धृतचूडा-

29 रत्नायमानसाशनः **परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरचक्रवर्तिश्रीधर-
सेनः**

*Plate II.*

1 तत्पितामहभ्रातृ**श्रीशीलादित्यस्य** सार्ङ्गपाणरिव गलन्मनो भक्तिबन्धुरावयवकल्पितप्रातरांतिधवलया
दूरं तत्पादारविन्दप्रवित्तया नखमणिरुचा मन्दाकिन्येव नित्यममलितोत्तमांग‡

2 देशस्यागस्यस्येव राजर्षेर्द्दाक्षिण्यमातन्वानस्य प्रबलधवलिम्ना यशसां वलयेन मण्डितककुभा नभसि
यामिनीपतेर्विदलिताखण्डपरिवेषमण्डलस्य

3 पयोदश्यामशिखरचूचुकरचिरसह्यविन्ध्यस्तनयुगाया क्षितेः पत्युः **श्रीदेरभटस्यांगजः** क्षितिपसं-
हतेरनुरागिण्याः शुचियशोंशुकभृतः स्वयंवरमा-

4 लामिव राज्यश्रियमर्प्पयन्त्याः कृतपरिग्रहः शौर्य्यमप्रतिहतव्यापारमानमितप्रचण्डरिपुमण्डलमण्डला-
ग्रमिवावलंबमान शरदि प्रसभमाकृष्टशिलीमुखबाणासना-

5 पादितप्रसाधनानां परभुवां विधिवदाचिरितकरग्रहणः पूर्व्वमेव विविधवर्णोज्ज्वलेन श्रुतातिशयेनोद्भासित-
श्रवणपुनःपुनःपुनरुक्तेनैव रत्नालंकारेणालकृतश्रोत्रः

6 परिस्फुरत्कटकविकटकीटपक्षरत्नकिरणमविच्छिन्नप्रदानसलिलनिवहावसेकविलसनवशैवलांकुरमिवा-
ग्रपाणिमुद्वहन्धृतविशालरत्नवलयजलधिवेलातटाय-

7 मानभुजपरिश्वक्तविश्वंभरः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनस्तस्याग्रजोपरमहीपतिस्पर्शदोषनाशनधियेव**
लक्ष्म्या स्वयमतिस्पष्टचेष्टमाश्लिष्टांगयष्टिरतिरुचिर-

8 तरचरितगतिगरिमपरिकलितसकलनरपतिरतिप्रकृष्टानुरागरसरभसवशीकृताप्रणतसमस्तसामन्तच-
क्रचूडामणिमयूखखचितचरणकमलयुगलः प्रोद्दा-

9 मोदारदोर्द्दण्डदलितद्विषद्वर्गदर्प्प प्रसपत्पटीयप्रतापप्लोषिताशेषशत्रुवंशः प्रणयिपक्षनिक्षिप्तलक्ष्मीकः
प्रेरितगदोत्क्षिप्तसुदर्शनचक्रः परिह-

10 तबालक्रीडोनधःकृतद्विजातिरेकविक्रमप्रसाधितधरित्रीवलोनंगीकृतजलशय्योपूर्व्वपुरुषोत्तमः साक्षा-
द्धर्म इव सम्यग्व्यवस्थापितवर्णाश्रमाचारः पूर्व्वैरप्यु-

11 र्व्वीपतिभिस्तृष्णालवंलुब्धैर्य्यान्यपहृतानि देवब्रह्मदेयानि तेषामप्यतीसरलमनःप्रसरमुत्सङ्कलनानुमोद-
नाभ्यां परिमुदितात्रिभुवनाभिनंदितोच्छ्रितोत्कृष्ट-

12 धवलधर्मध्वजप्रकाशितनिजवंशो देवद्विजगुरून्प्रति यथार्हमनवरतप्रवर्त्तितमहोद्रंगादिदानव्यसनानुप-
जातसंतोषोपात्तोदारकीर्त्तिपंक्तिपरंपरा-

† L. 27, read विशेषः; °मन्दीकृता. L. 28, read वसुंधरायाः कार्मुके;—संभाविता; चूडा°. L. 29, read शासनः.

‡ L. 1, read शार्ङ्गपाणेरिवाङ्गजन्मनो; °प्रणतेरतिध°. L. 2, read °गस्त्यस्येव;. L. 3, read °रुचिर°; युगायाः. L. 4, read लंबमानः. L. 5, °दाचरित°; °श्रवणयुगलः पुनःपुनरु°; लंकृत°. L. 6, read °विलसन्नव°. L. 7, read परिष्वक्त°. L. 8, read वशीकृतप्र°. L. 9, read °दर्पः प्रसर्प°;. L. 11, read तृणलवलुब्धैर्यान्य°. Line 12, read °गुरून्प्रति.

13 दन्तुरितनिखिलदिक्कक्रवाल स्पष्टमेव यथार्त्थं धर्मादित्यापरनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्रहस्त-
स्याग्रजन्मनः कुमुदषण्डश्रीविकासिन्या कलावतश्चन्द्रिकयेव§

14 कीर्त्त्या धवलितसकलदिङ्मण्डलस्य खण्डितागुरुविलेपनपिण्डश्यामलविंध्यशैलविपुलपयोधराभोगाया
क्षोण्याः पत्युः श्रीशीलादित्यस्य सूनुर्न्नवप्रालेय-

15 किरण इव प्रतिदिनसंवर्द्धमानकलाचक्रवालः केसरीन्द्रशिशुरिव राजलक्ष्मीमचलवनस्थलीमिवालंकु-
र्व्वाणः शिखण्डिकेतन इव रुचिमच्चूडामण्डनः प्रचण्ड-

16 शक्तिप्रभावश्च शरदागम इव प्रतापवानुल्लसत्पद्मः संयुगे विदलयंनभोधरानिव परगजानुदयतंचतपन-
बालातप इव संग्रामे मुष्णंन्नविमु-

17 खानामायूंषि द्विषतां **परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीबावपादानु-
ध्यातः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्य**

18 सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातः क्षुभितकलिजलधिकल्लोलाभिभूतमज्जन्महीमण्डलोद्धारधैर्य्यः प्रकटितपुरुषोत्त-
मतया निखिलजनमनोरथपरिपूरणपरोपर इव

19 चिन्तामणिश्चतुःसागरावरुद्धसीमापरिकरां च प्रदानसमये तृणलवलघीयसी भुवमभिमन्यमा-
नोपरपृथ्वीनिर्माणव्यवसायासादितपारमैश्वर्य्यः कोपाकृ-

20 ष्टनिस्त्रिंशविनिपातविदलितारिकरिकुंभस्थलोल्लसत्प्रसृतमहाप्रतापानलप्राकारपरिगतजगन्मण्डलल-
ब्धस्थितिः विकटनिजदोर्द्दण्डावलंबिना सकलभुवनाभो-

21 गभाजा मन्यास्फालविधुतदुग्धसिन्धुफेनपिण्डपाण्डुरंयसोवितानन पिहितातपत्रः **परममाहेश्वरः
परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीबप्पपादानुध्यातः**

22 **परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीशीलादित्यदेवः** सर्व्वानेव समाज्ञापयत्यस्त्क वः
संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाय गोमूत्रिकाविनिर्ग्गतश्रीवल-

23 भीवास्तव्यचातुर्व्विद्यत्रैविद्यसामन्यभरद्वाजसगोत्रमैत्रायणीयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणद्रोणपुत्रब्राह्मणभूतकु-
माराय सुराष्ट्रेषु लोणापद्रकस्थल्यां खोडस्थलकोपरिपट-

24 कसहितलोणापद्रकग्रामः सोद्रंगः सोपरिकरः सभूतवातप्रत्यायसधान्यहिरण्यादेयशदशापराधः सोत्प-
द्यमानविष्टिकः सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयरहितो भूमिच्छिद्रन्या-

25 येन चन्द्रार्क्कार्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य उदकातिसर्ग्गेण धर्मदायोतिसृष्टः
यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुंजतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रदिशतो वा न कैश्चि-

26 द्व्यासेधे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरप्यस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्व्वा अनित्यैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यं च
भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं च

27 बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलम् । यानीह दारि-
द्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्धनानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को
नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥

29 षष्ठीं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतकोत्र
राजपुत्रखरग्रह ।।

30 लिखितमिदं बलाधिकृतबप्पभोगिकपुत्रदिविरपतिश्रीहरगणेनेति ॥ सं ३५० श्रावण व ९ (९)
स्वहस्तो ममः ॥ (३०)

§ L. 13, read °वालः. L. 16 read विदलयन्नंभो°; °दयतपन°; °मुष्णन्न°. L. 19, read लघीयसीं. °पारमैश्वर्यः. L. 21, read परममाहेश्वरः; °पाण्डुरयशोवितानेन. L. 23, read सामान्य सदशापराधः. L. 29, read षष्टिं. Line 30, खरग्रहः; the णे in हरगणेने° is doubtful.

# TRANSLATION OF AN EPISODE IN THE 1st BOOK OF THE RÂMÂYAṆA OF TULSI DÂS.

BY F. S. GROWSE, M.A., B.C.S., Fellow of the Calcutta University.

The Hindi *Râmâyaṇa* of Tulsi Dâs is by far the most popular, and for other reasons also the most important work in the vernacular of Upper India. But though three centuries have now elapsed since the year 1575 A.D., when it was written, no portion of it has ever yet been translated into any European language. This singular neglect is to be explained by two causes. In the *first* place, the colloquial idiom and homely allusions would form insuperable difficulties to any foreigner who had not some local experience and personal acquaintance with native usages; and therefore no philologist at home would essay the task. *Secondly,* here in India the Hindu side of popular speech has always been viewed with a certain amount of disfavour by the English Government, and this has so much discouraged its study among official residents that, as a rule, the only Europeans in the country who have acquired an accurate knowledge of Hindi are the Protestant missionaries, who find it indispensable for bazâr preaching. I had long hoped that some of these very able scholars might be induced to supply a want which they unanimously deplore: but they plead the length of the work and their own little leisure as an excuse. At last, after ascertaining that there is no prospect of my hope being realized by their labours, I have myself commenced the translation, of which the following episode is a specimen. It relates the story of Pârvatî's penance and her subsequent marriage with Śiva, which was the boon she had begged, and is a fair example of the author's unaffected narrative style. The *chhands* which are introduced here and there, whenever the interest of the plot thickens, or the poet feels himself carried away by an access of religious fervour, are metrically rendered as an indication of their peculiar character. The only other remark to be made is that the division into *dohâs, chaupâi,* &c., which in a prose translation seems at first sight altogether unnecessary, has been retained for the special reason of facilitating a critical reference to the original, and eliciting suggestions for an improved rendering of doubtful passages.

*Translation.*

But Umâ, cherishing in her heart the feet of her dear lord, went into the forest and began her penance. Though her delicate frame was little fit for such austerities, she abandoned all food and became absorbed in prayer, her devotion so growing day by day that all bodily wants were forgotten, and her soul was wholly given to penance. For a thousand years she ate only roots and fruit; for a hundred years she lived on vegetables; for some days her only sustenance was water and air, and on some she maintained a yet more absolute fast. For three thousand years she ate only dry leaves of the *bel** tree that had fallen to the ground, and at last abstained even from dry leaves, whence she acquired the name of *aparna* ('the leafless'). At the sight of her emaciated frame, Brahmâ's deep voice resounded through the heavens:—

*Dohâ* 84.

"Hear, daughter of the mountain-king! your desire is accomplished; cease all these intolerable afflictions: Tripurâri will soon be yours.

*Chaupâi.*

"Though there have been many saints both resolute and wise, not one, Bhavânî, has performed such penance as this: accept now the divine oracle as ever true and ever good. When your father comes to call you, cease to resist, and go home with him; and when the seven sages meet you, know this to be the sign of the heavenly prediction." When she heard Brahmâ's voice thus speaking from on high, Girijâ thrilled with delight. Now with her we have done for a time, while we turn to Śambhu. From the day when Satî's spirit left the body he became a rigid ascetic, ever telling his beads in Râma's honour, and attending the public recitations in his honour:

*Dohâ* 85.

Even he, Śiva, the pure intelligence, the abode of bliss, exempt from lust, frenzy, and delusion, wanders about on earth with his heart fixed on Hari, the joy of the whole world.

*Chaupâi.*

Now instructing saints in wisdom, now ex-

* The *bel* tree (*Ægle Marmelos*) is specially sacred to Śiva.

pounding Râma's praises, and though himself the all-wise and passionless Lord God, yet saddened by the sadness of a bereaved disciple. In this way many ages passed, while his love for Râma daily increased. Then the generous and merciful god, full of grace and benignity, seeing his steadfastness and affection, and the unchangeable stamp of devotion on his soul, became manifest in all his glory and lauded him highly, for none other had ever accomplished such a vow. In divers ways he instructed him, telling him of Pârvatî's birth and of her virtuous deeds, all at full length, in his infinite compassion.

*Dohâ* 86.

"Now, Śiva, if you have any love for me, listen to my request: go and marry the mountain-maid and do as I ask you."

*Chaupâi.*

Said Śiva, "Though it is scarcely seemly, yet when a master speaks he is not to be gainsaid. I must needs bow to your order, for obedience is the highest duty. If a man would prosper, he must do, without thinking, as he is told by his parents, or his confessor, or his superior: you are in every way my benefactor, and I bow to your commands." The lord was pleased when he heard Śaṅkara's reply so full of faith, knowledge, and religious feeling, and said, "Hara, your vow stands good; take to heart what I have told you." So saying he vanished, but the vision remained impressed in Śaṅkara's soul. Then came the seven Ṛishis to visit him, and he addressed them thus in pleasant wise:—

*Dohâ* 87.

"Go to Pârvatî and make trial of her love, and then send her father to fetch her home and remove all his doubts."

*Chaupâi.*

When the Ṛishis saw Gaurî, she seemed to them like Penance personified, and they cried, "Hear, O daughter of the mountain! why practise such grievous self-mortification? What has been the sin, or what is the aim? Tell us the whole secret truly." When Bhavânî heard their speech she replied in strangely moving terms:—"I greatly shrink from telling my secret, for you will smile at my folly when you hear it; but my soul is obstinately set and refuses to hear instruction, though I am like one building a house upon the water, or as one who would fly without wings, relying only on the truth of Nârada's prophecy. See, O saints, the extent of my madness. I long for the unchangeable Śaṅkara as my husband."

*Doha* 88.

The Ṛishîs smiled on hearing her speech, and said: "You are moulded like the parent rock; but tell me who has ever listened to Nârada's advice and had a home?

*Chaupâi.*

"Did he not advise Daksha's sons? and they never saw their father's house again. It was he, too, who ruined Chitraketu's family, and also Hiraṇya Kaśipu's.† Whoever listens to Nârada's advice, be it man or woman, is certain to become a houseless beggar. Seemingly pious, but deceitful at heart, he would make every one like himself. And now you are led away by his words, and are longing to marry a very outcast, a worthless, shameless, tattered wretch, with a necklace of serpents and skulls, and without either family, or house, or even clothes. Tell me, now, what pleasure is to be had from such a bridegroom as this? Better forget the ravings of the impostor. For he married Satî only because other people suggested it, and soon abandoned her and left her to die.

*Dohâ* 89.

"And now he never gives her a thought, but goes about begging, and eats and sleeps at his ease. What respectable woman could ever stay with such a confirmed solitary?

† It was by Nârada's advice that the sons of Daksha were dissuaded from multiplying their race, and scattered themselves all over the world in the hope of acquiring knowledge. Not one of them ever returned, and the unhappy father, thus deserted by all his children, denounced as a curse upon Nârada that he, too, should always be a homeless wanderer on the face of the earth.

King Chitraketu was childless, though he had a thousand wives. At last, by the blessing of a saint, one of them bore him a son; but when it was a year old they all conspired together and poisoned it. The king was weeping sorely with the dead child in his arms, when Nârada came and after much persuasion consented to restore it to life. It at once sat up and began to speak, saying that in a former state of existence it had been a king, who had retired from the world into a hermitage. There one day a woman in charity gave him a cake of fuel, which he put on the fire without perceiving that there were in it a thousand little ants. These innocent creatures all perished in the flames, but were born again in a more exalted position as Chitraketu's wives; while the woman who gave the fuel, and the hermit who used it, became the mother and the child, whom inexorable fate had thus punished for their former sinful inadvertence. After finishing this explanation, the child again fell back dead; and Chitraketu, giving up all hope of an heir, abandoned the throne and began a course of penance.

When Kayâdhu, the wife of the demon-king Hiraṇya-Kaśipu, was about to bring forth, she received instruction from the sage Nârada, whose words reached even to the ears of the child in her womb. Accordingly, from the moment he was born he devoted himself to the service of Vishṇu, and thus provoked his impious father to the acts of persecution which resulted in his own destruction and the extinction of his royal line.

*Chaupâi.*

"To-day if you will hear my words, I have thought of an excellent bridegroom for you, so beautiful and honourable, so pleasant and amiable, that even the Veda hymns his praise—the faultless and all-perfect lord of Lakshmî, who reigns at Vaikuṇṭha. He is the husband that I will bring you." On hearing this Bhavânî smiled and replied, "You said true that I inherit a rock-nature, and would sooner die than yield. Gold, again, is another product of the rock, that cannot be changed by any amount of burning. Nor will I change my faith in Nârada's word; whether my house be full or desolate I fear not: whoever doubts the word of his spiritual adviser must never dream of obtaining either happiness or riches.

*Dohâ* 90.

"Mahâdeva is full of faults, while Vishṇu is all-perfect; but love is governed by caprice.

*Chaupâi* 91.

"If, reverend sirs, I had met you sooner, I would have submitted to your advice; but now that I have given my life for Śambhu, it is too late to weigh his merits and defects. If you are firmly resolved and cannot rest without making a match, there is no dearth of lovers, the world is full of young men and maidens; but as for me, though I hold out for a million lives, I will either wed Śambhu or remain a virgin. I will not forget Nârada's admonition, who told me again and again of Mahâdeva. I, who am styled the mother of the world, fall at your feet and bid you return home; your time is lost." When the sages beheld her devotion they cried, "Glory, glory, glory to the great mother Bhavânî,

*Dohâ* 91.

"United as Mayâ to the god Śiva, the parents of the universe!" then bowing their heads at her feet and thrilling with rapture they left,

*Chaupâi.*

And sent king Himavant, and with many entreaties brought Girijâ back. When they returned to Śiva and told him Umâ's whole history, he was delighted to hear of her affection, and they went gladly home. Then the all-wise Śambhu, firmly directing his intention, began a meditation on Râma. Now at that time was a demon Târaka, of gigantic strength of arm and high renown, who had subdued the sovereigns of every region, and despoiled the gods of all their happiness. Knowing neither age nor death, he was invincible; and the powers of heaven were vanquished in innumerable battles. At last they all went and cried to the Creator, and he seeing them so dismayed.

*Dohâ* 92.

Reassured them, saying, "The demon shall die when a son is born of the seed of Śambhu, who shall conquer him in fight."

*Chaupâi.*

"Having heard what I say, devise a plan by which such a lord may arise and assist you. After Satî quitted the body at Daksha's sacrifice, she was born again as the daughter of the Himâlaya, and has been practising penance in the hope of obtaining Śambhu to husband. He, on the other hand, has left all, and sits absorbed in contemplation. Though the disparity is great, yet list to what I propose. Send Kâma, the god of love, to Śiva, to agitate his soul, and then I will approach with bowed head and arrange the marriage, and in this way your object will be attained." All exclaimed that the plan was good, and heartily applauded it. Then came the god with the five arrows and the fish-standard.

*Dohâ* 93.

And they told him their distress. He heard, and after reflecting a little replied with a smile, "Śambhu's displeasure will work me no good.

*Chaupâi.*

"Yet I will do you this service. The scriptures say charity is the highest of virtues, and one who gives his life for another is ever the praise of the saints." So saying he bowed and took his leave, he and his attendant,‡ with his bow of flowers in his hand. And as he went he thought within himself: Śiva's displeasure will surely be my death. Therefore he hastened to exhibit his power, and for a time reduced to subjection the whole world. If Love is provoked, the stepping-stones of the law are swept away in a moment; religious vows and obligations, self-control, ceremonial observances, knowledge and philosophy, virtuous practices, prayer, penance, self-mortification, the whole spiritual army, is panic-stricken and put to flight.

*Chhand* 3.

Virtue's grand force is routed in panic and dismay,
And in dark nooks of holy books her champions skulk away.

‡ Kâmadeva's attendant is Riturâja, or Basanta, the spring season.

Great god of fate! in this dread state what saving power is nigh?
'Gainst man's one heart Love's five-fold dart wins easy victory.

*Dohâ* 94.

Every creature in the world, animate or inanimate, male or female, forgot natural restraint and became subject to love.

*Chaupâi.*

In every heart was a craving for love: the tree bent its boughs to kiss the creeper; the overflowing river ran into the arms of Ocean; lakes and ponds effected a meeting. And when such was the case with inanimate creation, what need to speak of man? Beasts on land, and birds in the air, under the influence of love, were unmindful of time and season; all were agitated and blind with desire, and the swan regarded neither night nor day.§ Gods, demons, men, *kinnaras*, serpents, ghosts, witches, goblins and imps, were all at once enslaved by love; even saints and hermits, sages and ascetics became again sensual under his influence.

*Chhand* 4.

When saints and hermits own his sway, why speak of serf and thrall?
God's whole creation, recreant grown, swore Love was all in all;
Each jocund dame, each amorous swain, found heaven in love's embrace:
Two hours sped past, Love still stood fast and reigned in Brahmâ's place.

*Soratha* 8.

None is so bold but Love steals his heart, and only they whom Râma protects can then escape.

*Chaupâi.*

For two hours this triumph lasted, till Kâmadeva drew nigh to Śambhu. On seeing him Love trembled, and the whole world returned to itself. Every living creature at once grew calm, as when a drunkard recovers from his drunkenness. When Love looked at Śiva, the invincible and unapproachable god, he feared; then returned shame too strong for words, and, resolved upon death, he formed his plan of attack. Forthwith lusty Spring stepped forth, and every tree broke into blossom; wood and grove, lake and pond, every quarter of the heaven, gladdened and overflowed as it were with love, and even the deadest soul was quickened at the sight.

*Chhand* 5.

At Love's touch the dead were quickened, blossomed all the wood so dark,
While a breeze soft, cool, and fragrant fanned the love-enkindled spark.
Laughs the lake with many a lotus, hum the bees with drowsy sound,
Swans and parrots chatter gaily, gladly dance the nymphs around.

*Dohâ* 95.

Though he tried every trick and manifold device, and triumphed over host and all, yet Śiva's unbroken trance still continued, and Love grew furious.

*Chaupâi.*

Seeing a mango-tree with spreading boughs, he in his folly climbed up into it; then fitted a shaft to his flowery bow, and in his great passion taking aim and drawing the string home to the ear he let fly and lodged the five arrows in his breast. Then the trance was broken and Śambhu awoke. In the lord's soul was great agitation; he opened his eyes and looking all round saw Kâmadeva in the mango-tree. At his wrath the three worlds trembled. Then Śiva unclosed his third eye, and by its flash Kâmadeva was reduced to ashes. A confused cry went up through the universe from the gods in their dismay, from the demons in exultation; the rich were sad when they remembered love's delights, while saints and hermits felt relieved of a thorn.||

*Chhand* 6.

The saints were freed from torment: but Ratî swooned for woe,
And in sad guise with weeping eyes at Śiva's throne fell low,
Sore wailing and lamenting her dear lord's hapless fate;
Till quick to pardon spoke the god in words compassionate:

*Dohâ* 96.

"Henceforth, Ratî, your husband's name shall be called *Anang* (the bodiless), and thus etherealized he shall pervade all things. But hear how you will again find him hereafter:—

§ The male and female *chakwa* (swan, or rather Brâhmani duck) are doomed for ever to nocturnal separation, and are said to pass the night on the opposite banks of a river, vainly calling to each other to cross. During love's brief triumph the curse was for once removed.

|| With this whole narrative compare that in the *Kumara Sambhava* of Kâlidâsa.—ED.

*Chaupâi.*

"When Krishṇa becomes incarnate in the family of Jadu to relieve the world of its burdens, your husband shall be born again as his son (Pradyumna): this my word shall not fail." On hearing this prophecy of Śaṅkara's, Ratî retired. I now turn to another part of my story. When Brahmâ and the other gods heard these tidings they first went to Vaikuṇṭha, and thence, with Vishṇu, Brahmâ, and all the rest, into the presence of the merciful Śiva, and each of them separately sang his praises. Then the gracious power whose crest is the moon and whose standard a bull said, "Tell me, ye immortals, why ye have come." Said Brahmâ, "My lord, you can read our hearts, but as ordered I speak.

*Dohâ* 97.

"In the mind of all the gods is one idea. Śaṅkara is love-smitten, and we would fain with our own eyes see his marriage.

*Chaupâi.*

"O destroyer of the pride of love, let us feast our eyes on this glad event. In granting a husband to Ratî after Kâmadeva had been consumed you have done well, O sea of compassion, in punishment remembering mercy; the great have ever an easy temper. Accept now the interminable penance that Pârvatî has endured." On hearing Brahmâ's speech and perceiving its purport, he exclaimed joyfully, "So be it!" Then the gods sounded their kettledrums, and rained down flowers, and cried "Victory, victory to the King of Heaven!" Then, perceiving it was the proper time, the seven sages came and were despatched by Brahmâ to the Himâlaya, where first they sought Bhavânî, and addressed her in mild but deceptive terms:—

*Dohâ* 98.

"You would not listen to us, but rather took Nârada's advice; now again is your vow proved vain, for the god of love has been consumed by Mahâdeva."

*Chaupâi.*

Bhavânî replied with a smile, "O wisest of sages, you have said well. Your words 'Love has been consumed by Mahâdeva' imply a belief that aforetime Śambhu was liable to change. But I know him to be from everlasting an ascetic, faultless, loveless, passionless: and if, knowing him to be such as he is, I have served him devotedly in heart, word, and deed, so gracious a lord (be assured, O sages) will bring my vow to accomplishment. Your saying that Hara has destroyed Love betrays great want of judgment. Fire, my friend, has an unalterable nature, and ice cannot exist near it; if brought near, it must inevitably perish; and so must Love in the presence of Mahâdeva."*

*Dohâ* 99.

On hearing this speech and seeing her love and confidence, the sages were delighted and bowed the head before her, and went to king Himâchal,

*Chaupâi.*

And told him the whole history. When he heard of Love's destruction he was much distressed, but was again comforted when told of Ratî's promised husband. After pondering on the majesty of Śambhu he reverently summoned the wise men, and at once had the day fixed according to Vedic prescription, selecting an auspicious date, and planet, and hour. Then he gave the letter to the seven sages, humbly falling at their feet, and they took it to Brahmâ, who could not contain himself for joy on reading it, but at once proclaimed it aloud. The whole company of heaven was delighted: there was music and a shower of flowers, and in every quarter festive preparations were commenced.

*Dohâ* 100.

All the gods began adorning the different vehicles on which they ride abroad; the Muses sang for joy, and all was bliss and happiness.

*Chaupâi.*

Śiva's attendants began to dress their lord, arranging his serpent-crest and crown of matted locks; with snakes for his earrings and bracelets of snakes for his wrists; his body smeared with ashes, and a lion's skin about his loins; the moon on his brow, the lovely Ganges on the crown of his head, his eyes three in number, and a serpent for his Brâhmanical cord; his throat black with poison, a wreath of dead men's skulls about his breast: in such ghastly attire was arrayed the great god Śiva. With trident in hand he advanced riding on a bull, while the drums beat and instruments of music were played. The female divinities all smiled to see him,

* The line thus translated stands in the original *Asi Manmatha Maheśa ko nâi.* There is an entirely different reading in some copies, *jimi Sampâti nij pachchh ganwâi,* "like Sampâti who lost his wings;" Sampâti being the brother of Jaṭâyu who gave Hanumân information of Râvaṇa's rape of Sîtâ.

and said, "The world has no bride worthy of such a lover." Vishṇu and Brahmâ and all the company of heaven followed in the procession, each on his own carriage; they formed a wondrous sight, but were nothing compared to the bridegroom.

*Dohâ* 101.

Then Vishṇu with a smile cried to all the heavenly warders and said, "March separately each one with his own retinue,

*Chaupâi.*

"Otherwise on going into a strange city it will be a joke against us that the procession is a failure after the bridegroom." The gods smiled to hear this speech, and marched separately, each at the head of his own followers. Mahâdeva smiled too, not understanding Hari's joke, but taking it as a most friendly suggestion, and sent Bhringi to bring all his own company together. On receiving Śiva's order they all came and bowed the head at his lotus-feet. Then Śiva laughed to see the host in their motley attire, riding every kind of vehicle: some with monstrous heads, some with no head at all; some with many hands and feet, and some with none; some with great eyes, some with no eyes; some very stout, some very slim.

*Chhand* 7.

All, stout or slim, or foul or trim, in gruesome panoply,
With skulls for wine-cups filled with blood, from which they quaffed with glee,
With head of dog, or ass, or hog, a host no tongue can tell,
Ghosts, goblins, witches, every kind of denizen of hell.

*Soratha* 9.

All the demons went singing and dancing with wonderful contortions, such as never were seen, and uttering all sorts of strange cries.

*Chaupâi.*

Like bridegroom, like procession—an extraordinary sight as it went along the road. There king Himâchal erected a canopy more splendid than words can tell; and every hill in the world, small and great, more than man can count, and every wood and sea, river, stream and lake, all were invited to attend; and assuming forms of exquisite beauty, with all their retinue, male and female, they flocked to the palace, singing songs of gladness. First of all, the king had built a number of guest-houses, and so tastefully arranged them that after a glance at the beauty of the city the Creator of the world seemed a contemptible architect.

*Chhand* 8.

Little seemed the world's Creator, and his skill of nothing worth;
Lake and fountain, grove and garden, shone more fair than aught on earth.
Wreaths and arches, flags and banners, made each house a goodly show;
Gallant youths and lovely maidens set a saint's heart all aglow.

*Dohâ* 102.

The city in which the Great Mother had taken birth surpassed description; joy, prosperity, and abundance were ever on the increase.

*Chaupâi.*

When it was known that the marriage procession was close at hand, the stir in the city and the brilliancy of the decorations grew more and more. With numerous carriages and all due equipment the heralds started for the formal reception. When they saw the army of gods they were glad of heart, and yet more so when they beheld Harî. But when they perceived Śiva' familiars, every beast they rode started back in affright. Grown men summoned up courage to stand, but the children all ran for their lives straight back home, and when their parents questioned them could only reply, trembling all over, "What can we say? it is beyond telling; it is no marriage procession, but the army of death: the bridegroom a maniac, mounted on a bull, with snakes and skulls and ashes to adorn him."

*Chhand* 9.

"Skulls and snakes and streaks of ashes, matted locks and body bare,
Witches, imps, and frightful goblins, and appalling ghosts are there.
Happy man who sees such horrors nor dies at once of fright!"
So from house to house they babbled on Umâ's wedding night.

*Dohâ* 103.

The fathers and mothers smiled, for they recognized Śiva's familiars, and reassured the children in every possible way, saying, "Do not be afraid, there is no cause for fear."

*Chaupâi.*

The heralds brought in the procession, and assigned them all pleasant quarters. And Maina,

having prepared an elegant sacrificial lamp, and lustrous water in a golden bowl, proceeded with much gladness to move it round and round over Śiva's head, while her attendants sang festive songs. When they saw his terrible attire the women feared greatly, and ran inside the house all of a tremble. Mahâdeva advanced to the guest-room, and Maina, sorely grieved at heart, called her daughter and in the most loving manner took her into her lap, while her lotus-eyes overflowed with tears:—"To think that the Creator should have made you so beautiful, and then given you such a raving fool for a bridegroom!"

*Chhand* 10.

"How can God send such a raving groom for
such a lovely bride?
What a thorn-bush is our wishing-tree, the
fruit for which we cried!
From mountain-top, in sea or fire, I cast me
down with thee:
Welcome disgrace, so they be gone; this wedding ne'er shall be."

*Dohâ* 104.

All the ladies were distrest when they saw the queen so sad, who in her deep affection for her daughter began to weep and make great lamentation.

*Chaupâi.*

"What harm had I done to Nârada that he should make my home desolate, and give Umâ such advice, to undergo penance for the sake of a mad bridegroom? In good sooth he is fancy-free and passionless, an ascetic who wants neither money, nor house, nor wife, and therefore is destroying another's home; he has neither shame nor compunction; for what does a barren woman know of the pangs of childbirth?" When Bhavânî saw her mother's distress, she answered thus placidly and discreetly, "Be not troubled, my mother, with these thoughts, for God's plans are unalterable. If Fate decrees me a mad husband, then why should any one be blamed? can you blot out the handwriting of the Creator; then refrain from profitless reproaches."

*Chhand* 11.

"Cease from profitless reproaches, nor in vain
bemoan my fate;
I must go where'er my destined joys and sorrows
for me wait."
Hearing Umâ's pious answer, all her ladies felt
surprise,
Much they talked of God's injustice, while the
tears bedewed their eyes.

*Dohâ* 105.

At that time came Nârada, and with him the sages (for they had heard the news), and at once betook themselves to the king's palace.

*Chaupâi.*

Then Nârada instructed them all, and recited in full the past history, saying, "Hear, O Maina! my words are true; your daughter is Bhavânî, the mother of the world, the everlasting Female Energy; without birth or beginning; Sambhu's inseparable half; the creator, supporter and destroyer of the universe: who at will assumes the semblance of human form. First she was born in Daksha's house, Satî by name, of excellent beauty. Then as Satî she married Sankara, and her story is famous throughout the world,—how once with Śiva she met the sun of Raghu's lotus-line (*i.e.* Râma), and in her infatuation was not obedient to Śiva, but was beguiled into assuming the form of Sîtâ.

*Chhand* 12.

"For the crime of this assumption she was
widowed many a day,
Till in the fire before her sire her sins were
burnt away.
Now, born your daughter, for her lord in
penitence she stayed;
And Śiva aye shall be her lord; know this, nor
be dismayed."

*Dohâ* 106.

On hearing Nârada's explanation, the sadness of all was dispersed, and in a moment his words were spread from house to house throughout the city.

*Chaupâi.*

Then Maina and Himavant were glad and fell again and again at Pârvatî's feet. All the people of the city, whatever their age, men and women alike, were equally delighted. Songs of joy began to sound in the streets; golden vases were displayed; meats were dressed in various ways according to the rules of gastronomic science. But the banquet-table of Bhavânî and her mother was altogether beyond description. The marriage guests—Vishṇu, Brahmâ, and all the heavenly orders—were courteously entreated, and took their seats line after line. Then the skilful servers began to serve, and the women,

when they found the gods were sat down, began to jest and banter in pleasant strain.

*Chhand* 13.

In pleasant strain with dark refrain they hint at love's delight:
Charmed with the song, the gods sit long, nor heed the waning night.
With growing zest each jovial guest prolongs the festive hour:
At last they rise; each bids adieu and seeks his separate bower.

*Dohâ* 107.

Then the sages came and, declared to Himavant the marriage proposal, and, seeing the time was fit, sent to summon all the gods,

*Chaupâi.*

Whom he courteously addressed, and assigned to each an appropriate seat. An altar was prepared according to Vedic ritual, while the women chanted festal strains; and a divinely beautiful throne was erected, the handiwork of a god, beyond description. Then Śiva, after bowing to the Brâhmaṇs, took his seat, remembering in his heart his own lord, Râma. Then the sages sent for Umâ, who was brought in by her handmaids, richly adorned. All the gods beholding her beauty were enraptured. What poet in the world could describe such loveliness? The divinities, who recognized in her the universal mother, the spouse of Mahâdeva, adored her in their inmost soul,—Bhavânî, the crown of beauty, whose praises would still be beyond me even though I had a myriad tongues.

*Chhand* 14.

A myriad tongues were all too few to sing her matchless grace;
Where gods and muses shrink abashed, for Tulsi's rhyme what place?
With downcast eyes the glorious dame passed up the hall, and fell,
Bee-like, at Śiva's lotus-feet, the lord she loved so well.

*Dohâ* 108.

At the injunction of the priests, both Śambhu and Bhavânî paid divine honours to Gaṇeś. And let no one be perplext on hearing this, but know well that they are gods from everlasting.

*Chaupâi.*

The whole marriage-ceremony was performed by the priests in accordance with Vedic ritual, and the father, with *kusa* grass in his hand, took the bride and gave her to Śiva. When the two had joined hands, all the gods were glad of heart; the chief priests uttered the scriptural formulæ, and the cry went up of "Glory, glory, glory to Śaṅkara!" all kinds of music began to play, and flowers were rained down from heaven. Thus was accomplished the marriage of Hara and Girijâ, amidst general rejoicing. The dowry given defies description—men-servants and maid-servants, horses, carriages, elephants, cows, raiment, jewellery, things of all sorts, and wagon-loads of grain and golden vessels.

*Chhand* 15.

Thus great and more the dowry's store that king Himanchal brought;
Yet falling low at Śiva's feet he cried that all was nought.
The gracious lord cheered his sad sire in every way most meet.
Then Maina came, most loving dame, and clasped his lotus-feet:—

*Dohâ* 109.

"Umâ, my lord, is dear to me as my own soul; take her as one of your servants, and pardon all her offences: this is the boon I beg of your favour."

*Chaupâi.*

After Śambhu had in every possible way reassured his wife's mother, she bowed herself at his feet and went home, there called for Umâ, and taking her into her lap gave her this excellent instruction:—"Be ever obedient to Śaṅkara: to say 'My Lord and my God' is the sum of all wifely duty." At these words her eyes filled with tears, and again and again she pressed her daughter to her bosom:—"Why has God created woman in the world, seeing that she is always in a state of subjection, and never can even dream of happiness." Though utterly distracted by motherly love, she knew it was no time to display it, and restrained herself. Running to her again and again, and falling on the ground to clasp her feet, in a transport of affection beyond all words, Bhavânî said adieu to all her companions and then again went and clung to her mother's breast.

*Chhand* 16.

Still clinging to her mother's breast she cheered her weeping train,
Then with her handmaids sought her spouse, yet oft looked back again.

'Midst beggars' blessings, richly bought, forth rode the royal pair:
The glad gods rained down flowers, and sounds of music filled the air.

*Dohâ* 110.

Then went Himavant most lovingly to escort them, till with many words of consolation Mahâdeva bid him return.

*Chaupâi.*

Then he came speedily to the palace, called all the gods, entreated them courteously with words and gifts, and allowed them to depart. They proceeded each to his own realm, and Śambhu arrived at Kailâsa. How shall I tell its delights when thus occupied by Śambhu and Bhavânî, the father and mother of the world, and their attendants? They began to indulge in sport and dalliance, and every day was some new pleasure. Thus a length of time was passed and the six-headed child (Kârtikeya) was born. who vanquished in battle the demon Târaka. His fame is sung by all the sacred books, and his deeds are known throughout the world.

*Chhand* 17.

All the world knows the story of the birth and the glory of Mahâdeva's six-headed son;
And this is the cause why so briefly I pause on the generous deeds he hath done.
Man or maid who shall tell or sing true and well how Śiva took Umâ to wife,
Shall be happily wed, and, with blessings bestead, live at ease all the days of his life.

*Dohâ* 111.

The amorous deeds of Girijâ and her beloved are an ocean-like depth that not even the Veda can sound; how then can an ignorant clown, such as Tulsi Dâs, succeed in describing them?

## THE RÂJMAHÂL HILLMEN'S SONGS.

BY THE REV. F. T. COLE, TALJHARI, RÂJMAHÂL.

Colonel Dalton, in his interesting work *The Ethnology of Bengal*, says: "I nowhere find any description of the dances or of the songs of the Pahaṛis." This suggested to my mind the idea of sending a few specimens, with rough sense-translations appended. I have collected them chiefly from the Pahaṛi young men who are being trained as school-masters in the Taljhari Church Mission school.

A great many of their songs are extempore, composed by the singer on the spur of the moment. Supposing a friend should invite the poet to a feast, the latter thinks it the correct thing to celebrate his host's praises in song after dinner. The Pahaṛis are very clever at composition, and one chorus, with very little alteration, will answer the singer's purpose on many occasions.

It is very noticeable that the Pahaṛis of the Râjmahâl district are not nearly so fond of singing and dancing as those of the south. In the villages near Râjmahâl I have not seen any special places set apart for dancing, as are to be found to the south-west.

1. "Sonani sajeni chicheken,
Rupani sajeni chicheken,
Lele kalen, ania,
Indire aṇriso mala."

"A necklace of gold I have given to her,
A necklace of silver I have given to her.
She said, I will go to him to-morrow;
Why has she not arrived?"

2. Raji majiye gandi thi* sariwa.
Sona ti banja tayan.
Qegho leṛo sona ti,
Banja tayan.
Kero kero kerojuṛi,
Sona ti banja tayan.

"The nobles of the land have little bodies,
But they deck themselves with gold.
We will deck you out with gold,—
Yes, indeed, we will deck you out with gold."

3. "Bamaṛa menoti dinon thi bechiya,
Oya moqi ki munḍiya.
Qegho leṛo oye moqi ki munḍiya.
Ino juṛaṇ ano maqo,
Oye moqi ki munḍiya."

"There was a man who wished to be a Brâhmaṇ,
He abstained from meat for many days,

* *Th* in Pahaṛi is pronounced the same as in the English word "the."

But on the last day (of probation) he saw a cow,
And being tempted broke his vow.
What a pity! he ate a cow and was defiled!
Yes, my brother, yes, my sister,—
He ate a cow and was defiled!"

4. "Guiyare, Guiyare Mesi, adiro toqoti ekiya,
Nadahi ugali menja adiki oyoka Chandire.
Nadahi ugali menja adiki oyoka Mesire."

"Mesi, Guiyar's daughter, went forth to gather herbs;
The keeper of the garden said to her,
Come and pick whatever you please,-
The keeper said to Chandi, Pick where'er you please."

5. "Ithikid dume panch ana raniko,
Kolikeno chicheken.
Ochekeni ṭunḍino sihayapa dure menjado.
Jare panch ana paisa munḍiken anure, Surajire!
Jare panch ana paisa munḍiken anure Surajire!

"He told me the price of this was five annas,
Then I opened my purse and gave it to the (cloth-merchant);
I took it home and opened it, and to my great surprise
I found it nothing else but rotten rags neatly sewn together.
Ah me! I spent five annas for nought, O Surja!
Ah me! I spent five annas for nought, O Surja!

6. "Guiyar Mesire ṭok ṭoken jarath ekiya,
Tanase ambiya namato kudetore chaqetore, Chandire."

"O Guiha's daughter Mesi, the rain is falling on the hills around,
The clouds depart leaving our own unwatered;
But sorrow not, O Chandi, we will hoe our ground, and hope for better times."

7. "Aiyore keyetande, kiretar malaiye,
Enu keyen atha ugileo malekenne.
Ore Gosaiñi engeni ambo makkore."

"Woe to us two, we shall die, and never return to meet again."
(*Companion answers*) "I shall die, but I do not grieve at the thought,
O God, do not forsake me!"

8. "Chilimili † Sahibe dene;
Feringhi gole dene.
Javira Suraja."

"Be like Cleveland Sahib,
Be like a Feringhi,
O Suraja, son of Javira!"

This song is sung in honour of Mr. Cleveland, a Collector of Bhâgalpur. He it was who reduced the Paharis to order. Before his time they were great robbers, and a terror to all the surrounding country. Now they may be reckoned as one of the most peaceful tribes in India. Mr. Cleveland died A.D. 1784.

† *Chilimili* is a perverted form of 'Cleveland.'

## MISCELLANEA.

### A BUDDHIST JATÂKA FROM THE CHINESE.

*From the xixth Kiouen of the "Mahâpari Nirvâṇa Sûtra."* Translated by the Rev. S. Beal.*

Illustrious youth, in years gone by, before the Sun of **Buddha** had come forth, I was born as a Brâhman. I practised in this birth the conduct (or mode of life) of a Bôdhisatwa. I was thoroughly conversant with all heretical teaching; well versed in the knowledge of final deliverance; my heart at perfect rest, &c. Yet after all, though I inquired and searched through all the Books of the Great Development, I knew not nor heard of the name of *Vaipulya Sûtras*.

At this time I was dwelling in the Snowy Mountains, surrounded by every kind of pleasant scenery, and with fruits and edible roots in every variety. Thus dwelling alone, and feeding solely on the fruits of the earth, I passed many years in the practice of religious meditation, and so through all this time I neither heard of a Buddha having been born, nor of the Scriptures of the Great Vehicle having been delivered. At this time, whilst I was going through such mortification as this, Sakra and all the Devas assembled in mass, their hearts greatly affected with awe, and spoke thus one to another:—

"On every hand there are portents
That in the midst of the quiet Snowy Mountains

* This *Sûtra* is probably one of the first of the Vaipulya class. It was translated into Chinese by Dharmaraksha in the 5th century A.D.

There is a Master who is practising the way of self-control and the destruction of selfish desire,—
An illustrious and highly virtuous King.
Already has he banished covetousness and anger,
Eternally separated himself from folly and doubt;
His mouth has not yet uttered a word
Either of base or false language."

At this time in the Congregation there was a Devaputra named "Joy and Gladness," who spoke as follows:—

"This practiser of asceticism,
Advancing so resolutely in purity,
Why does not Sakra look for him,
With all the Devas?
If he be a heretic
Practising these austerities,
Much more should this man's abode
And birthplace be known by Sakra."

At this time there was a Ṛishi who, on behalf of Sakra, spoke as follows:—

"Lord of Devas, Kusika,
Let not such contradiction as this be yours;
For a heretic practising austerities
Let not your Majesty seek."

Having uttered this *gátha* again, the Ṛishi said: "Kusika, there is a great Sage in the world, who for the sake of all flesh, not caring for his own body, desiring to benefit others, practises every kind of penance; without a remnant of covetous desire, so that if the earth, mountains, and seas were filled with gems, he would behold them as seeing spittle, without the least desire. He has given up all—wealth, wife and child, head, eyes, marrow, hands and feet, bit by bit, house and possessions, elephants, horses, chariots, slaves, even a desire to be born in heaven, if only he might give true happiness to all flesh. His only aim is if at last he may reach the condition of Anutara Samyak Sambôdhi."

The Sakra Devânam replied: "According to your words, this man is aiming at the control of all living creatures. Great Ṛishi, if in the world there be any room for a Buddha (*lit.* tree or offspring of Buddha), then he will be able to clear away all Devas and men, and also to counteract all sorrows, whether in the condition of an Asura or a poisonous snake. And so all creatures under the shadow of this Salvation will be freed from all woes and misery. Great Ṛishi, if this man at some future time obtain a good deliverance, then I and others ought thoroughly to get rid of the endless toils of care and trouble that now molest us. But this is difficult to believe, for there is a difference between the beginning and the end of a thing. The moon's image may for a time be reflected in placid water; but let the water be disturbed, and how the reflection also is broken! It is difficult to complete a picture, but how easy to destroy it! So also is it with the heart (or the state) of religious conviction—difficult to mature, easy to destroy. Great Ṛishi, as there are many men who put on a bold front with their weapons when they go to meet the robbers who threaten them, but afterwards turn their backs and are overcome with fear, so is it with the heart of knowledge (Bôdhi). So I have seen it with countless mortals; at first their hearts full of confidence and courage, but afterwards what a change and falling away! So I am unable to believe that this man who is practising austerities will be able to continue! I will therefore go and ascertain for myself. For as the two wheels to a chariot and the two wings to a bird, so, Great Ṛishi, is it in this matter: the devotee may have great constancy in suffering self-inflicted mortification, but has he also wisdom? If he has deep wisdom, he will accomplish his aim. Just as the fish in the sea, whose spawn is great in quantity, and the fish born from it few, or the *Amra* tree, its flowers many, and its fruit few;—so of mortals, those who undertake the attainment of wisdom are many, those who reach it few. But, Great Ṛishi, I will go with you and try this man! Great Ṛishi, it is as the gold thrice tried, and thus known to be good,—by fire, by hammer, by rubbing; so is it with penance,—it must be tried and tested before it be really known."

At this time Sakra Devânam, changing his body into the shape of a Râkshasa horrible to look at, descended to the Snowy Mountains, and not very far from them took his seat. And then, with a soft and pleasant voice, repeated this half-stanza of a Buddha gone before:—

"There is no permanent result from religious exercises.
Birth and death are universal laws."

Having uttered this half-*gátha* he remained fixed in his place, stern and with unmoved face. Then the ascetic, having heard this half-stanza, conceived the highest heart-joy. Just as a strange traveller, who in journeying along some difficult and precipitous mountain-pass towards evening loses his companions, is afflicted with fear, when suddenly he comes on them again—what joy! Or as an invalid who suddenly finds the relief which his physician prescribed for; or as a man perishing in the sea who meets with a boat; or as a thirsty man who finds cool and refreshing water; or as a prisoner who hears of his pardon; or as a husbandman who watches the rain falling on his dried-up crops; or as the wanderer who finds himself at home again; so, illustrious youth, it was

with me when I heard this half-*gâtha;* and as I arose from my seat and saluted the four quarters, and said, "Who is he that uttered this half-verse?" Then, seeing no one except the Râksha, I said, "Who is he that opened this door of Salvation? who is he that is thus able to declare the words of all the Buddhas? Who amongst the slumbering crowds that pass through life and death is the wakeful one, leading the victims of life and death to the highest participation of Bôdhi? Who is the master of the vessel,—the good physician? Who has repeated this half-*gâtha*, as refreshing to my understanding as the waxing moon to the opening lily?"

Seeing only the Râksha, I thought, "Could it be this Râksha who uttered this half-verse?" And then I doubted, and said, "It cannot be so, for no such word can proceed from such a form. Is the lotus produced from the fire? Freezing water comes not from the solar heat." And then I thought again, "I am but a fool, perhaps this Râksha may have remembered from long ago this half-*gâtha*. I will ask him." And so, going up to him, I said, "Where, O Great Sage, did you in former days obtain the knowledge of this half-*gâtha*, the half of this precious gem? for this verse is in truth the true wisdom of all the Buddhas, past, present, and to come." Then he answered and said, "Great Brâhmaṇ, ask me not such a question; and why, because for several days I have had no food. Everywhere have I sought it, but in vain. Parched with thirst, my mind is confused, and I can answer nothing. There is no food for me in earth or heaven." Then I said, "Râksha, do but finish this *gâtha*, then for ever I will be thine, and my body thine. That which you just now uttered was only half-said, and had no meaning in it; only finish it, and I am thine for aye." Then the Râksha replied, "The utmost knowledge you possess goes not beyond your present body; but the pangs of hunger which possess me who can describe?" Then I said, "What food do you eat?" The Râksha said, "Ask me not, for the answer is a fearful one!" But I said, "There are none to frighten here, and I have no fear of you; speak out then!" The Râksha said, "That which I eat is the hot flesh of men, and I drink only their warm blood. Everywhere have I sought for this food in vain, for men now-a-days are so good that the gods protect them, and I can do nothing." Then I said, "Finish only this *gâtha*, and my body is thine." The Râksha replied, "What reliance can I place in thee? Who will believe that for eight words you will be ready to give up your body?" To whom I replied, "Surely you are a fool, for what is it? Would not a man gladly give another an earthen pot to obtain a gemlike vase? And so I, sacrificing this feeble body, obtain an imperishable body. And yet you say, Who can trust you? I call Brahmâ, Sakra, the four kings, and all the Bôdhisatwas, and all the Buddhas, to witness that I am ready thus to give up my body for the sake of these eight words." "Listen then, listen then," said the Râksha, "if it be so, and I will repeat the other half of the verse." Oh, what joy was mine as I prostrated myself before the Râksha, and besought him to proceed! Then the Râksha added,

"Birth and death, destroyed,
(This) is the joy of Nirvâṇa."

The Râksha, having uttered this *gâtha*, added, "Oh! Bôdhisatwa Mahâsatwa, you now have heard the full meaning of this stanza; and now before you give yourself up as a sacrifice to my body, you wish to benefit the world by proclaiming the truth you have heard. Do so." Then, having well considered the meaning of this *gâtha*, I went from place to place, and on every stone and wall, on every tree and road, I wrote this stanza. Then, carefully arranging my clothes, so that after death my naked body should not be needlessly exposed, I ascended a high tree, purposing to fulfil my vow and put an end to my life. Then the Tree Deva asked me the following question, "Venerable one, what are you doing?" To whom I replied, "I am about to sacrifice my body in return for the knowledge of a *gâtha* given me." "And what use is this knowledge?" added the Tree Deva. To which I replied, "This *gâtha* contains the mysterious doctrine of all the Buddhas, past, present, and to come, compared with which there is nothing of value in the world, and for the knowledge of which I now give up my life," &c. Then casting myself down, such sounds came from mid-air and ascended even to the Akanishṭa heaven! Then also the Râksha returned to his true form as Sakra Devânam, and in a moment arrested the fall of the Bôdhisatwa in the air, and placed him harmlessly on the ground. At this time Sakra and all the Devas, with the Great Brahmâ, came and prostrated themselves at the feet of this Bôdhisatwa, and in terms of commendation sang, "Well done! well done! Thou art a true Bôdhisatwa, able to benefit the world, deserving to hold the torch of the Great Law in the midst of the darkness of the world! Oh, would that in future ages, when you attain the perfection of Buddha, you would think on me and acquit me of all my sins!" &c. And so by the virtue of this *gâtha*, for which I gave up my life, I was able (by anticipation), to pass over twelve Kalpas, and in the presence of Maitreya to attain perfection as Buddha.

Such merit attaches to the love of the true Scriptures of the Great Vehicle.—*Trübner's Record, Jan.* 1873.

# THE TWELVE EMÂMS.

BY E. REHATSEK, M.C.E., Hon. Mem. B.B.R.A.S.

BEFORE the dynasty of the Çefâvîs the Emamites began gradually to strengthen their position all over Persia. Already during the time of A'bâs the Great the Emâmite Faith (*athna-a'sharite, i.e.* of the twelve) became dominant, and has continued so to this day. It asserted itself, however, much earlier in some countries, where the followers of A'li had better and safer opportunities for developing their tenets. A'li was only the fourth Khalif, whereas according to his partizans he ought to have been the second, *i.e.* the immediate successor of the Prophet. This is the origin of the difference between the sects of the Sunnîs and the Shia'hs, who were secretly organized immediately after the murder of A'li, and added to the profession of faith the words "and A'li is the *Vely* of God." The meaning of the word *Vely* was afterwards amplified into that of "vicar," and gave rise to various theories about A'li's divine nature. Some even exalted A'li to the highest grade of divinity, and called him Allah; but, whatever differences may exist at present on that point, not only do the Emâmites, but all the Shia'hs, agree that the title of Emâm belongs to his family only. In fact, besides himself and his son Ḥasan, all the other Emâms—ten in number—are the descendants of his son Ḥusain, and the ancestors of the many thousands of Sayyids now living in the Muhammadan world. The names of the twelve Emâms are:— I. A'li; II. Ḥasan; III. Ḥusain; IV. Zain ul-a'bedin; V. Muḥammad Bâqer; VI. Ja'fer-es-Sâdeq; VII. Mûsa el-Kâzem; VIII. A'li Mûsa er-Riẓa; IX. Muḥammad Taqi; X. A'li Naqi; XI. Ḥasan al-A'skari; XII. Mohdi.

I. A'li the son of Abu Ṭâ'leb, being the son of the prophet's uncle, was his cousin. He was born at Mekkah in the thirtieth year 'of the elephant,' and became the first convert of Muḥammad, who afterwards gave him his own daughter Faṭemah to wife. He might have become the immediate successor of Muḥammad, but the prophet's favourite wife A'ayshah managed to keep him away, and to get her own father, Abu Bakr, elected Khalif. A'li, however, became Khalif after the murder of O'thmân, and was thus the fourth instead of the second Commander of the Faithful. Soon, however. A'ayshah, "the Mother of the Believers," raised opposition under her own auspices, by leaving Madinah with Ṭolhah and Zobayr and proceeding towards Boçra, and proclaiming everywhere that O'thmân had been slain with the consent and by the command of A'li. The latter, no doubt apprehensive of the dangers in store for him, also left Madinah, and sent his son Ḥasan to Kufah; but Abu Mûsa, the governor of the town, at first prevented the people from manifesting any feelings of loyalty; afterwards, however, some thousands of them marched out and joined A'li Ẓi Ḳâder, whence he marched with them towards Boçra, and encamped in the vicinity of the town, but A'ayshah with Ṭolhah and Zobayr came out of it with 30,000 men and took up a position in front of him; they also sent letters to him demanding the extradition of the murderers of O'thmân, to avert hostilities. The latter, who were several hundreds in number, detached themselves from A'li's army and made a night attack upon A'ayshah's army, which appears to have been a mere skirmish; a short time afterwards, however, the people of A'ayshah assailed the army of A'li, which gained the victory. The leaders Ṭolhah and Zobayr lost their lives, and the very camel on which A'ayshah rode was cut down, so that she escaped with difficulty. This was 'the battle of the camel,' in which 17,000 of the followers of 'the Mother of the Believers.' and nearly 3,000 of the 'Commander of the Faithful,' are said to have fallen. Hereupon A'li entered Boçra, harangued the people in the great mosque, and sent A'ayshah to Madinah under a guard of honour.

After overcoming these difficulties, new ones arose for A'li; certain parties who also considered him to be an accomplice in the assassination of O'thmân went to Syria in order to instigate Moa'viah to avenge it. The latter most readily accepted the invitation, and immediately began hostilities. He despatched insulting letters to A'li, who was at Kufah, wherein he accused him of aspiring to the Khalifate as soon as the prophet had died, and of complicity in the murder of O'thmân; and, lastly, he threatened that he would chastise those who had a hand

in it, wherever he could find them. After this the real warfare between the parties began; A'li assembled an immense army to combat Moa'viah Ben Sofiân. The latter with his troops arrived first at Çaffin, and at once so arranged ten thousand of them that when A'li approached the river Euphrates his army could not quench its thirst. There many combats of an indecisive character appear to have occurred, but no real battle, in spite of the marvellous verbiage expended by Persian historians about the victory there gained; since after these so-called defeats Moa'viah was so strong that he was able to send troops in various directions, to Mesopotamia, Yemen, Ḥejâz, and E'râḳ, to establish his supremacy, which A'li was unable any longer to contest, being assassinated by three malcontents while entering the mosque at Kufah, about the middle of the month Râmḍân A.H. 40 (began Jan. 8, A.D. 661).

II. When Moa'viah heard that Ḥasan the son of A'li had been proclaimed Khalif, he marched with 60,000 men to conquer Arabian E'râḳ, and Hasan left Kufah with 40,000 men, who not only proved to be cowards, but mutinied against him instead of attacking Moa'viah, whom he was compelled to acknowledge as Khalif on the promise of a pension from the treasury. For this act of submission he had to suffer the reproaches of some of his more turbulent adherents, by whose advice also a clause was inserted in the act of pacification that no Khalif after Moa'viah should be appointed without Ḥasan's consent; and Moa'viah being some time afterwards desirous to nominate Yazid his successor, but being persuaded that he could not get Ḥasan to agree, put him out of the way by despatching Mervân Ben Ḥakam, a disgraced attendant on the prophet, to Ja'dah, the spouse of Ḥasan, with a poisoned towel, and instructing her through this wretch to wipe the limbs of her husband therewith, on condition of receiving after his death 50,000 dirhems from Moa'viah and becoming enrolled among the wives of Yazid. He died at Madinah in the middle of the month Ramḍân A.H. 53 (5th September A.D. 673), and was buried there.

III. The *kunyat* (sobriquet) of Husain was Abu A'bd-ullah, and his *laḳab* (honorific title) was 'the Martyr' and 'the Prince by birth.' He was born at Madinah on the 4th Sha'bân A.H. 4 (10th January A.D. 626). His tragic end took place at Kerbellâ during the khalifate of Yazid, A.H. 41 (A.D. 661), at the age of 37 years. He was overwhelmed by his foes and slain without mercy. The *Rouẓat-al-Shahdâ* treats largely on the disaster of Kerbellâ.

IV. A'li, the son of Ḥusain, bears the *kunyats* (or epithets) of Abu Muḥammad, Ab-ul-Ḥusain, and Ab-ul-Qâsem, or Abu Bakr; his *laḳab* is Sayyid-ul-a'âbedin ('prince of the servants of God') and Zain-ul-a'âbedin ('ornament of the servants of God'). He was of royal descent, as his mother Sheheriân or Sheherbânu was the daughter of Yazdejerd the son of Sheheriâr, son of Khosru, son of Parviz, son of Hormuz, son of Nushirvân the Just. He was born A.H. 38 (A.D. 658-59). There is a tradition of Zohry stating that A'li the son of Ḥusain wore a yoke on his neck and heavy bonds on his feet, by order of A'bd-ul-malak Mervân. He was thus kept prisoner in a tent. On being compassionated by Zohry about his condition, he stated that he could at any moment get rid of his shackles, and that he would go no further than two stages from Madinah with his guardians. This actually took place, for when they were at some distance from the town on their journey to A'bd-ul-malak Mervân their prisoner disappeared miraculously. This Emâm is said to have worked numerous miracles, and was, on account of his great piety, named Zain-ul-a'âbedin ('the ornament of the servants of God'). How he again re-appeared in Madinah is not stated, but the author of the *Rouẓat-al-Çafa* mentions that he died there on the 18th Muḥarram A.H. 95 (14th October A.D. 713), and was buried in the Baḳi' cemetery.

V. Muḥammad, the son of A'li, the son of Ḥusain, was born in Madinah on the 1st Rajab A. H. 57 (10th May A.D. 676). His *kunyat* is Abu Ja'fer, and his *laḳab* is Bâker. To describe his miracles a volume would be required. He died A.H. 104 (A.D. 722), at the age of 57 years.

VI. Ja'fer, the son of Muḥammad, the son of A'li, son of Ḥusain. His *kunyat* is Abu A'bd-ullah, and his well-known *laḳab* is Çâdeq. He was born at Madinah A.H. 133 (A.D. 750-51). He was a great divine, and wrote five hundred treatises on religious subjects. Muḥam-

mad Ben Eskandar, a courtier of the Khalif Mançûr, who reigned from A.D. 753 to 775, says :—"One day I waited upon Mançûr, and finding him melancholy I asked, 'O commander of the Faithful! what is the cause of your sadness?' He replied, 'O Muḥammad! I have slain many of the descendants of A'li, but have left their chief guide.' I continued, 'Who is he?' He replied, 'Ja'fer, the son of Muḥammad.' I said, 'He is a pious man constantly engaged in the worship of God, and abhors the world with all its ways.' He continued, 'O Muḥammad! I was aware that you believe in his Emâmship." Hereupon I swore an oath that I would set his mind at ease on this point before the night set in; then he called in a negro and said, 'When Ja'fer Ben Muḥammad comes, and I place my hand on my head, thou art immediately to kill him.' Afterwards he issued orders that the Emâm Ja'fer should be brought, and when he made his appearance I perceived that his blessed lips were moving, but could not understand what he said. I felt the kiosk shaking like a vessel among the waves, whilst Mançûr hastened with bare head and feet to meet him, and all the members of Mançûr's body quaked. Taking hold of his arm he seated him on the throne and addressed him as follows :—'O descendant of the prophet! what is the reason of your coming?' He replied, 'You have sent for me, and so I came.' Mançûr continued, 'Express your wish!' He answered, 'My wish is that you should not send for me any more, so that I may pay you a visit of my own accord whenever I feel inclined.'

"As soon as Ja'fer Çâdeḳ had departed, Mançûr went to his bedroom and slept till midnight, so that his prayers were forgotten. When he awoke, he called for me and said, 'Remain till I finish my omitted orisons, and inform you of what has happened to me.' After he had terminated his prayers he said, 'When Ja'fer Ben Muḥammad was present I saw a dragon the tail of which was coiled around my castle, and the upper jaw of which was on the top, whilst the lower one touched the base of it. This dragon uttered distinctly the following words :—"Allah has sent and commanded me to swallow thee, with thy house, if anything should befall his servant!"'" Muhammad states, "I said to Mançûr that this was a sorcery, but he replied, 'Do not say so! It is the force of the ineffable name, which was revealed to the prophet, and by the blessing of it he could, if he was so minded, transform a bright day into a dark night, or make the night as shining as the day, and could do whatever else he liked.'"

Ja'fer had said that A'li the Commander of the Faithful left two books, called *Jâmi'*, from which the events of the world till the day of resurrection could be ascertained, and that he had seen one leaf of it in Egypt from which the history of the kings of that country had been extracted, and had in course of time been verified. The Emâm Ja'fer Çâdeḳ also said, "Our science is the *Ghâber*, the *Mazbûr*, the *Nuktah fi al kulûb*, and the *Naksh fi allistimâa'*; we possess, moreover, the red and the white Jefr, the book of Fâṭemah, and also the *Jâma'h*, which contains everything men stand in need of. On being asked for an explanation concerning these books, he replied, "The *Ghâber* is the science of what has happened; the *Mazbûr* is a knowledge of past events; the *Nuktah fi al kulûb* is divine inspiration; the *Naksh fi allistimâa'* are the words of angels whom we can hear, but whose essences we cannot see; as to the red Jefr, it is a vessel which contains the weapons of the apostle of God, but they are not taken out until one of us who are of his family arises; the white Jefr is a vessel containing the *Pentateuch* of Moses, the *Evangel* of Jesus, the *Psalms of David*, and all the inspired books;* the book of *Fâṭemah* contains everything which happens, and the name of every king or governor until the resurrection; the *Jâma'h* is a book, seventy cubits long, dictated by the prophet of God, and written by the hand of A'li; it contains everything mankind are in need of till the day of resurrection.

This Emâm died A.H. 148 (A.D. 765), at the age of 65 years, and was interred at Madinah in the Baḳi' cemetery, where also his father, the Emâm Muḥammad Bâḳer, his grandfather the Emâm Zain-ul-a'âbedin, and his uncle the Emâm Hasan are buried.

VII. Mûsa, the son of Ja'fer-al-Çâdek, was

* In my *Catalogue Raisonné of the Mullâ Firûz Library*, VIII. 55, p. 203, I describe a book in which through Jefr various things can be obtained, *e.g.* "How to obtain divine inspiration by means of the canon of the blessed Jefr." "How to obtain a favourable response to prayer, by reciting the ninety-nine names of God, through the science of the blessed Jefr," &c. There is nothing mentioned, however, about this Emâm and supposed possessor of the white and the red Jefr.

born at Abwa, a place between Mekkah and Madinah, in the month Çafar A.H. 128 (A.D. 745, November). His *kunyat* is Ab-ul-ḥasan, Abu Ebrâhim, and Abu A'bd-ullaḥ, and on account of his extreme gentleness and restraint from anger he obtained the *lakab* Kâzum. He had already during the khalifate of Almohdi been called to Bagh'dad, and his friends entertained apprehensions that his life would be taken. These fears were, however, not realized until a considerable time after, when Hârûn-al-Rashid again called him to Bagh'dad from Madinah during his own reign, where he caused poison to be administered to him in an assembly by Yahia Ben Khâled the Barmekide, from which he died A.H. 183 (A.D. 799-80), and was buried there in a place called the Koraish cemetery. According to the author of the *Rabi'-allabrár* he lived 54 years.

VIII. A'li, the son of Mûsa-al-rezâ. His *kunyat* is, like that of his father, Emâm Mûsa Ab-alḥasan, and his *lakab* is Rezâ and Murtaza. He was born in Madinah A.H. 148 (A.D. 765). It appears that this Emâm had a presentiment concerning his death, which was so strong that he made all the arrangements for it, and gave directions to Abu-al-çalt, who continues his narrative on the matter as follows:—"The next day when the Emâm Reza had finished his prayers, put on his clothes, and was sitting in a state of expectation, a slave of the Khalif Mâmûn came in search of him. He rose, departed, accompanied by me. On arriving in the reception-hall of Mâmûn, the latter was sitting with dishes of fruit placed before him, and eating a bunch of grapes which he held in his hand. As soon as he caught sight of the Emâm, he leapt up, embraced him, and, after kissing him between the eyes, handed the bunch of grapes to the Emâm and said, 'O son of the apostle of God! did you ever see finer grapes than this bunch?' The Emâm replied, 'In paradise are good grapes.' Hereon Mamûn handed a bunch of grapes to the Emâm, saying, 'Eat of these grapes.' The Emâm begged to be excused, whereupon the Khalif asked whether he had any suspicions concerning him; and taking back the bunch he ate some from it himself, and then again returned the bunch to the Emâm, who swallowed two or three but threw the rest away. After that he arose, and on Mâmûn's asking him where he was going he replied, 'Whither you have sent me.' He went home, lay down on his bed and died. He was then 55 years old. This happened A.H. 203 or 208 (A.D. 818 or 823) in Ṭous, and he was buried in the same spot where Hârûn Al-Rashid was interred; at present, however, his mausoleum is at Mashhad, which has become a great resort of pilgrims, not only from Persia and Arabia, but also from Turkey and India. They expect the greatest temporal and spiritual blessings from visiting the tombs of the various holy personages there.

IX. Muḥammad was the son of A'li, son of Mûsa-al-reza. His *kunyat*, like that of the Emâm Muḥammad, is Bâker, and for this reason he is also called Abu Ja'fer the second; his *lakab* is Taḳy, Jowâd, and Murtaza. He was born at Medinah on the 18th Ramẓân A.H. 195 (16th June A.D. 811). This Emâm was so distinguished both for piety and learning that the Khalif Mâmûn gave him his own daughter to wife; but the noble lady was unhappy with him, and complained to her father in letters that she could not enjoy connubial bliss alone, as she was compelled to share it with other women, with whom likewise her husband cohabited; all the reply, however, she could get from her father was the reproof that she required him to consider that illicit which the prophet himself had made lawful. How this Emâm fell afterwards into disgrace and misfortune does not appear, but it seems that he laid claim to being a prophet and was carried in chains to Syria; but in the tradition of an anonymous writer, who boasts of having been miraculously transported in a very short time to various holy places, it is recorded in the *Rouẓat-al-Çafa*, that he met the same individual in whose company he had made the supernatural voyage on another occasion, and that on adjuring him to say who he was he made the following reply:—"I am Muḥammad the son of A'li, son of Mûsa, son of Ja'fer; one day when I narrated my case in the company of friends and acquaintances, the news spread, and reached the ear of the governor of Syria, who suspected me of wishing to be a prophet, and imprisoned me in this place, as you see me." The same narrator states that he immediately wrote a letter detailing the case to the governor of Syria, who, however, contented himself with endorsing the following words thereon:—"Tell the person who wishes

this man to be liberated that he is to request him to transport him again in one night from Syria to Kufah, thence to Madinah, thence to Makkah, and thence to Syria." The narrator was greatly distressed at this reply, and when he again went to pay a visit to the imprisoned Emâm, in order to inform him of the answer, he perceived that his watchmen and soldiers were in great confusion and fear, and on being asked for the cause they replied, "The man who had been confined for being a prophet has disappeared. It is not known whether the earth has swallowed him, or whether birds have taken him up into the sky."

There is no doubt that this Emâm was put to death; about this, however, the author of the *Rouẓat-al-Çafa* says nothing, and merely states that he was snatched away in Bagh'dad at the end of the month Ḍilḳa'dah A.H. 220 (began on the 27th October A.D. 835), at the age of 25 years.

X. A'li Ben Muḥammad Ben A'ly Ben Mûsa Al-reẓa. His *kunyat* was Abulḥasan, and his *laḳab* Hâdi, but he is chiefly known by the name of A'skari; they also call him Zaki and Taḳi. He was born at Madinah in the month Ẓilhejjah A.H. 212 (began Feb. 21, A.D. 827). He was sent to Sermenrâi, now called Sâmerah, by the Khalif Motawakkel, where he spent his whole life as a prisoner, though he was allowed his own house. He perished during the khalifate of Muntaçer, at the age of 41 years, at the end of Jomâda II. A.H. 254 (towards the end of June A.D. 868).

XI. Ḥasan Ben A'li Ben Muḥammad Ben A'li Ben Mûsa Al-reẓa. His *kunyat* is Abu Muḥammad, and his *laḳab* Zaki and Khâliç; he was, like his father, known also by the name of A'skari. He was born in Madinah during the month Rabi' II. A.H. 232 (December A.D. 846). He is said to have worked numberless miracles, and, as in the case of Muḥammad Bâqer, the phrase "he was snatched away" is used in the *Rouẓat-al-Çafa*, instead of saying that he was killed, at the age of 28 years, A.H. 260 (A.D. 873).

XII. Muḥammad Ben Ḥasan Ben A'li. His *kunyat* is Abu-alḳâsem, and the Emâmites call him Ḥajjat, Kâiim, Mohdi, Moutaẓir, and Çâheb al-zemân. He was born at Sâmerah in the middle of Sha'bân A.H. 255 (30th July 868), and was consequently five years old at his father's death. According to the traditions of the Athna-a'sher-Emâmites (Faith of the twelve Emâms), the Çâheb al-zemân, *i.e.* 'lord of the period,' entered a house in Sâmerah, and, though his mother waited for him long, he never came out again. This happened A.H. 265 or 266 (A.D. 878 or 879), and he is believed to be up to this time still alive in his concealment. He was only a boy of ten or eleven years of age when he disappeared. The Muhammadans in general believe that the re-appearance of the Mohdi, the director, and the Çâheb-al-zemân, the lord of the world, will be one of the signs of the approach of the end of the world and of the resurrection, and the Emâmites in particular state that the absence of the Mohdi from the world is divided into two periods—namely, the *Gh'ybat ḳaçry* or short absence, and the *Gh'ybat ṭúly* or long absence. The former comprises the time from his birth until the termination of the ambassadorship, and the latter the period from the termination of the ambassadorship until the time decreed by the Eternal Will for his final reappearance begins. It is asserted that during the period of the short absence his ambassadors succeeded each other through many generations, and conveyed to him the needs and demands of all human beings, and also brought back his answers to them, and that the last of these ambassadors to mankind was a man named A'li Ben Muḥammad, who died A.H. 327 (A.D. 938). Six days before his demise this A'li produced a document which he said had been written by the Emâm Muḥammad Ebn Alḥasan Ala'skari, and which contained also the following words:—"O A'li, son of Muḥammad! May God magnify the reward of your brothers in you; for you will die after six days. Terminate all your affairs, and delegate your office to no one after your death." He died at the specified period, after which all communications with the Emâm ceased. The Emâmites keep records of numerous miracles performed by Muḥammad Ben Ḥasan Ben A'li during the period of the short absence; they believe him to be the *Mohdi* (director) of the last times, and that after his appearance Jesus will descend from heaven; but all sects of Muhammadans have collected traditions about the Mohdi.

Of the twelve Emâms not one died a natural death. Eleven were killed or poisoned, and the fate of the twelfth being unknown, he is supposed to have miraculously disappeared from the world.

# ŚILPA ŚÂSTRA.

BY REV. J. F. KEARNS, MISSIONARY, S. P. G., TANJORE.

There is in Tamil a treatise on *Śilpa Śâstra*, said to have been originally composed in Sanskrit by Myen, who, according to mythology, was a son of Brahmâ and architect of the gods. The original work appears to have been disseminated far and wide, and to have suffered by omissions as well as by additions. The work under consideration seems to have been formed from selections of existing editions of the original work under the superintendence and guidance of persons having a practical knowledge of Śilpa Śâstra, or at least of persons professing to have such knowledge. It has passed through a second edition, from which we may infer that the work is in demand. It were greatly to be desired that a future edition should have a competent Tamil scholar to carry it through the press, for the errors in the present edition are numerous beyond all precedent; and this, added to a bad style, renders the perusal of the book anything but a pleasant recreation. There are, besides, frequent repetitions, and many things that might be omitted without in any way impairing the value of the book as a work of art. The book is dedicated to the glory of Śiva, and after the usual ślokas in praise of the deities the need of a Śilpan is thus stated :—

"Temples, towns, seaports, houses,
Tanks and wells, these require the Śilpan's hand;
Construct them by the hand of another?
This is said to be equal to the sin of murder."

The study of the *Atharvâṇa Veda*, the 32 Śilpa treatises, a perfect knowledge of the Vedic *mantras*, by which images are inspired with the indwelling presence of deity, are necessary to the Śilpan who desires to understand his profession thoroughly.

The book next gives the cubit measure as follows :—

"Eight atoms make one cotton fibre (in thickness),
Eight fibres make one hair (in thickness),
Eight hairs make one grain of sand,
Eight grains of sand make one mustard seed,
Eight mustard-seeds make one bamboo-seed,
Eight bamboo-seeds make one finger,
Six fingers make one quarter-cubit,
Twelve fingers make half a cubit,
Eighteen fingers make three-quarters of a cubit (this latter is termed *matthibam*),
Twenty-four fingers make one cubit.
This measure is also called Jâthi and Mâmangulam. It is used by Brâhmaṇs, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śudras."

But although this is the *standard* of measurement for all four castes, the *instrument* itself is constructed of a different material for each. The rule is as follows :—

For Brâhmaṇs the measure should be of bamboo,
For Kshatriyas it should be constructed of ebony,
For Vaiśyas it should be of teak,
For Śudras of the red *vengai* (*Atropa Mandagora*).

As a preliminary to all work, the exact position of Vasthû-purusha (the god of the earth) must be accurately ascertained. He is represented as sleeping, standing, walking, reclining, &c., and the exact time of each of these is of the utmost importance, for each duration of time has an influence for good or evil towards the man who wishes to build. His sleeping-time is very unlucky. To ascertain these times, a marvellous amount of astrological calculation has to be got through. In the months of Sitterai, Vaykasi, Âdi, Avarni, Aipasi, Kârtika, Tai, and Masi he is "standing or up." But having ascertained so much, it is still necessary to ascertain the lucky days in these months. Accordingly we are told—

The 10th of Sitterai, the 21st of Vaykasi, the 11th of Âdi, the 6th of Avarni, the 8th of Aipasi, the 8th of Kârttika, the 21st of Masi, and the 12th of Tai—on these days Vasthû-purusha is up : these are proper days.

Having gone so far, we have still further to go, for we have to ascertain the auspicious hours of these days. Here they are :—

The 8th Indian hour of the day in Tai, the 10th of Kârttika, the 2nd of Âdi, the 5th of Sitterai, the 21st of Avarni, and the 8th Indian hour of the day in Aipasi.

There is very much more to be ascertained regarding Vasthû-purusha before the house-post is set up; and to deter people from venturing to build before ascertaining everything about Vasthû, and, having ascertained all necessary knowledge, to compel them to build accordingly, we are told—

"Knowing all that is necessary about Vasthû, if one does not construct his house accordingly, his substance shall be consumed, he shall lose his life, the goddess of misfortune shall be with him, his women shall waste away, and the designer of his house shall perish by disease."

Having ascertained all that is necessary about Vasthû, we still have much to do before ascertaining *the* site for the contemplated house. We must ascertain the earth upon which to build. The rule is as follows:—

Sweet earth is for Brâhmaṇs,
Bitter earth for Kshatriyas,
Sour earth for Vaiśyas,
Pungent earth for Śudras.

"Upon earth that smells like curdled milk, like clarified butter, honey, blood, hair, fish, birds, or buttermilk, sow no grain, for it will yield nothing, neither upon such land erect a house."

As correct time is a very necessary matter in this science, the author gives directions for the construction of sundials, but the preliminaries are many. He directs as follows:—

"First determine the auspicious day; then the northern solstice, the right ascension of the rising point, or the arc of the equator that passes the horizon with each sign of the ecliptic, and the star or constellation at the time.

"Dials made of elephants' tusks are proper for Kshatriyas, of blackwood for Brâhmaṇs, and of heart of tamarind for others."

Here, though not in the order of the book, we may give two very simple methods for ascertaining the time of day before the sun has reached the meridian:—

*Rule I.*

Stand with the sun to your right, join your hands horizontally—reject the thumbs—erect the index-finger from the middle. If the shadow of the erect finger extends to the outer edge of the finger next adjacent—to the index finger of the *left* hand—it denotes 48 minutes past sunrise, and so on.

When the sun has passed the meridian, the position must be altered accordingly.

*Rule II.*

Take a straw eleven fingers in length, place it on the ground, bend it, raising one part to serve as a gnomon, the gnomon being erected against the sun, east or west of the meridian. The height of the gnomon is found by raising the end of the bent portion no higher than suffices exactly to throw its shadow to the extreme point of the recumbent portion of the remainder of the straw. The gnomon so found gives the time of day. Ascertain how many fingers it contains: the sum is the time in Indian hours.

*N.B.*—If the time is taken before twelve o'clock, the sum shows the number of Indian hours since sunrise; if after twelve o'clock, the sum denotes the number of Indian hours to sunset.

"Omens" are largely used in this Śâstra: thus, on your way to select a site—

"Should a person with a broad head, or a bald head, should a snake, a *sanyâsi*, a single Brâhmaṇ, a woman with no breasts, a new pot, a person without a nose, a bundle of firewood, a sick person, a barber, a blind person, an oil-merchant, should these or any of them meet you, it is an omen of evil."

"Should the architect, or the master about to build the house, meet a young handsome virgin, the sign is most auspicious."

Omens are ascertained also by cocoanuts, and this form appears to be in great demand:—

"If the crown of the cocoanut is large, and the opposite side small, this denotes wealth (in the proposed house); if on throwing it upward three parts fall on the head, and two on the foot, this denotes joy; if it break in pieces of five twos and five threes, this also denotes wealth; if a piece is attached to the inner fibre, this denotes long life; if it is dashed to pieces, diamonds will be discovered; if it fall splitting in the middle, great affliction will befall the householder."

Before commencing a building or wedding *pandâl*, a ceremony termed *mûhûrthan*, or the fixing the auspicious hour, is performed in a small hole or pit in the ground, and to the omens that may be obtained in this hole or pit much importance is attached:—

"If a black ant, a scorpion, a white ant, a red ant, or a hair be seen in the pit, the house built on such a site shall be consumed by fire.

"If a bit of gold, a frog, a cow's horn, grains of any kind, a brick, or a bit of silver be seen in the pit, all happiness, prosperity, and pleasure, together with long life and boundless wealth, shall ever be found in the dwelling erected on such a site."

There are also omens obtained from flowers:—

"In the centre of the proposed site, make a pit one cubit in length, depth, and width. Fill it with water. Take a flower in your hand, meditate upon the deity, then cast it into the water, and if it floats round by the right-hand side to face the east it is a sign of great happiness, wealth, fame, and honour. If, however, the flower should float by the left-hand side, it is a sign of great affliction, continual anxiety, and unheard-of misery. A house should not be built on such a site."

There are many more omens derived from the flower thrown into the pit, with reference to the point of the compass at which the flower remains motionless :—

"If the flower remains motionless at the north-west, the eighteen kinds of pulmonic disease shall seize the builder of a house on such a site, his wealth shall be taken by others, death shall carry him away, and demons shall convert the site into a place for burning the dead!

"If the flower remains motionless at the north point, the builder will become rich, he shall have the blessing of sons and of long life, he shall be reverenced by the venerable, and being charitable, reverencing him who is called a 'Refuge,' he shall be esteemed a saint!"

One might well suppose that now, at least, the *yajamâna* might commence to build his house; but the very spade that is used to mark off the site of the proposed building, and the pegs and lines, must give forth their omens :—

"If the edge of the spade bends at the first delve, if the peg flies out of the ground (as the blow is made upon it), or if the marking-line snaps in two, these are inauspicious omens. The man who builds on such a site, besides affliction and anxiety, must also endure never-ceasing trouble, and eventually become the prey of the god of death."

In the foregoing quotation the "marking-line" is mentioned, but it must not be supposed that any cord will suit the purpose. The rule is as follows :—

"For the gods (*i. e.* temples) the line must be of silk and of three twists; for Brâhmaṇs' (houses) it must be of *dharba* grass and of two twists; for Kshatriyas it must be of the feelers of the banyan and of three twists; for others it must be of cotton thread and of two twists. This much is declared."

The site at length having been decided upon, it is divided into, first, four equal parts, and these again into sixty-four parts. The four parts in the centre are regarded as Brahma's, and the four points are regarded as the region of Ruthiran; other four points are regarded as Vishṇu's, and all the remaining parts are regarded as pertaining to the gods of Svarga. Here the author remarks that there is in the universe and the body an apparent fitness, and that the same fitness should be discernible between the body and the house; and he then adds that the man who, having regard to this analogy, builds a house, shall secure its existence for a hundred ages, he shall possess calves, bullocks, and milch cattle, increasing day by day, and he shall join in the celestial dance with the glorious Lakshmî, who sits on the cool lotus-lily."

The following will throw some light on this passage :—

*The Eight Points and their properties.*

"Indra's place (the east) is the proper conjugal abode of the householder; Revatî's place, S. E. 11° 29·5′ (ζ Piscium), is the proper place in which to eat food; Yama's place (south) is the proper place in which to keep clothes; in Nirutî's place (south-west, Canis ?) is the proper place in which to keep water; Varuṇa's place (west) is the place proper for devotional exercises; Vayu's place (north-west) is the place proper in which to store grain; Kuvera's place (north) is the place proper to keep gold, &c. &c.; and in Esani's place, N.E. (γ or δ Corvi ?), is the place proper for women of the household to give birth to children."

The author then gives us the rule regarding the dwellings of the four castes :—

"The south for Brâhmaṇs, the west for Kshatriyas, the north for Vaiśyas, and the east for Śudras."

We next have a rule with reference to the disposition of the householder's property :—

"Put your ashes to the south (of your house), your straw to the south-west; keep your buffaloes to the west, and in the north-west keep your grain and your cows."

"To the north of your house erect your kitchen, to the east keep your sheep, in the south-east of your house keep your children. This is ordered."

According to this Śâstra every house should have a box, technically termed *garbha*, in which to keep the family plate and jewels; and this

box is kept in a certain part of the house, astrologically determined upon. The rule regarding the construction of the box is as follows:—

"Take clay from a crab's hole, clay from the horn of an elephant—*i.e.* clay that an elephant has on its tusk after butting the earth—clay from an anthill, clay from the horns of a bull—*i.e.* after butting the earth; mix them well together and form the box. Divide the box into nine parts, put diamonds into it, reverence it, and then bury it in the north-east point of your house, and happiness will ensue."

The next order pertains to "Doors":—

"If the door of the house closes of itself, having been opened, it is a sign of long life to the householder. If it closes with a creaking noise, it is a sign that the house will perish. If it stands as one leaves it, it is a sign of long life and happiness.

"If it moves like the two pulses *vatham* and *pittham*, it is as though one said, 'Drive a nail in the centre bar:' disease without end shall dwell in that house.

"If the door makes a noise like an oil-mill, the happiness of having sons shall not be found in that house. The householder's wife shall die, and distraction of mind shall ensue."

The author next passes on to the consideration of trees, of which he gives us three classes:—

"*Male Trees.*

"A tree that is strong and thick like a pillar—that is long, straight, and regular—is a male tree.

"*Female Trees.*

"A tree with a thick base, a pointed, narrow trunk, and small at the top, is a female tree.

"*Hermaphrodite Trees.*

"Slender and long in the middle of the trunk and having a thick head, this without doubt is an hermaphrodite tree."

"Male trees serve for pillars; female trees for wall-plates, beams, and capitals; hermaphrodite trees serve for cross-joists, joists, and rafters."

"The mango is proper for temples, the *margosa* for Brâhmaṇs' houses, the teak for Kshatriyas, the *illuppai* for Cheṭṭis, and the *vengai* for Veḷḷalârs' houses."

Our author now proceeds to treat of trees.

*Concerning Trees.*

"For houses there are trees proper for their construction, and trees that are unsuitable: we shall now declare the trees that are suitable for gods and men.

"Trees from a place of public resort, trees from a village or from the precincts of a temple, trees that have been burnt, trees in which are birds' nests, trees growing on anthills, trees in which are honeycombs, trees fruiting out of season, trees supporting creepers, trees in which maggots dwell, trees growing close to tanks or wells, trees planted in the earth not reared by constant watering, trees broken by elephants, trees blown down by the wind, trees in burning-grounds, in forsaken places, or in places which had been *parched*, withered trees, trees in which snakes live, trees in places where there are hobgoblins, devils, or demons, trees that have fallen down of themselves,—these are all bad trees and to be avoided: if one uses such trees in his house, evil shall befall him.

"The *Ficus racemosa*, *Ficus indica*, *Ficus virens*,* the Silk-cotton tree, the *Butea frondosa*, the *Abrus*, the *Jujuba*, the first leaf of a Palmyra, the *Makirla* (?), the Woodapple—all these are to be avoided: for if any of them are used in the construction of a house, the wealth of the householder will decrease, his children will die and poverty and affliction will be his lot."

Our author now gives us the auspicious days for setting up the posts, rafters, &c.:—

"On Monday set up the posts, on Wednesday place the rafters, on Friday thatch the house, and on Thursday take up residence. Like Indra, the householder will have long life and happiness."

Our author next treats of certain astrological observations that are necessary in order to ascertain what the ground selected as a site may contain within itself, and on the discovery then made the person who intends to build is expected to act. He commences irregularly by at once stating what observations are to be made, while a little further on he gives a complete list of the things that may be found and which affect the *śilpan*.

We shall commence with the list; meantime

* The three trees here classed under *Ficus* are now all referred to genus *Urostigma*. There are two Silk-cotton trees, *Bombax malabaricum* and *Cochlospermum gossypium*. *Butea frondosa* is commonly known as 'Dhâk' or 'Palâs,' *Jujuba* as 'Bher;' and the Wood-apple is either *Ægle marmelos* or *Feronia elephantum*.—ED.

we would observe that this portion of the book is designated *Bhumi-Sallium.*

"There are sixteen kinds of *sallium,* viz. skulls, bones, bricks, potsherds, dry sprays of timber, demons, ashes, charcoal, a corpse, grains of corn, gold (includes all metals), black stone, frogs, cows' horns, dogs' bones, urns in which the dead have been buried."

We shall now show our author's rules for discovering the *sallium* in the selected site:—

"If in the seventh mansion from the rising sign (at the time of consultation) there are planets, and if at the same time the moon should be found in the fourth, seventh, or tenth mansion from that, there are hindrances most certainly in the proposed site; and should a man build a house upon it, his women will be murdered, his family will perish, his wealth and happiness will vanish, and to his own life danger will accrue. There can be no happiness in a house on such a site.

"If in the seventh mansion there are planets (at the time of consultation), and if at the same time the moon is in their *kindras,*† in the proposed site ashes and bones shall be found. If one builds on such a site, he will become lazy, he will live in the constant fear of snakes, his wife will hate him, his wealth will vanish, and misery and affliction will seize him.

"If in the tenth mansion there are planets (when the observation is made), black stone, bones, dry sprigs, lead and brass shall be found in the site. Now to build upon land where even but one of these is found would be to ensure the entire loss of one's property, the destruction of men, as well as of the house, and the householder shall have most horrible dreams: so saith Myen."

There is much more of this sort, but what we have given will suffice. The author next treats of the mode of discovering treasure that may be concealed in the selected sites, thus:—

"If Jupiter or Mercury at the time of observation is in the fourth, seventh, or tenth lunar mansion from the moon, or if the sun is in the third, sixth, or eighth mansion from it, there is treasure in the site.

"If Venus and Mercury are in conjunction, and Jupiter in opposition without retrogression, Saturn being in the leg of Jupiter, in the selected site treasure will be found; anyhow silver will doubtless be found.

"If you desire to discover the *exact* place where money, enchantments, charcoal, bones, &c. &c. are concealed, divide the selected site into twenty-eight parts exactly, then ascertain what mansion the moon is in; in the part corresponding with the number of this mansion, the wealth, &c. &c. is concealed." Having given us these and many more, the author passes on to the consideration of *times* that are auspicious for various purposes. The first thing to do is to ascertain the time of the star K u l i k a n.‡ The rule is as follows:—

"On whatever day you wish to ascertain Kulikan's time, from that day to the next Saturday count up the number of Indian hours; multiply this by $3\frac{3}{4}$, and the sum thus obtained is Kulikan's time."

To ascertain an auspicious hour:—"From the day you desire to ascertain the auspicious hour, to the fifth day following (at sunrise), deduct from each day two and a half Indian hours; if the remainder equals the sun's aphelion distance, death will be the result of anything undertaken that day. If, however, the remainder gives the distance of Venus, it is auspicious; if it gives Mercury's, children will increase; if the Moon's, praise; if Saturn's, death; if Jupiter's, clothes; if Mars', unrelenting hate, will be respectively the consequences."

Our author next introduces to us the days of the week upon which it is considered unlucky to travel in certain directions, viz.:—On Mondays and Saturdays eastward, on Tuesdays and Wednesdays northward, on Fridays and Sundays westward, on Thursdays southward. On these days to journey towards the prescribed points is not only unlucky, but positively disastrous.

To know the unlucky days, however, is not enough,—we should know the propitious hours in which to commence an undertaking: accordingly our author gives them:—On Mondays and Saturdays it is propitious to undertake a journey any time up to the 8th Indian hour; on Thursdays it is propitious to set out on a journey southward up to the 12th Indian hour;

† *Kindras* are found by subtracting the place of the planets from their aphelion; the remainder is their *kindra* or *anomaly.*

‡ An imaginary planet in Hindu astronomy, but perhaps *Caput Draconis.*

on Fridays and Sundays it is propitious to the 12th Indian hour; on Tuesdays it is propitious to the 12th Indian hour to journey northward; and on Wednesdays it is propitious to the 16th Indian hour.

The author next gives the various points, their regents, together with the astrological points, and their signs, &c. &c., and then proceeds as follows:—"In the following four months, namely, Auni, Purattasi, Margali, and Pungnni,§ if one builds a house, endless sickness and poverty shall be his lot. Even the gods themselves would suffer should they build in these months." In proof of what has just been stated he adduces the following examples:—"On a Monday in the month Adi,|| Râvaṇa lost his head; in the month Margali the Bhârata war and other wickedness took place; in the month Purattasi Hyrania died; in Pungnni Śiva drank the poison; in the month Auni Mapelasakkiravarthi fled from his town: therefore, in the months Auni and the others aforesaid, to commence a house, or to take up residence, is dangerous. Persons who do so will not only be obliged to desert the house; they will further become beggars. The gods themselves cannot prevent this taking place.

"If Sunday and the tenth lunar asterism occur together, Monday and the sixteenth, Tuesday and the sixth, Wednesday and the ninth, Thursday and the twenty-fourth, Friday and the fourth, Saturday and the twentieth asterism, do not build on these days: if you do, the house will be consumed by fire.

"When Sunday and the second lunar asterism occur together, Monday and the fourteenth, Tuesday and the twenty-first, Wednesday and the twenty-third, Thursday and the eighteenth, Friday and the twentieth, Saturday and the twenty-seventh, these days are unlucky for the performance of anything.

"On these days if one marries, his wife shall soon be a widow, the newly built house shall soon be a ruin.

"If on those days one sets out on a journey, death shall overtake him, and though he perform the *nideka* ceremony, his wife shall be barren, but should a child be born it will die.

"When one is building his house, he should present the *śilpan* with a new cloth, money, sandal-wood powder, and garlands; he should further salute him and make respectful inquiries regarding his health: so decreed Myen."

Auspicious signs when visiting the selected site:—"When the householder and the excellent *śilpan* set out to inspect the newly selected site, if on the way they should meet with a handsome damsel, or a damsel whose skin resembles gold in colour, build the house immediately.

"When the excellent *śilpan* and the householder arrive and are standing on the site, if a lizard chirps on the right side it is a good sign; if on the left the sign is excellent, the householder will have good fortune; let him finish the house rapidly and neatly: those that dwell in it will obtain riches and never lose them."

*The Site.*

"If one finds a piece of land the east and west of which are low but the south-west high, there he should build his house, for all kinds of prosperity will attend him. If the site should be low on the western and the northern sides, or should the western be high and the northern side low, in a house built on such sites the family will increase: they will have long life and live prosperously.

"If one should build a house on a site crossed by a pathway common to the people, his wealth will perish, his cattle will die, his wife and children will die, and the house will become equal to a burning-ground for the dead.

"Land at the side of a temple or in front of one, land frequented by devils and hobgoblins, land on the right side of a temple sacred to Kâlî, or land belonging to the highroad, are not suitable for building-sites. Should, however, a man be so far lost to decency as to build upon such sites, his wife and children shall die, his cattle and all that he has will perish, and, alone in the world, he will wander from place to place, a beggar living upon alms.

"The site of an old or ruined church, land in which snakes dwell, land upon which Pariahs resided, land upon which sages have resided, burning grounds, battle-fields, these are unsuitable for building-sites. Should a man build upon them, he and his relatives will perish, and the house will become a jungle."

In the first portion we mentioned the author's division of the site into sixty-four parts. In the second part he recurs again to it, but with

§ i.e. Âshâḍha, Âśvinâ, Paushа, & Chaitra respectively—Ed.

|| Śrâvaṇa.

considerable difference, and as it may interest the reader we produce it here.

*The rule for building a house.*

"Divide the site into sixty-four parts: the four central portions constitute Brahmâ's place (*sthânam*), the four portions or rooms at the corners of Brahmâ's *sthânam* are for guardian demons, the eight portions or rooms adjoining these latter are for guardian deities, the remaining forty-eight portions are for the use of people." The author illustrates this with the following chart:—

*Chart of a house, or ground-plan.*

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | Guardian Demons. | Guardian Deities. | | Guardian Demons. | | |
| | | Guardian Deities. | These four places are Brahmâ's *sthânam*. | | Guardian Deities. | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | Guardian Demons. | Guardian Deities. | | Guardian Demons. | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |

The author next treats of the *śilpan* himself, his dress and character, and the extent of his professional knowledge, as follows:—

*The Śilpan.*

"One adorned with a necklace of sacred beads, the sacred thread upon him, a ring of *dharba* upon his finger; delighting in the worship of God, faithful to his wife, avoiding strange women, true to his family, of a pure mind and virtuous, he is a *śilpan* indeed.

"Girded with silk-like cord made of fibre, chanting the Veda, constant in the performance of ceremonial acts, piously acquiring a perfect knowledge of various sciences, the *śilpan* follows his profession.

*The Śilpan's Art.*

"The *śilpan* should perfectly understand the cubit measure, the level, the gnomon,¶ the jewel (proper for him to wear), the box for keeping jewels), the part of the house named *garbha*, the line, the peg, the floor, the various kinds of trees, the mode of hewing timber, the characteristics of trees, the places where each are to be found, the plumb-line and morticing."

*Concerning the Gnomon.*

"In building temples great attention is paid to the gnomon: therefore we shall declare what is the proper length and thickness, &c. &c. of this instrument. It should be twelve fingers in length; three-fourths of this should be absorbed by the head (or the thickest part of the instrument), and the remaining one-fourth should taper off to a point like a needle, the whole being turned in a lathe and resembling in shape a conch-shell.

"Gnomons for the use of men should be made of the timber of milk-producing trees, as, for instance, the *Artocarpus integrifolia*, the *Ficus indica*, *Ficus religiosa*, *Ficus racemosa*, and the *Ficus virens*. For temples, however, it must be of *Acacia Sundra*."

*Concerning the Peg.*

"The pegs should each be eleven fingers in thickness, twenty-four fingers in length. Ascertain the position of Vâsthu: then in the south-west corner of his belly, the south-east, the north-east, and the north-west corners drive home your pegs."

*Concerning the Site.*

"When required to build houses, palaces, private apartments, &c. &c., first ascertain the centre of the site by the line, form there a pit one cubit square and one cubit in depth, and pour water into it until it is quite full. This water should then be made to flow over the sides of the pit in the directions of the cardinal points; by so flowing, it will discover the deflections in the site; stretch the line accordingly and make it level.

"Houses built with black stone, or with black stone and bricks, are proper for gods, for Brâhmans, and for hermits; for others than these to dwell in such houses is unbecoming."

¶ The word in the original is *sangu*, a conch; the *Śilpa Asaris* have an instrument resembling it made of wood, by which they make some astrological observations.

*Concerning Trees.*

"When about to build houses, halls, palaces, or *mandapas*, the injunctions of Myen with reference to trees—which are good, and which are bad—may not be neglected.

"Having performed the necessary *mûkûrtham*, proceed to the forest, taking with you various kinds of sweetmeats; offer these as a sacrifice to the god of forests, standing close to a male tree.

"On the south side of the tree* deposit *dharba* grass, on the west place your axe; then, meditating on the *mantra* for the expulsion of demons and hobgoblins, drink some milk, dip your axe in milk, and, devoutly looking upwards, strike the tree with the axe a clear cubit† from the ground."

(*To be continued.*)

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 45.*)

*XII.—Aqua Marina Gems, ancient and modern.*

In Koimbatûr, an inland district of the peninsula, situated between the Madras and Malabar coasts, and overlooked on the northern border by the Nilgirì mountains, there is a spot once, and probably immemorially, famous as producing the delicately beautiful transparent sea-green gem known as the *Aqua marina* or beryl. In the Kângyam Tâlûkâ of the above-named district there is a small village called P a d i u r (Puddyoor of Sheet 61, Great Trigonometrical Survey Map), or more usually P a t t i â l i, forty miles east of the town of Koimbatûr; the aspect of the country is that of a vast undulating plain bounded by the highest mountain ranges in Southern India,—the Nilgirìs, Ânamallìs, the Palanìs in Madura, and the Shevarais in Salem. Mountains and plain consist of primary rocks, gneiss, hornblende-slate, granite, and basalt; and dykes and beds of quartz, serpentine, porphyry and basalt are frequent, and form a peculiar feature, great milk-white masses of quartz sometimes cropping out conspicuo[illegible] traversing the country in veins or reefs [illegible] distances, accompanied by parallel reefs [illegible] pentine. Kângyam lies nearly in the centre of the great plain, and is the driest and stoniest tâlukâ of a preëminently dry and stony district; but its rough and arid fields nevertheless produce the best breed of cows in the south, for which high prices are paid. On the east side of the village of P a t t i â l i there is an extensive dyke of crystalline porphyritic granite in the gneiss rock: the dyke abounds with masses of quartz, with large crystals of the same, as well as of felspar, cleavelandite, and garnets. The crystals of cleavelandite are remarkably fine, and it often occurs in large masses, in the cavities of which the aquamarine is found in six-sided prisms. The dyke is throughout divided by seams and fissures, generally filled with whitish limestone deposit, and the various minerals are mostly arranged in laminæ, often interrupted and passing into nests and lumps.

The mine last worked was sunk through this dyke, and originally intended for a well. It was dug in 1798 on the ground of the *monigár*, or village head-man, and intended for irrigation; in the course of excavation the gem was discovered by the diggers, who kept the secret, and for eighteen years secretly sold the gems to the itinerant jewellers and merchants, who bought them for a mere trifle, and sold them at an enormous profit in the various European stations and cantonments. At length Mr. Heath, an enterprising and energetic planter and merchant in the adjoining district of Salem, obtained a clue by which he was enabled to trace the gems to their *situs*; and, with the consent of Government,—who, it seems, were to have a royalty of half the proceeds,—he arranged with the *monigár*—who, entirely ignorant of the treasures contained in his well, had for eighteen years been thus robbed by his own people—to rent the well and its contents. Mining operations were accordingly carried on for little more than two years, and discontinued on account of the mine becoming exhausted

* The tree to be cut down.

† In which is to be observed the bad forestry of the Hindus. It is easiest for a short man to cut at this height, but the rules of European foresters are that such trees as coppice (*i.e.* grow again from the "stool" or stump) must be cut close to the ground, in order to secure a sound and straight second growth, while trees which do not "coppice" should be "stubbed up" (eradicated).—Ed.

and water breaking in. The well has since reverted to its original purpose of irrigation, and is about twenty-four feet long by twenty broad, and thirty-two feet deep to the bottom, with seven feet of water. Some idea of the productiveness of the mine, and the amount of gems that was probably taken from it during the years of fraudulent excavation, may be obtained from the subjoined return for one of the years of Mr. Heath's operations, from June 1819 to June 1820, taken from the books of the district,—the *śer* employed is a weight of 24 rupees, and a "star pagoda" = $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees :—

*Return of Aqua marina stones found in the Well at Pattiáli in Fasli* 1230.

| | | Stones. | *Sers'* Weight. | Value in Star Pagodas. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st sort | (1) | 66 = | 18 = | 1,440 |
| | (2) | 318 = | 12 = | 760 |
| | (3) | 309 = | 9 = | $462\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 2nd „ | | 510 = | 8 = | 358 |
| 3rd „ | | 311 = | 7 = | 210 |
| 4th „ | | 682 = | 6 = | $62\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Small pieces not included | | ... | ... = | 140 |
| Total... | | 2,196 | 60 | 3,433=£1,201-11*s*. |

It is highly probable that most of the best aquamarines of the true sea-green colour used in modern times in Europe, including the largest known—weighing six ounces and valued at £500, which was supposed to have come from Ceylon, where it is *not* found—came from this well; and some considerations will now be offered endeavouring to show the probability, at least, that its produce reached Europe even in classical times, and may have been the object of Roman barter. The gem was known and prized in remote antiquity: Ezekiel (xxviii. 13) enumerates it amongst the precious stones that covered the prince of Tyrus. Pliny first conjectured, what science has since proved, that it is but a variety of emerald, and says especially of it (*Nat. Hist.* bk. xxxvii. cap. v.), "the best beryls are those which have the greenness of pure sea-water (*viriditatem puri maris*) and come from India, *seldom found elsewhere* (*rarò alibi repertis*)." He also remarks that they are most lustrous when artificially polished hexagonally (*sexangulâ figurâ artificum ingeniis*),—not being aware, seemingly, that they occur in six-sided crystals.

One of the most beautiful and exquisite arts of antiquity was that of engraving on gems, which appears to have reached its fullest development under Alexander the Great, and was patronized by all the luxurious and refined monarchs of the East and the West, many of whose portraits it has handed down in the wonderful intaglie which are the pride of so many royal, national, and celebrated private collections. A long list of ancient artists famous for skill in gem-engraving has been preserved; but the examples that can be safely ascribed to them are few and priceless. Mediæval and modern art has been skilful in imitating the subjects, and even the signatures, of the antique Greek engravers; but amongst the few genuine works which can with confidence be referred to the artist whose name they bear are some engraved on aquamarines. Conspicuous amongst these is the Julia Titi of Evodus, the masterpiece of Roman portraiture, engraved on an immense and lovely aquamarine, signed by the famous artist. The history of this gem can be traced up to Charlemagne; it was in after years presented by Charles the Bald to the abbey of St. Denys, and is now at Florence, where also is an aquamarine bearing the head of Sextus Pompeius, or perhaps Hadrian, signed by Agathopus. Another aquamarine engraved with a Giant, signed by the most celebrated of all the antique engravers, Dioscorides, is in the Turin collection. In the magnificent collection of engraved gems in the British Museum there is a true antique intaglio of a Cupid bestriding a Dolphin on a beautiful aquamarine; and one, by Anteros, of Hercules carrying the Bull, in the Devonshire cabinet. Amongst mediæval works the Bacchanalia, once in the Bessborough cabinet, engraved on a fine aquamarine after an antique original, may be specified. These examples, out of many, must suffice.

Now whence came the aquamarines known to Pliny, and on which the Greek and Roman engravers exercised their skill? In modern times the gem, besides the Indian well, has been found in America, both North and South, in Siberia, and at a few places scattered over Europe, particularly at Limoges, in France. America and Siberia may be excluded from the sources of ancient supply. The localities in Europe are in regions little known to the Romans, and unmentioned by Pliny, who had the best means of information. It is unknown

in Ceylon. Its ancient origin seems therefore limited, as Pliny says it was, to India, and there it is only known to occur at the locality in Koimbatûr described in this Note, where, moreover, the gem is distinguished by the true clear sea-green colour specified by Pliny; elsewhere it is often blueish or muddy in tint.

In the neighbourhood of Pattiâli there are numerous excavations in the cleavelandite dyke; and that mineral, which is the matrix of the gem, can be traced in the rocks and strata for more than thirty miles, east and west. Lumps and masses of it, evidently broken up in search of the contents, lie about the pits and hollows in very large quantities; and the excavations are generally too shallow, and situated too high and dry, for wells. In that stony soil and almost rainless climate centuries would cause little change in the state and appearance of such pits, and the antiquity of many may reach back to almost any conceivable date. There can be little doubt that in ancient times, when the surface veins were unexhausted, the gem was obtained in abundance.

Roman coins have been found not unfrequently in Southern India, but nowhere in such large hoards as in Koimbatûr. At Palâchi (Polachy of Sheet 62, Gt. Trig. Survey Map), forty miles S.W. of Pattiâli, in 1800 a pot was dug up containing a great many Roman coins of Augustus and Tiberius: they were of two kinds, but all of the same weight and value. (Hamilton's *Gazetteer*.) In 1806 five fine gold coins of the Cæsars were found at Karûr, a considerable town (mentioned by Ptolemy) forty-five miles east of the beryl tract. In 1842 an earthen pot containing 522 Roman denarii was dug up near Vellalûr, a small village four miles from the town of Koimbatûr; and, remarkably enough, out of so large a number, all but a dozen, like the "great many" of the Palâchi find, were coins of Augustus and Tiberius, the exceptions being of Caligula and Claudius.* In 1856 sixty-three very beautiful gold coins, bearing the heads of Augustus and and other early Roman emperors, in excellent preservation, were discovered packed in an earthen pot, about the size of a large mango, near the boundary of the Madura and Koimbatûr districts, about forty miles south of Kângyam. The southern half of the Koimbatûr district, in which all the places referred to in this Note are situated, lie just in front of the great Pâlghâṭ Gap, where alone, from Bombay to Cape Comorin, the long line of the Ghâṭs is interrupted, and a level communication exists between the plains of the interior and the western coast. It is but 110 miles from Pattiâli to the sea, and we know that from Phœnician to Byzantine times an intercourse, perhaps unsuspectedly extensive, existed between Red Sea ports and ancient emporia on the Malabar sea-board. I do not know whether it would be deemed extravagant to connect the aqua marina mines of Koimbatûr with the hoards of Roman coin found in their vicinity; there is no other product of the district likely to have been the object of Roman purchase. It is, of course, only conjecture, but taking the express declaration of Pliny that sea-green stones came almost exclusively from India, and knowing that there they only occur at Pattiâli, there seems some ground for thinking that the beautiful gems so much admired and used by the engravers of antiquity, some of which still ornament the cabinets of Europe, came from an obscure village far down in the south of India.†

* This discovery took place just before I joined the district. I took casts of some of the coins, which by order of Government were sent to Madras,—whether there melted in the Mint or reserved in the Museum I know not. The coins were doubtless all of well-known and 'edited' types; a short description may, however, be archæologically interesting. Of the 522 there were 134 bearing the head of Augustus with inscription CAES. AVGVSTVS. DIVI. F. PATER. PATRIAE.; on the reverse a trophy of arms between two standing figures and legend {C. L. CAESARIS. AVGVSTI. F. / COS. DESIG. PRINC. INVENT.}, and 378 bore the head of Tiberius with inscription TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. AVGVSTVS.: on the reverse the emperor seated, with PONTIF. MAXIM. Of the remainder, two bore the head of Claudius, and legend TI. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. P. M. TR. VI. IMP. XI.: on the reverse a winged figure pointing with a wand to a snake, and inscription PACI AVGVSTAE. Another bore the head of Claudius with DIVVS CLAVDIVS AVGVSTVS: on the reverse a chariot drawn by four horses abreast, with letters EX. S. C. There were two other types of Claudius, one bearing on the reverse a female seated, the other a wreath enclosing letters; and two coins of Caligula bearing the emperor's head,—on the reverse of one a head surrounded with rays. A single example bore a head of Augustus with AVGVSTVS. DIVI. F., and on the reverse Diana carrying a spear accompanied by a deer or hound, and legend IMP. X. Two remaining types were indistinct, one bearing a sort of arch. The hoards of coin referred to were all discovered in the first half of the present century; how many may have been found in the same neighbourhood in bygone ages, and how many may yet rest undiscovered, any one may conjecture.

† Corundum stones, used by jewellers, and of which the sapphire and ruby are only blue and red varieties, abound in the Koimbatûr district. 'Corundum' is surpassed in hardness only by the diamond, and belongs to the same class of mineral; the word, whose origin has caused some doubt, is pure Tamil, *Kŭrrăndăm*. Fine rubies have

*XIII.—Wigs, ascetic and ancient.*

In a previous Note (X.), at page 39 of this volume, some remarks were ventured upon the close curly hair that distinguishes Jain images and statues of Buddha, and an allusion made to the Siñhalese tradition that when Buddha determined to turn *Arhat* he cut off his hair with his sword, which thenceforward never grew longer, but always curled to the right hand. The same story is found in the *Legend of the Burmese Budha*, by the Right Reverend Bishop Bigandet, where at p. 60 the prince, having resolved to become a *Rahan*, is represented saying, "'These long hairs that cover my head, and my beard too, are superfluities unbecoming the profession of a *Rahan!* Whereupon with one hand unsheathing his sword, and with the other seizing his comely hairs, he cut them with a single stroke. What remained of his hairs on the head measured about one inch and a half in length. In like manner he disposed of his beard. From that time he never needed shaving; the hairs of his beard and those of his head never grew longer during the remainder of his life." On this passage the learned bishop observes in a footnote, "This explains one peculiarity observable in all the statues representing Budha. The head is invariably covered with sharp points resembling those thorns with which the thick envelope of the *durian* fruit is armed. Often I had inquired as to the motive that induced native sculptors to leave on the heads of all statues these sorts of inverted nails, without being able to obtain any satisfactory answer; only from this passage I was able to account for this singular custom, which is designed to remind all Budhists of the ever-continued wonder whereby the hairs that remained on Budha's head never grew longer from the day he cut them with his sword." Nevertheless a doubt may remain whether these stories may not be classed amongst "myths of observation,"—that is, stories suggested by the appearances they pretend to account for.

I have, however, lately met with a passage which suggests another explanation of the perplexing close-curled hair. Very possibly it may have been discovered by other writers, but not to my knowledge. In Sir T. Stamford Raffles' *History of Java*, vol. II., there is an account of the antiquities at Brambanam, and an abstract given of a Report made by "Capt. George Baker, of the Bengal Establishment, employed in the provinces of the native princes to survey, measure, and take drawings of all buildings, images, architectural remains, &c." Captain Baker was accompanied by a Brâhmaṇ *sipâhî*, who was greatly astonished at the temples and sculptures at Brambanam, and declared they must be the work of the gods, and that "India could in no respect furnish a parallel to them." Captain Baker remarking "certain figures in a sitting cross-legged posture, with long-extended ears and short-curled head of hair," considered they must be Jaina or Buddhist, but the *sipâhî* maintained they were simple Hindu devotees in the act of making *tapâs*, and that Brâhmaṇs frequently placed such images in their temples before their own gods; and he asserted, moreover, that what Captain Baker called curled hair was nothing more than a peculiar kind of cap (*topî* he called it) worn by devotees when in the most sacred act of *tapâs*, which caps, he said, were common in Bengal and Hindustân, and made for the purpose by a particular class of people. (Vol. II. p. 11, ed. 1830.) It is the more particular object of this Note to draw attention to the foregoing passage, and inquire whether any such cap or wig imitating curled hair is now in use anywhere in India, or known by tradition, in any class. I have never met with anything of the sort myself in Madras, but have a vague impression of having somewhere read of a sort of skull-cap by *Jogîs* performing penance. Supposing for a moment that the *sipâhî's* idea had any foundation, and regarding the curly hair simply as an ascetic cap, it would throw some light on the puzzling circumstance that, whereas the Jainas to-day despise and revile Buddha, they represent their own *Tîrthaṅkaras* wearing the same very peculiar curly locks. It might indeed be

now and then been discovered in the Koimbatûr district, and there are records of diamonds having been found in Kângyam. Aquamarines are now occasionally obtained in the Salem and Trichinâpalli bazârs, and probably still procured secretly in the Pattiâli neighbourhood. A company has been formed for working the gold diggings under the Nilgiri and Kuṇḍâ slopes, that rise in full view of the Koimbatûr plains; perhaps search on the latter, scientifically directed, might be rewarded by returns still more valuable than gold. The *Times of India* of March 31 and April 3 contains a most interesting account of the diamond mines of Haidarâbâd (Golkonda), by Capt. R. F. Burton. The celebrated traveller is of opinion that these mines have been prematurely abandoned, and that, so far from being exhausted, they have been scarcely touched.

objected that had any such wigs been in use or known, the story—certainly very ancient—of Buddha's having cut his hair with a sword, and its never afterwards growing longer, could not have arisen; but there is no appurtenance of man so liable to frequent, rapid, and extreme changes as the head-dresses and the fashion of the hair and beard: consequently none more liable to be forgotten or confused. It is certain that wigs of the most ample and elaborate style were in use in Egypt and Assyria, even long before the time of Buddha,—curious specimens have been found in tombs; and Jaina sculptures abound with figures wearing full-bottomed wigs, though shaven heads are rather now the fashion, except amongst *Sanyâsis* and ascetics.‡ In Java, at Chandi Sewu, or the Thousand Temples, Captain Baker saw two gigantic janitors kneeling with uplifted clubs before a temple, "wearing large full-bottomed wigs in full curl all over, which the Brâhman *sipâhî* said was the way in which the *Munis* dressed their hair" (p. 17).

When a fashion drops out of use, legends like the cutting of Buddha's hair with a sword might easily arise to account for any surviving representation of it; and how rapidly and completely fashions may change, all may realize who look upon portraits of worthies who lived in the earlier part of last century, and reflect that the wonderful flowing wigs depicted were habitually worn by the grandfathers of men now living. Were the last traces of the once general custom, surviving in barristers' and coachmen's wigs, to be represented in statuary,§ perhaps the effect might not be greatly unlike the Jain and Buddhist curly|| heads, or some conventional indication would be adopted and maintained, which in after-ages might conceivably become a cause of perplexity, and give rise to myths and legends. It is curious to look back upon the various lights in which long hair in men has been held by different nations and ages. Now regarded effeminate, it was not so in Homer's time, and when the Persian host caught sight of the Six Hundred in Thermopylæ the Spartans were engaged in dressing and arranging their long hair. The fierce Norse sea-kings when taken captive disdained to ask any other boon than that no slave should touch their hair, and the grim Earls of the Heptarchy strode about,

"Their beards a foot before them, and their hair
A yard behind."

Later the Cavaliers, with their 'long essenced hair,' were not less keen than their opponents, the Roundheads, to whose 'crop-eared' style the youth of to-day, both English and French, seems to incline. Beards, the preëminent mark of manhood, were held craven by the warlike tribes of Germany, and no young warrior was allowed to shave till he had slain a foe. We, too, have witnessed how little more than a generation can bring a change in all classes from shaven lips and chins to beard and moustache.¶

---

## ON THE MAHÂBHÂSHYA.

BY DR. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE, PUNA.

When last year I wrote for this journal (vol. IV. p. 107) a note on a passage of the *Râjataranginî*, I had just been reading, later perhaps than I ought to have done so, Prof. Weber's valuable article

---

‡ Mr. J. Fergusson—after remarking, "It has ever been one of the puzzles of Buddhism that the founder of the religion should always have been represented in sculptures with woolly hair like that of a negro. That the prince Siddhârtha had flowing locks is certain, but how and when the change took place is the difficulty" (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 122, ed. 1868)—thinks that a woolly-haired people, apparently not Hindus, represented in the Sânchi sculptures (*Ibid.* plate XXVIII.) may have been the first to make images of Buddha, and endowed him with their crisp locks. But what if the woolly hair and foreign garments represented in the sculptures should have been close-fitting curly periwigs and particular vestments worn by ascetics at some penitential stages, but since as much fallen into disuse as the fashion of sitting on couches and seats, which the sculptures show to have been then general? See, too, page 132 of the same work. It may be observed, also, that Buddha was not everywhere represented with woolly hair; the gigantic bronze image of ancient Japanese work (which it is said could not be produced now) at present in the South Kensington Museum, shows Buddha with the hair straight, and brushed back from the forehead. Engraved gems of Roman imperial times represented ladies wearing immensely thick *chevelures*, covered with close short curls, much of which must have been artificial, delineated in engraving just like Buddha's hair. The curly-headedness characterizing all Assyrian sculptures needs only be mentioned; it must indicate a universal wearing of wigs in Old Egypt. All classes seem to have shaved the head and worn wigs, the poorer people even using perukes of sheep's wool, very Buddha-like. Sir W. Jones, in several of the Discourses in the third volume of his Works, favours the idea of Buddha having been a stranger from northern or western countries.

§ I venture to refer to the apparently peruked equestrian statue of George the Third, hat in hand, in Cockspur Street, Charing Cross.

|| Mr. Bryan Hodgson (*apud* the late Dr. J. Wilson in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Jan. 1853, p. 350) was informed by a Buddhist priest that curled hair was introduced into statues of Buddha simply because it was esteemed a beauty.—Ed.

¶ This note should not close without referring to the instructive and interesting *Observations on the Kudumi* or hair-tuft, by the Rev. Dr. Caldwell (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 166).

on the *Mahâbhâshya* (*Indische Studien,* vol. XIII. p. 293), and as there I had found some statements regarding the history of the text of that work for which there appeared to me to be little foundation, I deemed it advisable to conclude my note as follows :—

"I cannot conclude this short note without protesting against the statement, which I find repeated over and over again, that at some time or other the *text* of the *Mahâbhâshya* had been lost, that it had to be reconstructed, &c. All we know at present amounts to this, that for some period of time Patanjali's great work was not studied generally, and had consequently ceased to be understood. We may perhaps allow a break so far as regards its traditional interpretation, but for the present we are bound to regard the text of the *Mahâbhâshya* as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about two thousand years ago."

My object in writing these lines was no other than to induce Professor Weber to reconsider the grounds for his assertions. From a note on p. 242 of the second edition of his lectures on *Indische Literaturgeschichte* I now learn that he has done so, but that he has seen no reasons to change his views. For Professor Weber, in reply to my remarks, sums up his own views in the following words :—

"On the other hand it follows, not only from the statements of the *Râjataranginî*, but also particularly from those at the end of the second book of Hari's *Vâkyapadîya*. . . . . that the Bhâshya has suffered *manifold* fates, that it has been several times *vichchhinna* and newly rearranged, so that the possibility of considerable alterations, additions, and interpolations cannot be denied, and that in every case it remains *à priori* uncertain whether a particular example belongs to Patanjali himself, or is owing only to these later reconstructions. . . . . Kielhorn, it is true, has strongly protested against the statement that 'at some time or other the *text* of the *Mahâbhâshya* had been lost, that it had to be reconstructed, &c.,' and will only 'perhaps allow a break so far as regards its traditional interpretation,' while for the present he considers us bound 'to regard the text of the *Mahâbhâshya* as given by our MSS. to l the same as it existed about 2000 years agc Let us await, then, his proofs; for the prote alone might, in opposition to the statemen handed down to us by tradition (on three di ferent occasions the terms *viplâvita, bhrasht vichchhinna* are employed regarding the work not be sufficient. It must, besides, be adde that the South-Indian MSS. of the text, accorc ing to Burnell's testimony (see Preface to th *Vanśabr.* p. xxii., *note*), appear to differ con siderably."

So far as I am aware, the question at issu between Professor Weber and myself is, clearl stated, this :—

According to Professor Weber there are grav reasons for doubting the text of the *Mahâbhâshya*, as we find it in the existing MSS., to b the original text of that work. At the time o king Abhimanyu of Kâshmîr the origina text of Patanjali's work existed only in fragments,* from which a new text of the *Mahâbhâshya* was reconstructed by Chandrâchârya and others. This second text underwent in its turn the same fate as the original, and a new (third) text was accordingly prepared, under king Jayâpîḍa of Kâshmîr. This third text is the one given by our MSS.

According to my own view no evidence has yet been adduced to prove that the text of the *Mahâbhâshya* as known to us from MSS. is not the original text of that work, and the only one that ever existed; and I shall now attempt to show why the reasons which have been brought forward to the contrary appear to me invalid. In the note from his lectures quoted above, these reasons are clearly implied by Professor Weber to be the following :—

(1) According to the testimony of Dr. Burnell, the South-Indian MSS. of the text of the *Mahâbhâshya* differ *considerably* from those found in other parts of India.

(2) From the verse IV. 487 of the *Râjataranginî* we learn that a new (what I have called above *third*) text of the *Mahâbhâshya* was prepared, under king Jayâpîḍa of Kâshmîr.

(3) In another verse (I. 176) of the same work and in the concluding verses of the

* In his later articles Prof. Weber employs, so far as I remember, only the Sanskrit words *viplâvita, bhrashṭa,* and *vichchhinna,* but I believe that the above represents his views correctly. From a note on p. 297 of vol. XIII. of the Ind. Stud. I infer that the word *vichchhinna* is taken in the sense of 'incomplete;' on p. 315 Prof. Weber speaks of 'remodellations' (*Bearbeitungen*), on p. 320 of 'reconstructions,' but on p. 321 distinctly of 'fragments' out of which a new text was constructed. On p. 160 of vol. V. *viplâvita* is translated by 'devastated' or 'destroyed' (*verwüstet*), on p. 161 *bhrashṭa* by 'lost,' and on p. 167 *vichchhinna* by 'split into pieces.'

second book of Bhartṛihari's *Vâkyapadîya* we are told that at the time of king Abhimanyu of Kâshmîr all that remained of the original text of the *Mahâbhâshya* were fragments, from which Chandrâchârya and others reconstructed a new (or second) text.

To the first reason Professor Weber himself does not appear to attach any very great importance; but it may be admitted that if the South-Indian MSS. really did contain a text *considerably* different from that which is given by MSS. from other parts of India, a fact such as this might prove, at any rate, the existence of different recensions of the *Mahâbhâshya*. All, however, I find Dr. Burnell to have stated regarding the difference of the text in the South-Indian MSS., is this: that in the introductory *Âhnika* the latter "omit the quotation from the *Atharvaveda*;" moreover, on p. 91 of his essay *On the Aindra School of Sanskṛit Grammarians*, the same scholar deliberately states "that the Northern and Southern MSS. of the *Mahâbhâshya* differ *to no great extent*, though various readings occur." I may add that in the course of the last ten years I have examined MSS. from nearly every part of India, and that I have not been able to discover any traces of the existence of several recensions of Patanjali's great commentary.

I now proceed to verse IV. 487 of the *Râjataranginî*, which in the Paris edition is given thus:—

देशान्तरादागमय्य व्याचक्षाणान्क्ष्मापतिः ।
प्रावर्तयत विच्छिन्नं महाभाष्यं स्वमण्डले ॥

On p. 167 of vol. V. of the *Indische Studien* this passage has been translated—"The king (Jayâpîḍa) caused interpreters to come from other countries, and set the split Bhâshya again going in his realm;" and from the remarks which immediately follow this translation it is clear that Prof. Weber, when first quoting and translating the passage, understood it to relate the '*introduction*' or '*re-introduction*' of the *Mahâbhâshya* into Kâshmîr, and not a '*reconstruction*' of the text of the work. This view has been abandoned in vol. XIII. of the *Ind. Stud.*, for in the latter Prof. Weber speaks on p. 315 of a '*remodellation*,' and on p. 320 (where the word व्याचक्षाणान् is rendered by 'knowing' or 'expert men') of a '*reconstruction*' of the text, as having been brought about at the instance of Jayâpîḍa.

If, for argument's sake, we were to admit that the word विच्छिन्न did convey the sense of 'incomplete' or 'existing in fragments,' which has been ascribed to it, and that under Jayâpîḍa fragments were all that was to be found of the text of the *Mahâbhâshya* in Kâshmîr, would there be any reason for assuming the same to have been the case all over India? Do we not know of numbers of works of which fragments only exist in one part of India, while complete copies are to be found in others? And supposing that fragments only of the text existed in Kâshmîr, what possible good could Jayâpîḍa have done when he desired to encourage the study of the *Mahâbhâshya* by sending for *interpreters?* For as to the meaning of व्याचक्षाण there can, I presume, be no doubt whatsoever.

In reality the context in which the term विच्छिन्न is employed in the above passage, as well as the manner in which विच्छिन्न and विच्छेद are used elsewhere, show that the former cannot in the above convey the meaning which has been assigned to it. Sanskṛit writers frequently speak of अध्ययनस्य विच्छेद, and call the study of a text विच्छिन्नसंप्रदाय; and in accordance with this usage I maintain that विच्छिन्नं महाभाष्यम् can only mean "the *Mahâbhâshya* which had ceased to be studied" and was no longer understood in Kâshmîr, and that the whole verse must therefore literally be translated thus:—"The king, having sent for interpreters from another country, brought into use in his realm the *Mahâbhâshya*, which had ceased to be studied" (in Kâshmîr, and was therefore no longer understood).

Before I proceed, I find it necessary to point out two slight inaccuracies in Prof. Weber's remarks concerning the history of the *Mahâbhâshya*. Prof. Weber has stated more than once (see above, and this journal vol. IV. p. 247), and has apparently laid great stress on the fact, that the *Mahâbhâshya* on *three different* occasions has received the epithets *viplâvita*, *bhrashṭa*, and *vichchhinna*. In reality *vichchhinna* occurs in the verse of the *Râjataranginî* quoted above, and the words *viplâvita* and *bhrashṭa* are found, as will be seen below, in one and the same sentence of the *Vâkyapadîya*, although not in one and the same verse. Moreover, the epithet

*bhrashṭa* has been applied by Bhartṛihari not to the text of the *Mahâbhâshya*, but to the *vyâkaraṇâgama*, the traditional knowledge of grammar as handed down from teacher to pupil,† a fact by which alone the force of Prof. Weber's argument would be considerably lessened. The terms भ्रष्ट and भ्रंश are indeed used occasionally with reference to the text of a work (ग्रन्थ), and when they are so used it must be admitted that the writer who employs them desires to state that such text is lost, either completely, or at any rate partly. But it does not follow that because the आगम, *i.e.* traditional interpretation of a text, has become भ्रष्ट, or because a work is no longer studied, its text must necessarily have been lost too. Puṇyarâja,‡ the commentator of the *Vâkyapadîya*, when accounting for the fragmentary state of the third chapter of that work, brings forward, as one of the probable reasons, the आगमभ्रंश, the fact that part of Bhartṛihari's work had ceased to be studied,§ and his doing so sufficiently proves that although आगमभ्रंश may in course of time lead to 'the loss of a text,' the former is not equivalent to the latter. There exist at the present day numbers of works in the libraries of this country, though their आगम has been lost, I am afraid, beyond the hope of recovery.

The passage of the *Vâkyapadîya* from which Prof. Weber concludes that (at the time of king Abhimanyu) fragments only of the original text of the *Mahâbhâshya* were in existence, and that from these a new text of the work was prepared by Chandrâchârya and others, was first pointed out by the late Prof. Goldstücker; it was republished with corrections by Prof. Weber himself in vol. V. of the *Indische Studien*, and subsequently again reprinted, together with the commentary of Puṇyarâja, by myself on pp. 285-7 of vol. III. of this journal. After having stated the reasons which induced Patanjali to compose his great commentary, and that the latter, on account of its difficulty, was not generally understood, Bhartṛihari proceeds thus :—

वैजिशौभवहर्यक्षैः शुष्कतर्कानुसारिभिः ।
आर्षे विप्लाविते ग्रन्थे.................॥¶
यः पातञ्जलिशिष्येभ्यो भ्रष्टो व्याकरणागमः ।
काले स दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थितः ॥
पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानुसारिभिः ।
स नीतो बहुशाखत्वं चन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः ॥

Prof. Weber's translation of these lines on p. 160 of vol. V. of the *Ind. Stud.* is this :—"Vaiji, Saubhava, and Haryaksha, addicted to dry reasoning, . . . . destroyed the Ṛishi's work.

"The grammar-text, lost to Patanjali's pupils, existed for a while among the Dâkshiṇâtyas, in *one* MS. only."

"Thereupon Chandra and others, searching for the seed (*i.e.* the original) of the Bhâshya, received the text from Parvata, and made many branches of it."

From the remarks which follow this translation it appears that the words 'destroyed the Ṛishi's work' are not to be taken literally, but must be understood to convey the sense (see p. 163) that Vaiji, &c. "rose up against the work of Patanjali and caused it to fall into disuse (*verdrängten es*) for a while." Moreover, from pp. 166 and 167 we learn that Chandra and the others *recovered* the *Mahâbhâshya*, and that they did not establish a new text. Whether Prof. Weber was justified by his own translation in speaking, on p. 168, "of the *reconstruction* (by Chandra and others) of a text which had been lost for a time,"—a view which, so far as I am aware, he has upheld in all his later writings,—I leave for the decision of the reader. But the translation itself—which was prepared

† From the way in which Puṇyarâja subsequently in the commentary on the verse वर्त्मनामत्र (see above, vol. III. p. 287), as well as in his *résumé* of the contents of the second book of the *Vâkyapadîya* (प्रणीतो विधिवच्चायं मम व्याकरणागमः), employs the term व्याकरणागम, it is evident that व्याकरणागम cannot possibly mean 'the text of the *Mahâbhâshya*,' but can only mean 'the doctrine or the traditional knowledge of grammar.'

‡ The name of this scholar is spelt both *Puṇyarâja* and *Puñjarâja* in my MSS.

§ एतेषां च वितत्य सोपपत्तिकं सनिदर्शनं स्वरूपं पदकाण्डे लक्षणसमुद्देशे विनिर्दिष्टमिति ग्रन्थकृतैव स्ववृत्तौ प्रतिपादितम्। आगमभ्रंशाल्लेखकप्रमादादिना वा लक्षणसमुद्देशश्च पदकाण्डमध्ये न प्रसिद्धः ॥

¶ I purposely have omitted the last word of this line, because both its reading and signification appear to me somewhat doubtful. The Puṇa, Benares, Lahore, and Dr. Burnell's Malayâlam MSS. read संग्रहप्रतिकञ्चुके. Colebrooke's MS. has °कञ्चुकेः and Puṇyarâja appears to have read °कञ्चुकैः for he seems to explain it by संग्रहप्रतिपक्षभूतैः 'enemies of the *Saṃgraha*,' on which, according to Puṇyarâja's statement, the *Mahâbhâshya* has been based. If संग्रहप्रतिकञ्चुके be correct, it must, as was pointed out by Prof. Stenzler, be an adjective qualifying ग्रन्थे, and its meaning may possibly be 'preserving the (contents of the) *Saṃgraha*.' The meaning of the whole passage, so far as we are concerned with it here, is not affected either way.

without the assistance of any commentary—is open to objections, for some of which I may refer to Prof. Stenzler's remarks in the *Ind. Stud.* vol. V. p. 448. Following Puṇyarâja's commentary I venture to render Bhartṛihari's words thus :—

"When the book of the Ṛishi had been perverted by Vaiji, Śaubhava, and Haryaksha, because (in attempting to explain it) they had followed their own unaided reasoning,*

"The traditional knowledge of grammar, lost to the pupils of Pâtanjali, in course of time existed only in books, amongst the Dâkshiṇâtyas.

"It was again widely diffused by Chandrâchârya and others, who, after they had received the traditional knowledge from Parvata, followed (by its means) the principles laid down in the Bhâshya."

After a careful consideration of Bhartṛihari's statement and of all that has been written about it (see also Burnell, *loc. cit.* p. 91), I am unable to perceive that it contains any allusion to the history of the *text* of the *Mahâbhâshya*. What the author of the *Vâkyapadîya* really tells us, so far as I understand his meaning, is this :— There were certain scholars, mentioned by name, who in the explanation of the *Mahâbhâshya* rejected the assistance of the traditional interpretation handed down to them, and trusted each to his own unaided reasoning. Their attempt, as might have been expected, proved unsuccessful. The meaning of Patanjali's work became perverted; its text, indeed, continued to exist, but as its true meaning was no longer understood, this existence was a sham (आभास, as Puṇyarâja says,) rather than a reality. The traditional interpretation having been once neglected ceased to be handed down orally from teacher to pupil, and remained only written down in books, which I understand to mean in the shape of written commentaries,† among the Dâkshiṇâtyas. Chandrâchârya and others got hold of these commentaries which gave the traditional interpretation, and made it again generally known; they developed and diffused the science of grammar after, by means of the traditional interpretation, they had mastered the principles laid down in the *Mahâbhâshya*.

For the sense in which I understand verse I. 176 of the *Râjataranginî*, I may refer the reader to p. 108 of vol. IV. of this journal, and I may add that even according to Prof. Weber's own interpretation, as given in *Ind. Stud.* vol. V. p. 167, the verse must *not* be understood to refer to a 'reconstruction,' or, as Dr. Burnell, *loc. cit.* p. 91, has expressed it, a 'revision,' of the text of the *Mahâbhâshya*, but relates only the 'introduction' of the work into Kâshmîr.

The above are, I believe, all the reasons which Prof. Weber has ever brought forward to prove that the text of the *Mahâbhâshya* has been 'several times newly rearranged.' The more important of them were examined at length, after the publication of Prof. Goldstücker's *Pâṇini*, in vol. V. of the *Indische Studien*, and the conclusion to which they appeared to point then was, to use Prof. Weber's own words (p. 169), "that there existed no *cogent* reasons to doubt the authenticity of the text, so far as it was known," fourteen years ago. Since then, it is true, the whole text of the *Mahâbhâshya* has been made generally accessible; but, as I fail to perceive how *thereby* its authenticity should have become more doubtful than it was before, I consider myself still justified in maintaining "that for the present we are bound to regard the text of the *Mahâbhâshya* as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about two thousand years ago."

But I shall be told that even if all I have maintained in the preceding were correct, there would still remain sufficient *internal* evidence

* Instead of the epithet शुष्कतर्कानुसारिभिः Puṇyarâja in his *résumé* uses the expression आवेशाविवशैः 'overpowered by conceit,' *i.e.* Vaiji, &c. were *too conceited* to follow the traditional interpretation. विप्लावित is explained by आभासीकृत, literally 'reduced to a semblance,' *i.e.* after the treatment which the *Mahâbhâshya* had received from Vaiji, &c. it indeed *looked* still *like* the *Mahâbhâshya* (just as a *Hetvâbhâsa* looks like a *Hetu*), in reality however it had ceased to be the *Mahâbhâshya*, because its true meaning had been perverted and was no longer understood.

† If it be objected that no such commentaries are known *at present*, I can only answer that commentaries of which *we* know nothing must have existed even in Kaiyaṭa's time, because he frequently introduces interpretations that differ from his own by अन्ये, अपरे, केचित्. And there is no reason why commentaries on grammatical works should not have been lost, as well as others. The commentaries on Pâṇini's Sûtras by Chullibhaṭṭi and Nallûra, which are mentioned by Jinendrabuddhi, are, so far as I am aware, not known to Sanskrit scholars even by name. And that commentaries on Kâtyâyana's Vârttikas were in existence when Patanjali composed his own Mahâbhâshya no one will deny who is acquainted with the latter.

to prove that what we are accustomed to call the *Mahâbhâshya* is but a modern compilation, prepared probably during or after the 7th century of our era. This at least is the view to which Dr. Burnell has given expression in his essay *On the Aindra School of Grammarians* (p. 91), and which has been approved of by Prof. Weber in his review of Dr. Burnell's book. As it is desirable that the case should be stated to the reader as fairly as possible, I am obliged to quote Dr. Burnell's opinion and arguments in full, the more so because it would seem as if the views of that scholar have been somewhat misrepresented by his reviewer.‡ "But," writes Dr. Burnell, "it appears to me that the form of the *Mahâbhâshya* is in itself a convincing proof that the text is not in its original form. That it is highly controversial has already been noticed, but I think that, as it now stands, it may be rather taken as a synopsis of arguments for and against the details of Pâṇini's system, and as a controversial manual. No doubt, Kâtyâyana criticized Pâṇini, and Patanjali replied in justification of the former, but the *Mahâbhâshya* goes further than this. The first *âhnika*, which contains a long argument as to the utility of grammar, &c., and which fills no less than 27 pages in the splendid India Museum facsimile edition, has no parallel in the older commentaries, and certainly is not to be expected in a book of the second century before our era, but is just what we find in the controversial literature of the 7th and the following centuries A.D. How is it possible to believe that Patanjali himself found it necessary to furnish arguments which would justify the study to which he had devoted his life? Again, the whole arrangement and the matter are too systematic and copious for a mere refutation of Kâtyâyana, whereas the epigrammatic forms of Kâtyâyana's criticisms on Pâṇini point rather to an abridgment of Kâtyâyana's words than to quotations. It must not be forgotten that Vârttikas of others besides Kâtyâyana are occasionally given. Is it likely that these critics of Pâṇini merely stated their corrections, real or presumed, in the fewest possible words, and did not assign full reasons for their opinions? It thus appears to me that the *Mahâbhâshya*, as it stands, is rather a skilful compilation of the views of Pâṇini's critics, and of their refutation by Patanjali, than the real text of the original works, and that it has been made with a view to practical polemics."

If I rightly understand these words, Dr. Burnell maintains that some time before the 7th century A.D. there existed certain works composed by Kâtyâyana and others in which these scholars stated their criticisms on Pâṇini, assigning full reasons for their own opinions; that at the same time there existed another work by Patanjali which was exclusively devoted to a refutation of those criticisms; and that the *Mahâbhâshya*, as it stands, is rather a skilful compilation (prepared during or after the 7th century) of the views of Pâṇini's critics, and of their refutation by Patanjali, than the real text of the original *works* of Kâtyâyana, Patanjali, &c. To corroborate this assertion, it is stated that the *Mahâbhâshya* looks like a manual of controversy:—

(1) Because the views of Kâtyâyana and other critics of Pâṇini are given in it in an abridged form, the reasons which those critics must have assigned for their views having been omitted.

(2) Because what we are accustomed to consider as Patanjali's remarks are not confined to a refutation of Kâtyâyana, as may be seen—

(*a*) From the long argument as to the utility of grammar, &c., filling no less than 27 pages; this argument is out of place in a refutation of Kâtyâyana; it is not in keeping with Patanjali's date (the second century B.C.), nor in keeping with his devotion to the study of grammar.

(*b*) From the whole arrangement and the matter, which are too systematic and copious for a mere refutation of Kâtyâyana.

I have examined these statements with that care and attention which Dr. Burnell's scholarship and wide range of reading are always sure to command from a fellow-worker, but I have been unable to convince myself of the truth of his premisses, or the fairness of the conclusion

‡ Prof. Weber in quoting from Dr. Burnell's book makes the latter say that the *Mahâbhâshya* is not 'the real text of the original *work*,' whereas in reality Dr. Burnell speaks of original *works*. This difference between the singular and plural shows clearly that Prof. Weber's and Dr. Burnell's views regarding the *Mahâbhâshya* are by no means the same. According to Prof. Weber some such work as the *Mahâbhâshya* which we possess was actually composed by Patanjali, but had to be reconstructed when its original text in course of time had been reduced to fragments. According to Dr. Burnell our *Mahâbhâshya* has been compiled from several original works, and may therefore be called an original compilation from works which have been altogether lost. See below.

which has been derived from them. Whether the late Prof. Goldstücker was right in describing the nature and the object of the Vârttikas as he has done, I may have occasion to examine hereafter; but allowing for the sake of argument that the Vârttikas contain nothing but criticisms on Pâṇini, and that it was the sole aim of Kâtyâyana 'to find fault' with that grammarian, it certainly appears to me that in the *Mahâbhâshya* those 'criticisms' have in every case been given as fully as could be expected, that they are supported by reasons whenever their nature admits of or necessitates such support,§ and that the term 'abridgment' is as little applicable to them as it would be applicable to the Sûtras of Pâṇini. As regards Patanjali, it has nowhere been shown that he was bound to confine his remarks to a refutation of Kâtyâyana, nor has it been *proved* that the justification of Pâṇini was the main object of his work. Moreover, so far from having attempted to bring forward anything in favour of the assertion that what we know of Patanjali's views has been *compiled* from a more extensive work of that grammarian, Dr. Burnell appears rather inclined to regard the *copiousness* of the matter in the *Mahâbhâshya* as inconsistent with the idea of its being an original work. The long argument as to the utility of grammar, which to Dr. Burnell appears to be so much out of place in a refutation of Kâtyâyana, fills in reality by far the smaller number of the 27 pages of the introductory *Âhnika*: for as early as the 12th page we read the words सिद्धे शब्दार्थसंबन्धे, which, by the unanimous consent of all grammatical works|| known to me, form the first of Kâtyâyana's Vârttikas. I too am inclined to believe that the reasons¶ in favour of the study of

§ A few examples must suffice here. On P. I. 1. 1 the two first *vârttikas* are:—

(*a*) संज्ञाधिकारः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः ॥

(*b*) इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययो यथा लोके ॥

Here the reason for which Kâtyâyana demands a Samjnâdhikâra is given in संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः, and the fault which is said to arise from the non-adoption of such an *adhikâra* is stated in *vârttika* (*b*). It is unnecessary to state here how Kâtyâyana himself subsequently shows that in reality no Samjnâdhikâra is required.

On P. I. 1. 4 we read the *vârttika* (*a*) यङ्लुक्चबलोपे प्रतिषेधः, the reason for the adoption of which is stated in (*b*) नुम्लोपस्त्रिव्यनुबन्धलोपेऽप्रतिषेधार्थम्;

On P. I. 1. 5 the *vârttika* (*a*) क्ङिति प्रतिषेधे तन्निमित्तग्रहणम्, the reason for which is stated in (*b*) उपधारोरवीत्यर्थम्;

On P. I. 1. 9 the *vârttika* सवर्णसंज्ञायां भिन्नदेशेष्वतिप्रसङ्गः प्रयत्नसामान्यात्, where the reason for the objection raised is given in the last word.

On P. I. 1. 12 in the *vârttika* मात्प्रगृह्यसंज्ञायां तस्यासिद्धत्वादयावेकादेशप्रतिषेधः the reason is given in the words तस्यासिद्धत्वात्.

On P. I. 1. 20 in the *vârttika* घुसंज्ञायां प्रकृतिग्रहणं शिदर्थम् the reason for the correction is stated in the word शिदर्थम्.

See also the *vârttikas* on P. I. 1. 23:—

(*a*) संख्यासंज्ञायां संख्याग्रहणम् ॥

(*b*) संख्यासंप्रत्ययार्थम् ॥

(*c*) इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययोऽकृत्रिमत्वाद्यथा लोके ॥

(*d*) उत्तरार्थं च ॥

|| I need quote only *Vâkyapadîya*, I. 23:—

नित्याः शब्दार्थसंबन्धास्तत्राम्नाता महर्षिभिः ।
सूत्राणां सानुतन्त्राणां भाष्याणां च प्रणेतृभिः ॥

on which the commentator remarks:

अनुतन्त्रं वार्त्तिकम् । तत्राप्युक्तं सिद्धे शब्दार्थसंबन्ध इति ॥

and Îśvarânanda's Bhâshyapradîpavivaraṇa वाररुचं वार्त्तिकम् । तद्धि मंगलाचरणपूर्वकं सिद्धे शब्दार्थेत्यादि ॥

The *vârttikas* commented on by Patanjali in the first *âhnika* are the following:—

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसंबन्धे ।
लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः ।
यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु ॥
अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेन्नार्थे शब्दप्रयोगात् ।
अप्रयोगः प्रयोगान्यत्वात् ।
अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसत्त्रवत् ।
सर्वे देशान्तरे ॥
ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथाधर्मः ।
आचारे नियमः ।
प्रयोगे सर्वलोकस्य ।
शास्त्रपूर्वके प्रयोगेऽभ्युदयस्तत्तुल्यं वेदशब्देन ॥
सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थोऽनुपपन्नः ।
शब्दाप्रतिपत्तिः ।
शब्दे ल्युडर्थः ।
भवे ।
प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः ।
लक्ष्यलक्षणे व्याकरणम् ॥
वृत्तिसमवायार्थ उपदेशः ।
अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च ।
इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्चेति चेदुदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानुनासिकदीर्घप्लुतानामप्युपदेशः ।
आकृत्युपदेशात्सिद्धमिति चेत्संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधः ॥

The so-called *Vârttika-pâṭha*, of which I possess a MS., appears to me to be a modern compilation, and does not decide the question of what are *vârttikas* and what not.

¶ रक्षोहागमलघ्वसंदेहाः प्रयोजनम्, and तेऽसुराः up to सुदेवोऽसि वरुण. That Patanjali has not himself collected the passages तेऽसुराः, &c. appears to follow from the fact that he understands the eighth of them, चत्वारि, to indicate *Rigveda*, IV. 58. 3, while at the same time he informs us

grammar, by which this *Vârttika* is preceded, have not been invented by Patanjali; but, so far from allowing them to be an addition made during or after the 7th century A.D., I would rather maintain that those arguments must have been current long before Patanjali, and that all he has done himself is to comment on them, and to quote the interpretation of another scholar which differs from his own. When a scholar of Yâska's antiquity has thought it desirable to bring forward arguments in favour of the study of *his* science,* the presence of such arguments cannot, surely, furnish any just cause for casting doubts on the authenticity of a work supposed to have been composed during the second century before our era, and it is accounted for, rather than rendered suspicious, by Patanjali's devotion to the study of grammar. To my mind the language and the style in what we are accustomed to call the *Mahâbhâshya* are a sufficient proof that that great work must have been composed a very long time before the 7th century. In the *Vâkyapadiya* native grammarians have given to us a specimen of such a compilation or controversial manual as has been described by Dr. Burnell, but I am unable to admit that the terms used by that scholar are fairly applicable to what tradition has taught us to regard as the original work of Patanjali.

And this leads me to touch upon one more question raised by Prof. Weber,—the question, namely, whether the *Mahâbhâshya* ought not to be considered the work of the *pupils* of Patanjali, rather than the work of their master.

"It is true," says Prof. Weber on p. 322 of vol. XIII. of the *Ind. Stud.*, "one of the arguments which I have brought forward in favour of this view, viz. that Patanjali in the *Mahâbhâshya* is *always* spoken of in the *third* person, and that his opinions are several times introduced with तु, or rather with पश्यति त्वाचार्यः, is no longer strictly valid. For, on the one hand, we several times find in it also statements in the *first* person . . . on the other hand, according to Bhâṇḍârkar, we have to understand by the word आचार्य in such phrases as पश्यति त्वाचार्यः not Patanjali at all, but Pâṇini! As regards some passages, Bhâṇḍârkar appears to be strictly correct; by no means, however, as regards *all*: for on the one hand this would form *too* glaring a contrast with Nâgeśa's distinct statement to the contrary 'that in the Bhâshya आचार्य denotes *only* Patanjali,' भाष्ये आचार्यपदेन शास्त्रव्याख्यापको भाष्यकार एव विवक्षितः, on the other hand, in many of those cases the reference to the statements of the Bhâshya (and *not* to the wording of Pâṇini's Sûtras) is perfectly clear and distinct. How matters really stand will still have to be specially investigated. But, in spite of these two corrections of my former statements, so much at any rate remains certain, that on the whole the cases in which the views of the Bhâshyakâra are stated in the first person are *comparatively* rare, and that, *as a rule*, his statements, on the contrary, are made in the third person."

I was, I confess it, somewhat startled when first perusing these lines; for I also had studied portions at least of the *Mahâbhâshya*, and during that study it had always appeared to me that the word आचार्यः, in cases where no other Âchârya was particularly specified, denoted either Pâṇini or, though much more rarely, Kâtyâyana; and, moreover, I could not remember to have found Patanjali, if I may say so, speaking in the third person. I was sorry, too, that a man of Nâgojîbhaṭṭa's vast learning and scholarship, whom I had found cause to regard as one of the greatest grammarians of modern times, should have been thought capable of making a statement the falseness of which could be demonstrated from almost every single page of the *Mahâbhâshya*. The first thing I had to do was to examine Nâgojîbhaṭṭa's remark for myself, and here I found that it admitted of a very different explanation.

that another understands by it *Rv.* I. 164. 45. I may add, too, that by (6) विमोकं कुर्वन्ति, (11) सारस्वतीम्, and (12) दशम्यां पुत्रस्य some other passages appear to have been intended than those which have actually been quoted by Patanjali.

* See Nirukta, I. 15. अथापीदमन्तरेण मन्त्रेष्वर्थप्रत्ययो न विद्यते ऽर्थमप्रतियतो नात्यन्तं स्वरसंस्कारोद्देशस्तदिदं विद्यास्थानं व्याकरणस्य कार्त्स्न्यं स्वार्थसाधकं च ॥ (Compare herewith Patanjali's explanation of असंदेहार्थं चाध्येयं व्याकरणम्.)

I. 17. अथापीदमन्तरेण पदविभागो न विद्यते ॥
अथापि याज्ञे दैवतेन बहवः प्रदेशा भवन्तीत्यादि ॥
अथापि ज्ञानप्रशंसा भवत्यज्ञाननिन्दा च ।
स्थाणुरयं भारहारः ॥
यद्गृहीतमविज्ञातम् ॥ (See Patanjali.)
उत त्वः पश्यन् ॥ (See Patanjali.)
उत त्वं सख्ये ॥

† Nâgojîbhaṭṭa says भाष्यकृदेव.

Nâgojîbhaṭṭa's declared object in composing his *Bhâshyapradîpoddyota* was to elucidate Kaiyaṭa's *Bhâshyapradîpa*, but he did not thereby regard himself as prevented from commenting on the text of the *Mahâbhâshya* as well, in cases where he deemed Kaiyaṭa's commentary insufficient; and, to show the student at first sight that he was explaining the text of the *Mahâbhâshya*, and not that of Kaiyaṭa's commentary, he adopted the practice of prefixing to such explanations the word भाष्ये (see Ballantyne's ed. pp. 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, &c.). This is exactly the case in the passage quoted by Prof. Weber (*loc. cit.* p. 36), भाष्ये आचार्यपदेन शास्त्रव्यापको भाष्यकृदेव विवक्षितः. Nâgojîbhaṭṭa considers that Kaiyaṭa ought to have given a note regarding the meaning of the word आचार्य in तेभ्य एवं विप्रतिपन्नबुद्धिभ्यो ऽध्येतृभ्यः सुहृद्भूत्वाचार्य इदं शास्त्रमन्वाचष्टे, because in this particular passage आचार्य does not appear to him to convey its ordinary meaning; and to supply this defect he is good enough to tell us that (in his opinion) आचार्य denotes, in this particular passage of the *Mahâbhâshya, exceptionally* the author of the Bhâshya himself, and not those whom it denotes generally (Pâṇini or Kâtyâyana).

Accurately to determine whether Prof. Weber was right in maintaining that in the *Mahâbhâshya* आचार्यः in such phrases as पश्यति त्वाचार्यः (by which I understand Prof. Weber to mean the phrases पश्यति त्वाचार्यः, आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति, and ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः) denotes *in the majority of cases* Patanjali, and that the latter, *as a rule*, is spoken of in the third person, or whether I was correct in believing that आचार्य (with *possibly* the one exception pointed out by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa) did not denote Patanjali, and that the author of the *Mahâbhâshya* in the body of the work ascribed to him (with *perhaps* the exception of those five passages in which, according to Professor Weber, the terms गोनर्दीय or गोणिकापुत्र occur) was not spoken of in the third person, I should have had to read through the whole of the *Mahâbhâshya*. Though I had not the time for doing this, I thought it right to study once more at least part of the work, with the view of testing, so far as was in my power, the truth of Prof. Weber's statements and of my own impressions. Accordingly I read through carefully the first 240 pages of the text of the *Mahâbhâshya* as given in the lithographed Benares edition, and the results at which I arrived by doing so were the following:—

(*a*) *As to the word* आचार्य. On the first 240 pages this word is found sixty times, and among those sixty passages in which it occurs there is only one, viz. that pointed out by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa, in which it denotes Patanjali himself, provided Nâgojîbhaṭṭa's statement be strictly correct. The phrase आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति occurs twenty times, ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः nine times, and पश्यति त्वाचार्यः seven times, and in them आचार्य *always* means Pâṇini. Besides, Pâṇini is denoted by आचार्य nine times (on pp. 11*b*, 12*a*, 40*a*, 46*a*, 47*b* twice, 94*b* twice, and 112*b*).

Four times आचार्य denotes Kâtyâyana, viz. twice on p. 13*a*, once on p. 18*b*, and once on p. 75*b* (see his *vârt.* on P. VI. 1. 129).

The Âchârya Śâkalya is mentioned on p. 82*a*.

The Âchâryas generally are spoken of six times; Âchâryas other than Śâkalya once; and the Âchâryas mentioned by Pâṇini likewise once, viz. in the *vârt.* आचार्यदेशशीलनेन च तद्विषयता‡ on p. 112*a*.

(*b*) *As to whether Patanjali is, as a rule, spoken of in the third person.* Since Patanjali (with the *possible* exceptions already pointed out) is not mentioned by name, the question to be decided is really this: whether for verbal forms such as पठति, वक्ष्यति, in cases where their subject has not been particularized in the *Mahâbhâshya*, and where it is impossible to supply the subject *Pâṇini*,§ we have ever to supply the nominative पतञ्जलिः.

‡ This *vârt.* and Patanjali's remarks on it are of some importance, for we learn therefrom that at any rate in P. IV. 1. 160 the word प्राचाम् does not denote *former grammarians*, but has the sense of प्राचां देशे. For the different view taken by Dr. Burnell see his essay *On the Aindra School*, pp. 24 and 26.

§ It is hardly necessary to state that we are very often required to supply the subject *Pâṇini*. For instances I refer to—

p. 22*b*, यदयम् अ अ (P. VIII. 4. 68) इति...शास्ति; p. 32*a*, 33*a*, &c.

p. 24*b*, यदयं......करोति p. 25*a*, 31*b*, &c.

Do. ............ उच्चारयेत्.

p. 31*a*, अयमुपदिशेत्.

p. 34*b*, यदयं क्षुभ्नादिषु (P. VII. 4. 39) नृनमनशब्दं पठति.

p. 55*b*, क्ङिति प्रतिषेधं वक्ष्यति (P. I. 1. 5), &c.

As in all these and similar cases the context would show at once and beyond doubt that the subject of the verbs शास्ति, &c. can be no other than *Pâṇini*, it was unnecessary for Patanjali to tell the student that it was Pâṇini who had taught something by the rule अ अ, Pâṇini who had

On the first 240 pages the verbal forms that have to be considered are the following:—

p. 22*a*, वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana*. See his *vârt.* on P. I. 1. 9, सिद्धं त्वास्ये तुल्यदेशप्रयत्नं सवर्णम्, and the way in which it has been paraphrased by Patanjali on p. 69*b*.

p. 27*b*, (अत उत्तरं) पठति; supply *Kâtyâyana*. His *vârt.* is given immediately after the word पठति.

p. 30*a*, वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana, vârt.* on P. VI. 4. 133.

p. 40*a*, वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana, vârt.* on P. I. 2. 45.

p. 40*b*, वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana, vârt.* on P. VIII. 2. 6.

p. 55*b*, (अत उत्तरं) पठति; supply *Kâtyâyana*; his *vârt.* follows immediately upon the word पठति.

p. 59*b*, वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana, vârt.* on the same page.

p. 66*b*, वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana, vârt.* on P. I. 1. 47.

p. 69*a*, वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana, vârt.* on the next page.

p. 72*a*, वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana, vârt.* on P. VI. 1. 101.

p. 77*b*, वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana, vârt.* on P. I. 4. 14.

p. 86*b*, वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana, vârt.* on P. VI. 1. 1.

„ वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana*; see his *vârt.* on P. VIII. 3. 59.

p. 88*a*, वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana, vârt.* on P. I. 1. 72.

p. 99*a*, वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana, vârt.* on P. II. 2. 35.

p. 99*b*, l. 3, वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana, vârt.* on P. II. 2. 35.

p. 102*a*, वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana, vârt.* on P. VI. 2. 2.

p. 106*b*, वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana, vârt.* on P. VIII. 2. 3.

p. 117*a*, वक्ष्यति; supply *Kâtyâyana, vârt.* on P. VI. 4. 72.

The only verbal forms of this kind which remain are वक्ष्यति on p. 24*a*, on p. 52*a*, and on p. 99*b*, line 1. As regards the two latter, it might indeed at first sight appear as if we had to supply for them the subject *Patanjali;* but to do so would in my opinion be incorrect. For in reality the statement which follows upon the word वक्ष्यति on p. 52*a* is *not* of Patanjali's invention, but it must, as we are told by Patanjali on P. V. 2. 4, be ascribed to *Pâṇini;* similarly the statement which follows the word वक्ष्यति on p. 99*b* is not Patanjali's, but is implied in Kâtyâyana's *vârt.* on P. II. 2. 35, and belongs therefore to *him*. Finally, not even the one remaining वक्ष्यति on p. 24*a* is likely to support Prof. Weber's view, for the best copy of the *Mahâbhâshya* accessible to me does in this case not read वक्ष्यति, but वक्ष्यते (see the lith. ed. of the India Office, p. 31).

As, then, the perusal of the first 240 pages of the text of the *Mahâbhâshya* does not appear to furnish any argument in favour of Prof. Weber's views, it will not, I trust, be thought unreasonable when for the present I venture to doubt their correctness, and when I continue to regard the supposition that the *Mahâbhâshya* may have been composed by the pupils of Patanjali, as void of foundation. The longer I study that great work the more I feel convinced that from beginning to end it is the masterly production of one and the same individual scholar, and that few works in the whole range of Sanskrit literature have been preserved to us as complete and intact as the text of the *Mahâbhâshya*.

I may be wrong; and when I find my views refuted by cogent arguments I shall be the first to say so. The *Mahâbhâshya*, besides being one of the most interesting works for the student of language, is in many respects also one of the most difficult, and every attempt to facilitate

prohibited the substitution of Guṇa and Vṛiddhi by his rule क्ङिति च, &c.

On the other hand, when, as has been shown in the above, Patanjali speaks of Kâtyâyana without particularizing him, his doing so is in my opinion accounted for by the fact that Kâtyâyana's is the work on which he is commenting (or, as other scholars would say, the work which he is refuting), and in speaking of him in the third person without mentioning his name Patanjali has done what numbers of commentators have done besides him. On p. 161*a*, where Patanjali adduces both Pâṇini and Kâtyâyana as authorities for one and the same thing, he does consider it necessary to inform us that he is quoting the Vârttikakâra: आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति......वार्त्तिककारश्च पठति.

That no subject whatever need be supplied for the phrase इत्याह when it occurs in such sentences as नेत्याह, उभयमित्याह, लभ्यमित्याह, गतमित्याह, &c., which give answers to questions that have been previously raised, those who are acquainted with the style of the *Mahâbhâshya* need hardly be reminded of.

the understanding of it, or to solve the problems to which it gives rise, must be received by all scholars with gratitude. But we ought never to forget that little will be gained by conjecture, or by a perusal of the bare text of Patanjali's work, and that no attempt at understanding the true nature of the *Mahâbhâshya* is likely to be successful unless it be based on a careful study of what the Hindu commentators themselves have written about it.||

---

# ON THE NOUBAT.

BY SIR WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I., OF WOLFLEE.

In translating old inscriptions, terms denoting ancient titles or honorific distinctions are sometimes found which have either become obsolete, or which are expressed by words that do not convey the same meaning as formerly.

One of these is *pâñcha-mahâśabda*. It occurs occasionally in the string of titles describing donors of land or other benefactions. The prince or noble conferring the grant is said to be *samadhigata-pâñcha-mahâśabda*, literally 'he who has obtained five great sounds or words.' Unable to find an intelligible meaning, I contented myself with rendering it 'Lord of the Pânch-Mahâśabdas' in a grant made by a chief of the Kalachuri family at Ingaleśvara, in the Solâpur district, observing in a note that it was a title conjoined with that of *Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara*, the ordinary designation of subordinate nobles, but not usually assumed by a sovereign prince, although it does occur among those of Pulakeśî I., one of the earliest Châlukya kings of Kalyân, in a copper *śâsana* dated A.D. 489. (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 33, 1836.)

Mr. Shankar Pâṇḍurang Paṇḍit, translating a Nâgari grant of a chief of the Sinda family in the Kalâdgi district, makes it 'one who has obtained the five great words,' adding that "it had been usual to render it as meaning 'who has obtained the five great sounds,' viz. of certain musical instruments; but it seems more probable," he continues, "that *mahâśabda* refers to certain five *titles*, though I am not certain what these were, * * * probably to five words or titles beginning with *mahâ*, as *mahârâja, mahâmaṇḍaleśvara, &c.*" (*Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 81.)

Mr. Fleet's opinion is to the same effect with reference to its occurrence in certain inscriptions of the Kadamba lords of Banawâsi. (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. pp. 180, 204.)

A passage in Ferishtah's *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India* has suggested a more probable and, I think, a more satisfactory explanation. Describing the splendid ceremonial introduced into the court of Kalburga by the second prince of the Bâhmani dynasty, Muhammad Shâh I., who succeeded his father in A.D. 1358, he says, "the *noubat* or band of music played *five times* daily at stated hours," and one of the great officers of the household was styled the Mîr Noubat, and held the command of the bodyguard, which consisted of 4,000 men. (Briggs's *Ferishtah*, vol. II. p. 299.)

In a later part of his history he again alludes to the custom, and records that Sultân Qûli Qutb Shâh of Golkondâ, who threw off the Bâhmani yoke in A.D. 1512, "contrary to the practice of India, introduced the customs of Persia at his court, among which was that of beating the *noubat* or imperial band five times daily:" *ibid.* vol. III. p. 323. Ferishtah forgets, however, when he derives the *noubat* as a novelty from Persia, that he had stated it to have been a well-known usage nearly two centuries before.*

---

|| May I venture to request Professor Bhâṇḍârkar to reprint his articles on Goldstücker's *Pâṇini* which were published in *Native Opinion*, so as to make them more generally accessible? Some of Prof. Goldstücker's views are being repeated and used as arguments although they have been refuted many years ago. I allude particularly to his explanation of Patanjali's remarks on P. I. 2. 53.

* Briggs derives the word *noubat* from *bat*, 'a musical instrument,' and states "the *noubat* was originally a band composed of *nine* different instruments." But this is mere conjecture. Neither by Meninski nor Johnson is such a meaning given. It is true, as he says, that the syllable is found in such words as *barbut, sackbut*, but the derivation of these names does not appear to be known. The sackbut is said by some to be a stringed, by others a wind instrument, and a representation of it in the latter character is given in Knight's *Old England*, taken from a MS. in the Cottonian Library (*Cleopatra*), where it has the form of a huge trombone. See, too, *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, vol. I. p. 126.

The barbut ( بربط βαρβιτον) was certainly a kind of lyre, but its etymon is equally obscure.

The meaning of *noubat* according to Meninski is a large kettledrum ([illegible]), which, he adds, "in the time of Alexander was beaten three times a day"—a tradition derived from Persian authorities, for the *Burhân-i Qâti*, *sub voce*, after stating that the *noubat* was played three times during the reign of Sikandar z'ul Qarnain, who afterwards added a fourth time, goes on to relate that when Sulṭan Sanjar was fleeing before his enemies he fell ill, and being unable to proceed, he ordered the *noubat* to be beaten a fifth time, in the hope that his persecutors might

That it was equally in use by Hindu princes appears by the following passage from the 19th book of Chând's *Prithirâj Râsau*, where the poet describes Padam Sin, the father of the fair Padmâvati, as translated by Mr. Beames :—

" With many standards very splendid,
Song, and music playing *five times* a day,†
Mounting ten thousand horses
With golden hoofs and jewelled trappings, &c. &c.

But, whether originating in India or Persia, it seems to have been an ancient Âryan institution, and is probably referred to in the 3rd chapter of the *Book of Daniel*, where the people were commanded to fall down and worship the golden image at the time when they heard the " sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music."

In the course of investigating the titles of *inâm* lands on the first occupation of the Southern Marâṭhâ Country, instances occurred of grants, sometimes of whole villages, originally made in behalf of favoured individuals to support the dignity of the *noubat*. It is still enjoyed by several Sardârs in the Dakhan, and is now usually played only twice or thrice a day in a chamber called the *noubat-khânâ*, over the outer gateway of the *mahâl*,‡ or palace-court.

A touching incident connected with the *noubat* occurred during the Cabul disaster. When the news of Sir William Macnaghten's assassination reached Madras, the Nawâb of the Karnâṭak wrote to Lord Elphinstone, on the 30th January 1844, to say that " His Highness had ordered the Sirkar Noubat to cease for the usual period, according to the Musalmân custom, observed in cases of calamity."

## NOTES ON SOME LITTLE-KNOWN BAUDDHA EXCAVATIONS IN THE PUṆÂ COLLECTORATE.

BY G. H. JOHNS, Bo. C.S.

*Nânoli—Shelârwâḍî—Bhâmchandra.*

A short time ago I visited the groups of caves at Nânolî, Shelârwâḍî, and Bhâmchandra, in the Puṇâ collectorate; and, though the excavations of the last named are alone of special merit, it may not be uninteresting to give a short account of all the three sets.

The two first mentioned are in the Mâwal tâlukâ to the north and south of the town of Talegâm, and the Bhâmchandra hill is in the tâlukâ of Kheḍ, a few miles to the north-east of Nânolî.

The village of Nânolî lies three miles to the north of Talegâm on the left bank of the Indrâyanî, and the caves are in the escarpment of the hill a mile north of the village. A steep climb three-fourths up the hill brought me to the base of a high scarp facing south-west, skirting which I passed first a cistern and cell, and then reached a high flight of steps rudely cut; ascending them I entered a flat-roofed cave about eighteen feet square, with a height of upwards of seven feet; this excavation is now used as a temple to Feringabâi; a small cell is caverned out of the south wall or side. Further on, the escarpment is hollowed out into two small cells.

The Shelârwâḍî excavations are high up in the hill about two miles to the south-east of Talegâm, and are most of them in the village limits of Gahunje, and facing south-west.

The north-west caves are in Shelârwâḍî, which is a hamlet of Talegâm, and consist of two or three cells only; they are nearly inaccessible, and have some fine *champaka* trees (*Michelia Champaca*) at the entrance. The south-west excavations possess more merit; at the base of the scarp out of which they are hollowed is a narrow footpath, pursuing which a two-

believe that it betokened his death and the accession of his successor. The ruse succeeded. So he continued the practice during the remainder of his reign, and it was adopted by his successors. But this narrative rests on no good authority, and is evidently apocryphal. *Noubat* also signifies 'time, period, change,' and is applied, *inter alia*, to the change of a sentry, or the relief of a post. Among the examples given by Meninski is the Turkish noubat chalmak = the flourish of military music at mounting or relieving guard.

† At his palace gate, as is the custom with Indian princes: *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XXXVIII. p. 145. Another phrase, *turiya nirghoshanam*, frequently occurs in connection with *mahâśabda*, clearly referring to instrumental music.

‡ When a prisoner in Kitûr in 1824, my companion and myself were confined in a house close to the *Noubat-khânâ*, which resounded with the clang of the instruments three times a day, the performers not producing the slightest approach to a tune, but merely making as much noise as possible.

celled cave high up in the cliff is first passed, and then a fine cistern: two cells succeed, one with an inscription of five lines cut on its outer face, close to which, but further south, is a large excavation consisting of a nave or vestibule 24 feet by 18 feet, with four cells on either side, and of an inner shrine near the end of which are what would seem to be the remains of a *dâhgobâ*, viz. an abacus of four slabs, the lower the smaller, pendent from the roof, and an indistinctly traced foundation of the drum; the latter is now occupied by a *shâluṅkha* and *liṅga*. The roof is flat and about nine feet from the ground. The entrance to this cave is now walled up with two round-arched doorways as means of ingress. Further on are a cistern and a cell. The cave being flat-roofed and the top of the *dâhgobâ* being an abacus would induce the opinion that it is an unfinished excavation, which would have been converted into a circular-roofed temple with a *chhatri*'d *dâhgobâ* on completion.

The Bhâmchandra excavations are hollowed out of a hill seven miles west of Chakan, within the village limits of Sinde, close to the boundary of Bhâmbolî. The hill rises steep from the plain on the south and west, and in the escarped southern side are the caves in question. After a somewhat arduous climb from the base of the hill a cistern is passed on the right; the villagers call it 'Sîtâ's Bath.' A little further on, after rounding a promontary, the principal cave is reached; it is small and faces south-west, and is now dedicated to Bhâmchandra Mahâdeva. There is a cistern on the left as one enters; the entrance, which is 8 feet high by 13 wide, is now built up, having a small arched doorway in the centre. The temple is very nearly square, rather more than 14 feet long by 15 broad, the height being 7 feet; the roof is flat; four pillars, two on either side, divide the cave into three compartments (it would be a straining of terms to say into nave and aisles), the side compartments being each adorned with two pilasters similar to the pillars, and having each a niche with pillared jambs and canopy. There is a trace of a *dâhgobâ* in the centre,—a circular base five feet in diameter within a square mark where it once stood; and the *chhatri* carved in the roof confirms the view that a *dâhgobâ* once occupied the cave. The pillars are massive and square, but halfway up are twice chamfered off so as to be octagonal; the capitals have massive projections on their four sides.

There is an inner shrine occupied by the phallic symbol, and a figure of Buddha: the latter is carved on a detached stone, and may originally have adorned the *dâhgobâ*. The inner is separated from the outer cave by an elaborately sculptured doorway, the opening being two feet wide by four feet high; the carvings are mostly of human figures. There are no horse-shoe arch or Buddhist rail ornaments discernible in the cave,—contrasting in this respect with almost all the other *chaitya* excavations in the collectorate; and were it not for the *dâhgobâ* I should hardly suppose it to be a Buddhist temple. Perhaps it is a Buddhist *chaitya* of the Châlukyan era. The rock of which this hill is composed is of a soft nature, and the screen or doorway dividing the two shrines (the presence of the *dâhgobâ* in the outer prevents my calling that a mere nave) has had to be cemented or mortared by the villagers to be kept in its place. Further on is a cell, or rather cavern; and at some little distance, in the middle of the escarpment, and therefore reached with difficulty, is a cave at the end of which is a winding cavernous road low and narrow, said to permeate the hill, and to be many *kos* in length. There are one or two inaccessible holes or caves higher up, and beyond, on the west, is also a small cave.

The *guru* of the temple is supported by a grant of inâm land in Bhâmbolî.

## CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

*To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.*

DEAR SIR,—I have read with particular interest Prof. Kielhorn's remarks on the Śikshâs in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V. pp. 141 *seqq.* I am very sorry to hear that he has to complain of the great incorrectness of most of the MSS. which he has collected, even the best and oldest of them, which goes so far that he feels inclined to postpone the task of editing any of them for the present. On the other hand I am glad to see that he coincides thoroughly with my own views regarding *the age* of these phonetic treatises, maintained by me, in opposition to those expressed by Prof. Haug (whose untimely death, on the 3rd instant, is a heavy blow

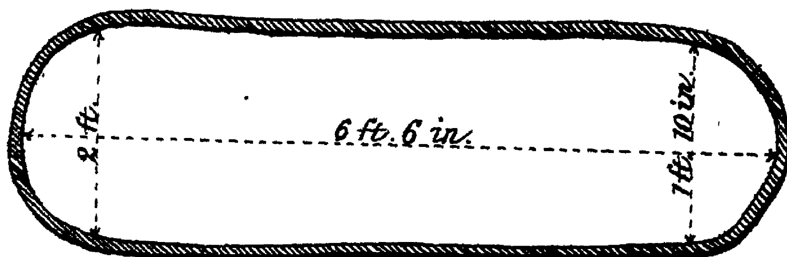
and severe loss to science) and adopted by Mr. Burnell, in my reviews of their respective works in the *Jenaer Literatur Zeitung*, 1875, p. 316 (1st May), and 1876, p. 203 (March 25). I am, moreover, very thankful to Prof. Kielhorn for different corrections of my explanations of several Śikshâ passages. But there is one passage among them, regarding which I cannot yet surrender my former position; and it is the particular object of these lines to defend it,—at least to maintain its relative merits, as opposed to the explanation proposed by Prof. Kielhorn himself. I mean the passage in the *Pâṇinîyâ Śikshâ* about the *women of Surâshṭra.*

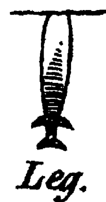
First, I beg to remark that Prof. Kielhorn is not quite correct in his statement that I proposed *three* interpretations of the verse in question, and particularly that on p. 270 of vol. IV. of the *Indische Studien* I did propose a *second* translation, 'which we may omit here' and pass to the "*third.*" In reality I have treated the verse *first* on p. 209, and secondly on p. 350 of that volume (1858), and both times I have given the VERY SAME translation. On p. 270 I add only the alternative option to take the words in the *second* hemistich खेअरांइव खेदया *not only* as a quotation from *Ṛik.* VIII. 66, 3, but *at the same time also* as figuratively descriptive of the minute exactness of the phonetic process itself ("as the spokes in the nave with a hammer, thus you ought to contrive the *rañga*"). And when I return to the passage the third time, on p. 380 of vol. IX. (1865), I propose only, while fully adhering to the translation itself given at first, a conjectural reading for the words in the *first* hemistich: अरां or तक्रं before इत्यभिभाषते. Both readings I state to be equally senseless, and I propose therefore to draw the word खे standing in the second hemistich also to the first, and to read खेरां (इत्यभिभाषते). The author would seem to have selected from amongst the numerous Vedic instances of रङ्गं just this passage खे अरां इव खेदया, in order to adduce an instance as similar as possible in its phonetic sound to the formula of *greeting* खेरां of the Surâshṭra women. In course of time this word (खेरां), having become unintelligible to the copyists, changed to अरां (as given in the quoted passage), and तक्रं (on other grounds, see below). Now in this Surâshṭra formula of greeting खेरां I propose to recognize a form, adapted to the Hindu ear, of the *Greek* formula of greeting, χαίρειν, and to take this either as the infinitive itself, or as the imperative form χαῖρε. For the adoption of such a Greek phrase I call to account the predominance of Greek influence in Surâshṭra lasting for some centuries, as I had pointed to the possibility of some such contingency already the very first time when I touched upon the subject (*Ind. Stud.* vol. IV., p. 269, *note*). Now there is certainly nothing so uncommonly strange in the adoption of foreign greeting formulas. We Germans, for instance, use constantly, when parting, the French formula *adieu*, changed to Adje, Adjes, Ade (as well as *bon jour, merci, bons dies, prosit, gratias*, and other words of the same stamp). And French influence has not been predominating in Germany for so long a period as the Greek, in all probability, has done in India.

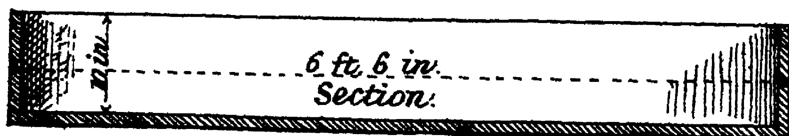
But what is it particularly with these Surâshṭra *women?* I asked formerly (*Ind. Stud.* vol. IV. p. 269), "Is there to be concluded from this verse a particular occupation of the Surâshṭra women with declamatory representations?" I may add now that tradition has really preserved some traces of that kind, for we read already in Wilson's *Hindu Theatre* (1835), vol. I. p. xix: "The *lâsya* (a style of dancing) was taught by Pârvatî to the princess Ushâ, who instructed the Gopîs of Dvârakâ, the residence of her husband, in the art; by them it was communicated to the *women of Surâshṭra*, and from them it passed to the females of various regions." See the text of this passage from the *Nṛittâdhyâya* of Śârñgadeva's *Saṃgîtaratnâkara* in Aufrecht's *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. of the Bodl. Library*, p. 200*a* (1859). Now it appears to me *à priori* as really *very* likely that a statement like that contained in our verse should refer to this very *dancing métier of the Surâshṭra women*, and *not* to their "shouting the word तक्रं as dairy-women in the street," as Prof. Kielhorn proposes to read and to translate in accordance with the commentary on the सर्वसंमतशिक्षा; for we know nothing at all about their particular proficiency as "dairy-women," while we do know about their excellency in *lâsya.*

The explanation adopted by Prof. Kielhorn accounts, after all, only for the reading तक्रं in the one recension of the text, not for the reading अरां in the other; and I should think it highly probable that the former reading really owes *its very origin to that* explanation itself, proffered for the dark passage by some scholiast—maybe already a long while ago—but *wrongly*, as far as I can see. For the root भाष with अभि is used in general *only* in the sense of *addressing*,—at least *never* in that of *shouting*. The proper words for *shouting* would be the roots क्रुश्, घुष्, नद् alone or with different prepositions, or उच्चारयति, उद्वदति (compare दीक्षितोऽयं), उद्गादयति (comp. हविष्कृतं), प्रवाचयति (comp. भूतमिति, सोमप्रवाक), प्राह्वयति (comp. सुब्रह्मण्यां हविष्कृतं). Whichever reading, therefore, we may adopt, अरां तक्रं or what I conjecturally propose खेरां, its purport certainly must be in harmony with the verb

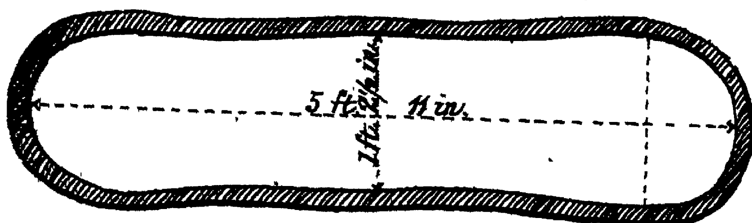
*Terra-cotta Coffin of Pânduvâram Dêwal.*




*Terra-cotta Sarcophagus from Gehrâreh.*



अभिभाषते "addresses," as *the* word of the text about whose reading *and meaning* there is *no* doubt; and we must accordingly recognize in अरं, &c. some formula of *addressing* either each other, or particular persons, or people in general; and this, moreover, either generally or on particular occasions,—for instance, at the performance of a *lâsya*.

I have the honour, &c.,

Prof. Dr. A. Weber.

REMARKS ON THE COMMUNICATIONS OF Mr. J. H. GARSTIN AND E. W. W. RESPECTING DOLMENS AND EXTINCT RACES (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 159-160).

The singular kind of couch-like vessel—really a terra-cotta coffin mounted upon legs—found by Mr. Garstin in a *kistvaen* in the South Ârkaṭ district has been described by Captain Newbold in vol. XIII. of the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* p. 90. Ancient sepulchres such as were examined by Mr. Garstin abound in all the southern districts of Madras, often in extensive cemeteries; those in Koimbatûr have been described at length in *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. VII. In 1852 Captain Newbold visited a remarkable assemblage of tombs at Pâṇḍuvâram Dêwal, 3½ miles east-north-east of Chittûr, in North Ârkaṭ, and in one of them discovered a sarcophagus, which he thus describes:—"It was a coffin-shaped trough, rounded at the extremities, and deeply rimmed at the edges, 6½ feet long, 10 inches deep, and from 1 foot 10 inches to 2 feet broad. It was filled with hard earth and human bones, and stood on eight terra-cotta legs, which rested on the floor, 1 foot 3 inches long, and about 3½ inches in diameter at top, tapering gradually at the bottom, which terminated in two convex rims." I have never heard of this sort of coffin having been discovered since till Mr. Garstin's exhumation of them in South Ârkaṭ, nor of their being found anywhere out of the two Ârkaṭs, though numbers of the tombs have been opened by myself and others in all the southern districts.* Of those lately found, one is remarkable as, though much shorter and broader (4 feet long × 1½ wide) than Captain Newbold's example, possessing no fewer than fifteen legs, and the other two as having been found *together* in one sépulchre.

In the year of Captain Newbold's discovery some sepulchral remains from the mount of Gehrâreh, near Bagdad, were forwarded by Commander Jones, of the Indian Navy, to the Bombay Government, and amongst them a terra-cotta coffin very closely resembling the Indian sarcophagus, as will be seen from the annexed outlines of both, taken from a plate in the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. (January 1853) p. 378.

In the British Museum amongst the most archaic Greek pottery there is a remarkable painted terra-cotta coffin from a tomb at Camirus, in Rhodes. It is 6 feet long by 1 foot 10 inches broad, not rounded but angular at the extremities, and the edges flattened and overlapping; the ends are covered in, one for about a foot, the other about six inches; on the flat surface of the former a bull is delineated between two lions in very rude archaic style, the lions strongly resembling the conventional Hindu representation of them; the surface of the latter end has two similar lions, and a scroll pattern is painted along the side rims. In the same museum is the extraordinary Etruscan terra-cotta coffin-tomb of the same general shape, but covered, and bearing on its lid life-sized painted figures of an Etruscan man and his wife, and on the sides processional and ceremonial scenes in relief, all the figures strikingly Hindu in appearance; this—one of the latest and most unique acquisitions of the museum, though more elaborate in ornamentation, and of priceless value as displaying in full size the colour, feature, garb and habit, as they lived, of the Etruscan couple whose bodies it contained—is but a development of the plainer earthen coffin-troughs of Babylonia and India, which in the Rhodes example shows the first rude application of ornament in coloured design. More will ere long be heard of the important discovery and identification by Mr. George Smith of the ancient port of Carchemish, near the mouth of the Euphrates, by which the long sought-for link or stepping-stone between the civilization of antique Egypt and Babylonia will be supplied, and an explanation at last obtained of the marvellously full stage of development and grandeur in which Assyrian remains are found, with no indication of ruder beginnings, or progress, and of their similarity to Egyptian art. It is conjectured on the highest authority that the race inhabiting that vast city, almost rivalling Nineveh and Babylon, were of Turanian stock, and the same with the Biblical Hittites, the chief aborigines of Canaan, who were also the mysterious Rasenna or Etruscans. Whatever affinities may be shown to exist between the Drâvidian dialects and the Âryan family of languages, which still seem slender, all other racial affinities point to a Turanian rather than an Âryan origin of the Drâvidian peoples. Amongst other points of resemblance it is certainly noteworthy that

* Of course they may yet be found elsewhere; but it is probable these great many-legged earthen coffins of North and South Ârkaṭ are exaggerated varieties and expansions of the urns with three and four legs common in these tombs throughout the Peninsula: see *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 13.

the peculiar custom of interment in earthenware coffins identical in shape, dimensions, and material should have obtained in India, Assyria, and, with a Mediterranean island as a stepping-stone, in Italy,—always in regions where the presence of Turanian races is suspected, and where alone in Italy (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 277) the rude stone or megalithic monuments so characteristically Turanian have hitherto been found. Let it also be added that these monuments, kistvaens, cromlech-dolmens, and stone circles abound in Palestine and the Sinaïtic peninsula, where mountain-sides and valleys are scattered over with huge dolmens "each constructed of four large slabs from six to ten feet long, standing with their edges in the ground, yet rising upright five feet above it. On top the capstone is always the largest and heaviest of all, being nearly as broad as long, and from one to three feet in thickness: it projects over sides and ends,"—exactly corresponding to megaliths in Southern India.

Returning to Mr. Garstin's account, it may be remarked that there is nothing unusual in dolmens being found much nearer the sea than Tirukovilûr; at the Red Hills, near Madras, they occur close to the beach, and are there peculiar as being formed of *laterite*, the only instance known to me. On the other coast there is a remarkable collection of dolmens, called Topêkals, at Châtaparambal, on the Beypûr river, seven miles from Calicut. As to the use of these structures Mr. Garstin is assuredly right in concluding they were used as burial-places, never as dwellings for any living race: the traditions told him and Colonel Welsh (whose "stone village, formerly inhabited by the Paundway," doubtless exists, and could be identified—they are numerous all over the Peninsula) of their having been the abodes of extinct races are all "myths of observation," *i.e.* stories suggested by the appearances for which they pretend to account; the hut-like shape with the singular hole so uniformly found, door-like, in one of the side stones, and the vessels, often of culinary shape and marked with fire, placed within, have always led the natives to regard and designate them as *houses*. The Rev. W. Taylor, in his *Analysis of the Mackenzie Manuscripts*, has enumerated the following curious series of popular legends as to their origin and use, all purely "myths of observation":—

(1) In very ancient times the astrological books predicted that all mankind would be destroyed by a shower of fire: so the then existing men took counsel together and constructed solid impenetrable houses of stone, to which they retreated with their families and household utensils. One day, however, a rain of gold fell, which lured them forth, and whilst they were gathering up the gold the predicted fire-shower descended and destroyed all except a few who had remained at home, by whom the human race was perpetuated.

(2) In remote ages there was a race of pygmies who, although so diminutive, possessed the strength of elephants, and could with ease lift large rocks and split them asunder: this dwarf-people constructed the stone huts and dwelt in them till destroyed by the flood that closed the cycle.

(3) The stone houses were built by the Pâṇḍavas whilst wandering from place to place to escape the persecution of Duryodhana.

(4) After the flood the world was covered with forests abounding with ferocious beasts, and these stone structures were built by hunters as places of safety for their wives and children whilst they were absent on the chase: hence they are often called (*Vedâr-kudi*) 'hunters' huts;' others say they were raised by Râkshasas for the same purpose.

(5) In the reign of Râma there were tribes of men having tails like monkeys, and very ferocious and strong; they could cleave rocks and carry huge stones. They built these stone caves for their own use, and were destroyed by the Yuga deluge.

(6) In long-past ages the lives of men were far more prolonged than now, reaching even to many centuries, and even then they did not die, but when feeble through age they lay in the house like huge ripe fruits, breathing but unable to move and helpless, to the great inconvenience of the younger generation. At last, to get these pumpkin-like encumbrances out of the way, and to prevent the pollution of their possibly dying in the house, the younger people constructed stone sepulchres underground, in which the ripe-fruit-like ancients were placed with food and pots, and tended daily whilst they lived. When at length they died, the door of the sepulchre was closed, and earth heaped over all. Thus the men of old time escaped the inconvenience of the fruit-like stage of their forefathers.

(7) Some regard these stone houses as depositories of treasure, and affirm that vast sums were buried in them, and men often killed upon them, whose ghosts are bound by spells to guard and conceal the treasure. (See *Ind. Ant.* for last January, vol. V., p. 22.)

M. J. W.

NOTE.—In some parts of the Bombay Presidency, especially in Tâlukâ Panwel of the Ṭhâṇâ collectorate, the *shivara*, or stool on which the winnower stands to shake his basket of grain, is constructed of three or four rough vertical slabs surmounted by one horizontal. When the circular enclosure of the threshing-floor is also of the same materials, the resemblance to the megalithic monuments of prehistoric ages is very striking.—ED.

ASOKA INSCRIPTION,-EDICTS I-III.

Indian Antiquary.



J. Burgess fecit.

Collotype by W. Griggs.

## PROFESSOR KERN'S VERSIONS OF SOME OF THE AŚOKA INSCRIPTIONS.*

### I.

*Letter to the Assembly of Magadha, found near Bâbhra.*†

DR. KERN gives the following revision of the transcript of the 'Letter to the Assembly of Mâgadha' found near B â b h r a † :—

[1] Piyadase (Piyadasi) lâjâ Mâgadhaṁ (Mâgadhe) saṁghaṁ abhivâdetâ naṁ âha apâbâdhataṁcha phâsuvihâlataṁcha. [2] Viditeva, bhaṁte! âvatake hamâ Budhasi dhaṁmasi saṁghasîti gâlavecha pasâdecha. E-kechi, bhaṁte! [3] bhagavatâ Budhena bhâsite save se subhâsitevâ, echa kho, bhaṁte! pamiyaya disiyâ; hevaṁ sadhaṁme [4] chilasatitike hosatîti alahâmi hakaṁ tâvatavâ imâni, bhaṁte! dhaṁmapa[li]yâyâni: Vinaya-samâkase, [5] Aliyavasâni, Anâgatabhayâni, Munigâthâ, Moneyasûte, Upatisapasina, evâ Lâghulo-[6]vâde musâvâdaṁ adhigichya bhagavatâ Budhena bhâsite. Etâni, bhaṁte! dhaṁmapaliyâyâni ichhâmi [7] kitibâhuke bhikhâpâye(?)cha bhikhuniyechâ abhikhiṇaṁ sunayûchâ upaḍhâlayeyûchâ; [8] hevaṁ hevâ upâsakâchâ upâsikâchâ. Etena bhaṁte! imaṁ likhâpayâmi, abhimati me châ utâti.

This he then renders into Sanskṛit thus:—

'Priyadarśo (: śî) râjâ Mâgadham (Mâgadhaḥ) saṅgham abhivâdya tam âhâpâbâdhatâñcha sukhavihâratâñcha. Viditam eva, bhavantaḥ! yâvad asmâkam Buddhe, dharme saṅgha iti gauravañcha prasâdaścha. Yat-kiñchit, bhavantaḥ! bhagavatâ Buddhena bhâshitaṁ, sarvan tat subhâshitam eva, yachcha khalu, bhavantaḥ! prâmâṇyena dṛiśyeta; evaṁ saddharmaś chirsthitiko bhavishyatîty arhayâmy ahaṁ tâvataivaibhir bhavato dharmaparyâyaiḥ: vinayasamâkarsha, âryavaśa (?), anâgatabhayâni, munigâthâ, mauneyasûtram, Upatishyapraśnâ, yaścha Râhulâvavâdo mṛishâvâdam adhikritya bhagavatâ Buddhena bhâshitaḥ. Etân, bhavantaḥ! Dharmaparyâyân ichchhâmi kîrtibâhulâya bhikshavaścha bhikshuṇyaśchâbhikshṇaṁ śṛiṇuyuśchopadhârayeyuścha; evam evopâsakâśchopâsikâścha. Etena, bhavantaḥ! idaṁ lekhayâmy abhimatiścha madîyokteti?

This he then renders thus:—

"King P r i y a d a r ś i n (that is, the Humane) of M a g a d h a greets the Assembly (of Clerics)‡ and wishes them welfare and happiness. Ye know, Sirs, how great is our reverence and affection for the triad which is called B u d d h a (the Master), F a i t h, and A s s e m b l y. All that our Lord Buddha has spoken, my Lords, is well spoken: wherefore, Sirs, it must indeed be regarded as having indisputable authority; so the true Faith shall last long. Thus, my Lords, I honour (?) in the first place these religious works:—*Summary of the Discipline, The Supernatural Powers (?) of the Master* (or, of the Masters), *The Terrors of the Future, The Song of the Hermit, The Sûtra on Asceticism, The Question of Upatishya*, and *The Admonition to Râhula concerning Falsehood*, uttered by our Lord Buddha. These religious works, Sirs, I will that the monks and nuns, for the advancement of their good name, shall uninteruptedly study and remember, as also the laics of the male and female sex. For this end, my Lords, I cause this to be written, and have made my wish evident."§

The B â b h r a inscription is the only one in which B u d d h a ' s name is mentioned. The reason of that name not occurring on any of the other inscriptions is easily seen: they were intended for the whole empire, for all without distinction of creed, and it would have been unbecoming if the prince, in his admonitions, had appealed to a Master who was not known as such to the majority of his subjects. Besides which, A ś o k a speaks as the administrator of the realm, and not as a religious preacher. In one other place only—I mean the signature of the G i r n â r|| inscription—the following words have reference to B u d d h a. Of this signature there remains—

. . va sveto hasti savalokasukhâharo nâma.

What has to be supplied at the beginning I leave to the ingenuity of others to determine, but what is left means "the white elephant whose name is Bringer of happiness to the whole world." That by this term Ś â k y a is implied

* In vol. III. pp. 77-81, Dr. J. Muir has given an analysis of the first part of Dr. Kern's essay *Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten en de Gedenstukken van Açoka den Buddhist*; the translation now given of the versions of the inscription has been kindly supplied by the Rev. Adam Milroy, of Moneydie, Perthshire, to which a few additions have been made by Prof. Childers, who intended, had his health permitted, to have translated the whole Essay. The collotype plates attached are from my estampages made in 1875.—Ed.

† *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. IX. p. 618.

‡ Or "greets the Assembly of Magadha."

§ *Over de Jaartelling*, &c. p. 37.

|| *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VII. p. 241: compare Westergaard's copy in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. XII. opposite p. 153. P r i n s e p has wrongly assigned the signature to No. 13 of the Girnâr inscription: it is true that it stands right underneath it, but that is because No. 13 is in the middle. One has but to look at W e s t e r g a a r d ' s facsimile to see how the matter stands. W i l s o n ' s transcript is inaccurate.

there can be no doubt, since the legend says that the B o d h i s a t t v a, the future B u d d h a, left heaven to bring happiness to men, and entered his mother's womb as a white elephant. Thus we read in the *Lalitavistâra*, 63 :—

"Pushyanakshatrayoge Bodhisattvas Tushitavarabhavanâch chyutvâ smritaḥ samprajânan *pâṇḍurugajarûpo* bhûtvâ, jananyâ dakshiṇâyâṁ kukshâv avâkrâmata."

With regard to *sarvalokasukhâhara*, we may compare the *gâthâ* at *Lalitavistâra* 111, in which allusion is made to the happiness which the birth of B u d d h a was to bring into the world : —

apâyâścha yathâ śântâḥ sukhi sarvaṁ yathâ jagat |
dhruvaṁ Sukhâvaho jâtaḥ sukhe sthâpayitâ jagat ||

Even if the signature is not to be attributed to the scribe, the custom evidently even then prevalent, and still in use at the present day, of naming at the end of the inscription the divinity worshipped by the writer or scribe, can offer no serious difficulty. In the short inscription No. XIV., which is neither more nor less than a postscript addressed to the reader, we find apologues which recur word for word in the postscript of modern manuscripts and even printed books. When we read at the end of the Bombay edition of the *Mahâbhârata* "*asmin parvaṇi ślokavaishamyaṁ l i p i k a r a p r a m â d â d i n â bodhyam*," we can almost fancy we have before us A ś o k a's warning against the negligence of his scribes, against *lipikaraṇamâdo*, as his own words express it :—so tenacious is Indian tradition! Later on we shall return to the postscript of the Girnâr inscription. The ascription of homage to the W h i t e E l e p h a n t—that is, to the Buddha—corresponds to the *Śrî-Râmârpaṇam astu*, and similar expressions, of the Indian MSS. of the present day.

Though the king's edicts, or rather written addresses to his subjects, contain nothing which could give offence to the adherents of other forms of belief, they are nevertheless more or less Buddhistic in their style. They are composed in a preaching tone, full of repetitions. Just as B u d d h a g h o s h a commends the sacred writings for their prolixity, so A ś o k a informs us that he has intentionally repeated some things on account of their sweetness, in order to impress them favourably upon the people, and cause them to meet with the greater acceptance.

In making these remarks on a certain littleness in his style we have no intention of being unjust to the memory of a good prince. The following pages will afford proofs that we do justice to the king's noble aspirations, to his toleration, to his merits as a ruler.

All the discovered inscriptions of the king of M a g a d h a fully merit, on more than one account, the attention of every Indian scholar, though the text of most of them is in such a condition that I have hitherto not ventured to undertake a reproduction of all. I shall therefore confine myself to such as are in great measure, or in essentials, intelligible. I will begin with two inscriptions in which the king speaks of his conversion, namely, Nos. IV. and VIII. of G i r n â r.

Of No. IV. in the Girnâr series there are three versions :—one in the dialect of the country in which G i r n â r lay, which dialect we may perhaps venture to call G u j a r â t î, or more generally M a r â ṭ h î; the second in M a g a d h î at D h a u l î; the third in Â r y a n writing at K a p u r d i g i r î, in the language of North-Western India, or G â n d h â r a.¶ The language of the last-mentioned version is nearest to S a n s k ṛ i t, inasmuch as it has retained various conjunct consonants, such as *pr*, *tr*, &c., as well as the three sorts of sibilants. Not much further from the Sanskrit is the G i r n â r dialect, in which the groups *st* and *sṭ* occur regularly. The M a g a d h î presents all the characteristics of a fully developed Prâkṛit. This inscription was the last dealt with by B u r n o u f, and the most carefully analysed by him (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 730 ff.). He has taken the text of G i r n â r as his basis, and rightly so, because it has suffered least, and has been most carefully written and revised. It runs as follows :—

1 Atikâtam aṁtaraṁ bahûni vâsasatâni vaḍhito êva pâṇârambho vihiṁsâcha bhûtânaṁ ñâtîsu
2 asaṁpatipatî bamhaṇasamaṇânaṁ asaṁpatîpatî ; ta aja Dêvânaṁpiyasa Piyadasino râño

¶ The two first were published by Prinsep in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VII. p. 236 ; a facsimile of the Dhaulî series faces p. 484. A revised copy of the Girnâr Seriès by Westergaard and Gen. Jacob will be found in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. XII. opposite p. 153, also a facsimile by Masson of the text of Kapurdigirî.

3 dhaṁmacharaṇena bhêrîghoso* aho dhaṁmaghoso, vimânadasaṇâcha hastidasaṇâcha
4 agikhaṁdhânicha aññânicha divyâni rûpâni dasayipta† janaṁ. Yârise bahûhi vâsasatêhi
5 na bhûtapuvê târisê aja vaḍhitê Dêvânaṁpiyasa Piyadaṁsino rañño dhaṁmânusastiyâ anâraṁ
6 bho pânânaṁ avihiṁsâ hhûtânaṁ ñâtînaṁ saṁpaṭipatî bâmhaṇasamaṇânaṁ saṁpaṭipatî mâtari pitari
7 susûsâ thaira susûsâ êsa aññecha bahuvidhe dhammacharaṇê vaḍhatê vaḍhayisaticheva Devânaṁpiyo
8 Piyadasi râjâ dhaṁmacharaṇaṁ idaṁ putâcha potâcha papotâcha Devânaṁpiyasa Piyadasino rañño
9 vadhayisaṁti idaṁ dhaṁmacharaṇam âva savaṭakapâ dhaṁmamhi sîlamhi tisṭaṁto dhaṁmaṁ anusâsisaṁti
10 esa hi sesṭe‡ kaṁmê ya dhaṁmâñusâsanaṁ dhaṁmacharaṇêpi na bhavati§ asîlasa ta‖ imaṁhi athaṁhi
11 [va] dhîcha ahîṇîcha sâdhu etâya athâya ida lekhâpitaṁ imasa atha(*sa*) vadhî yujaṁtu hini châ ¶
12 lochetavyâ dvâdasavâsâbhisitena Devânaṁpiyena Piyadasinâ rañña idaṁ lekhâpitaṁ.**

Of this tablet Burnouf†† has given the following version:—

"Dans le temps passé, pendant de nombreuses centaines d'années, on vit prospérer uniquement le meurtre des êtres vivants et la méchanceté a l'égard des créatures, le manque de respect pour les parents, le manque de respect pour les Bâmhaṇas et les Samaṇas (les Brâhmanes et les Çramaṇas). Aussi, en ce jour, parce que Piyadasi, le roi chéri des Dêvas, pratique la loi, le son du tambour [a retenti]; oui, la voix de la loi [s'est fait entendre], après que des promenades de chars de parade, des promenades d'éléphants, des feux d'artifice, ainsi que d'autres représentations divines ont été montrées aux regards du peuple. Ce que depuis bien des centaines d'années on n'avait pas vu auparavant, on l'a vu prospérer aujourd'hui, par suite de l'ordre que donne Piyadasi, le roi chéri des Dêvas, de pratiquer la loi. La cessation du meurtre des êtres vivants et des actes de méchancété à l'égard des créatures, le respect pour les parents, l'obéissance aux père et mère, l'obéissance aux anciens (*Thêra*), voilà les vertus, ainsi que d'autres pratiques de la loi de diverses espèces, qui se sont accrues. Et Piyadasi, le roi chéri des Dêvas, fera croître encore cette observation de la loi; et les fils, et les petits-fils, et les arrière-petits-fils de Piyadasi, le roi chéri des Dêvas, feront croître cette observation de la loi jusqu'au *kālpa* de la destruction. Fermes dans la loi, dans la morale, ils ordonneront l'observation de la loi; car c'est la meilleure des actions que d'enjoindre l'observation de la loi. Cette observation même de la loi n'existe pas pour celui qui n'a pas de morale. Il est bon que cet objet prospère et ne dépérisse pas; c'est pour cela qu'on a fait écrire cet édit. Si cet objet s'accroit, on n'en devra jamais voir le dépérissement. Piyadasi, le roi chéri des Dêvas, a fait écrire cet édit, la douzième année depuis son sacre."

"Let us," he says, "in the first place examine the state of the Girnâr text as it has come down to us. Thus much we can see, that, while there are no gross errors, there is much carelessness and irregularity in the spelling. The system of sounds of a dialect cannot be too carefully considered, if firm ground is to be obtained for the settlement, and thereby for the interpretation, of the text. The pronunciation *vâsa*, Sanskrit *varsha*, is as good as *vassa* (spelt *vasa*), since it is in Prâkṛit a matter of indifference whether a syllable is long by position or by the natural length of the vowel. Consequently the developed Prâkṛit does not admit a vowel long by nature in a syllable which is long by position. The spelling *bâmhaṇa* in line 2 transgresses this rule, while *bamhaṇa* in line 6 is correct. The same inconsistency is seen elsewhere—now *a*, then *â*. In the second line *patî* (= *pati*), with the dental *t*, occurs twice; in line 6 it is twice written with the lingual. These forms are both quite correct, but they should not have been interchanged in the same document. From

* The mark before *bhe* is half effaced, though the reading is settled by the two other texts.

† Burnouf usually renders this group by *tp*. The pronunciation is uncertain; perhaps the symbol is nothing more than a mode of expressing *tt* in cases in which it answers to a Sanskrit *tv*. It is worthy of notice that the Sanskrit *chitta* is usually spelt *chipta* in Javanese, where the *pt* is merely used to represent the Sanskrit sound of the double *t* since Javanese has a *tt* of its own, though pronounced like a single *t*.

‡ This is clearly the reading, and not *seṭṭe* as Burnouf reads: not only can *sesṭe* be clearly distinguished, but the form is required by the dialect.

§ How Burnouf can maintain that the facsimile admits of a reading *tiṭhati* is to me a riddle. The reading is clearly *bhavati*, besides which *tiṭhati* is contrary to the dialect, which requires *tisṭati*, as may be seen abundantly in Series IX.

‖ Burnouf reads *thâ*, but there is nothing like it; the mutilated letter looks like a *hu*, but the stroke of the *u* has somehow or other strayed away on this side to the *vadhi* which stands below, and which with this accessory stroke becomes *vadhî*.

¶ Burnouf reads *mu*: the letter is uncertain, I can make nothing of it but *châ*.

** The new readings here supplied by the estampage taken by me in 1875 are:—

In line 1, *vadhito* for *vâḍhitâ*, and *ñâtisu* for *ñatisu*.
" 3, *bherighoso*, the *bh* was only partially shown in Westergaard and Jacob's copy.
" 4, *yârisa* for *yârisa*, and *vâsa* for *vasa*.
" 10, *esa hi* for *sahi*; and *ta imaṁhi* for (?) *imaṁhi* doubtfully read *-va imaṁhi*.
" 11, *idaṁ* for *ida*, and *hini cha* for *hini mu*.

†† *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 731.

the Sanskṛit *prati* there is produced on the one hand, by the dropping of the *r*, *pati*; on the other, first, the form *pṛiti* (*pĕrti*): an *r*, as well as an *s*, serving to effect the transition to an immediately following *t* in the class of dentals. In the oldest Indian of all, this sometimes takes place, in the Sanskṛit still more frequently, while in the Prâkṛits it is the rule. Thus the Sanskṛit *kṛita* becomes pretty generally in the Prâkṛits *kata*; *pĕrti*, *pati*, and thence later *paḍi*, *paḷi*, and *pari*. We find the same inconsistency in *vaḍh* along with *vadh*. The distinction between the dental and lingual *n* has not yet died out, but the author or transcriber continually confuses them; thus *dasaṇá* should have the dental; *rúpáni*, on the contrary, the lingual *n*. A carelessness of frequent occurrence in the majority of Indian MSS., even the most recent, is the use of the *ṭ* after *s*, instead of the aspirated *ṭh*, as in *tisṭaṁto*, *sesṭe*. This is not the only point which shows clearly that the habits of the Indian transcribers all existed at that time;—the custom of indicating every nasal sound with which a syllable closes by a spurious anusvâra, simply to save trouble, is another example. In general, those documents of 258-257 B.C. present exactly the same kind of errors that we are accustomed to find in Indian MSS. The *s* before *ṭ*, though as a sign the same as the dental *s*, cannot, for a simple physiological reason, possibly have been the dental. Before a lingual, and above all an Indian lingual, no man can bring out anything but a lingual. The reason why the *sh* was not used to indicate the required lingual must have been, that while the *sh* is indeed a lingual, it possesses, besides that, a characteristic of its own, so that it comes near to the lingual sound of a liquid *s*.

"Two forms occur which I see no chance of explaining from the dialect of Girnâr, viz. *áva* and the neuters in *e*, as *charaṇe*, *kaṁme*, &c. That *áva savatakapá* corresponds to a Sanskṛit *yávat saṁvartakalpát* has been correctly perceived by Burnouf, and admits of no doubt; but *áva* for Sanskṛit *yávat* is regular Magadhî, not Girnârî. Let it serve for proof of this assertion that the Magadhî *ádise*, Sanskṛit *yádṛiśam*, is in our document, line 4, *yárisa*. The termination also of the neuter in *e*, in *sesṭe*, *kaṁme*, is Magadhî; so also is *tárise* as respects the termination; in like manner *bahuvidhe dhaṁmacharaṇe* in line 7. It would be presumptuous to assert positively that an *e* = Sansk. *am* and neuter *a*, was absolutely unknown to the Girnârî; but we have doubts on the point, and that because in Magadhî the *a* stems in general, whether masculine or neuter, have *e* in the nominative, and so forth. Thus Mag. *piye* is as much equal to the Sansk. *priyah* as to *priyam*; but in the western dialect the masculine has always *o*. There is no explanation whatever to be given of *áva* instead of *yáva*. Briefly, however hazardous it may appear, we will not refrain from expressing the conjecture that the text had been written originally in the language of the king himself, the Magadhî; that the other redactions are translations thereof, more or less successful; and that Magadhî forms have crept into the versions. We cannot, however, regard the word *thaira*, Sansk. *sthavira*, as a Magadhîsm, for *st* becomes *th* at the beginning of a word in the Girnârî as well. This much is certain, that the Magadhî text of Dhaulî, which, alas! has suffered most, and has been the most hastily transcribed—is throughout the most consistent with itself in spelling and word-formation, is the best written, and excels the two other redactions in the correct use of the connecting particles.

"It is also of importance to inquire in how far any irregularities may admit of being explained from the condition of an original text, because all those three redactions agree in the reading of a very suspicious word, viz. *hîni* (and *ahîni*) in line 11. Sans. *háni* means clearly enough 'diminution,' and *aháni* 'non-diminution.' Now if it even should be supposed that the form of the participle *hîna* had exercised some influence on that of the monster *hîni*, yet in no single Prâkṛit, including the Pâli, has such a *hîni* been found, but, on the contrary, *háni*. The fact that the three redactions agree tends in this particular case not to establish, but to weaken the reading. Because the existence of such a monstrosity as *hîni* might be in some slight degree conceivable as a sporadic instance in a single dialect, but that such a thing should appear in three widely diverging dialects or languages would be altogether too singular. If, however, all the redactions are from one source, then it might be possible that there was at first an error in that source.‡‡ It is fortunate that the meaning is not obscured in the redactions by the manner of writing.

I shall now give the text of Girnâr with the slight modifications which appear to me justified by comparison with the Kapurdigirî version:—

1 Atikâtaṁ aṁtaraṁ bahûni vasasatâni vaḍhito êva pâṇâraṁbho, vihiṁsâcha bhûtânaṁ, ñâtîsu 2 asaṁpatipatî, bamhaṇasamaṇânaṁ asaṁpatipatî; ta aja Dêvânaṁpiyasa Piyadasino râño 3 dhaṁmacharaṇêna bhêrîghoso aho dhaṁmaghoso, vimânadasaṇâcha hastidasaṇâcha 4 agikhaṁdhânichâ

‡‡ The difference between *á*, *í*, and *i* is so slight in writing, that it may after all be a question whether *hîni* really stands in all places where the transcripts have it.

ASOKA INSCRIPTION,-EDICTS IV & V.





Jurgess fecit.

aññâni cha divyâni rûpâṇi dasayiptâ janaṁ. · Yârisaṁ bahûhi vasasatêhi [5] na bhûtapuvaṁ, târisaṁ aja vaḍhito Dêvânaṁpiyasa Piyadasino râño dhaṁmânusastiyâ anâram[6]bho pâṇânaṁ, avihiṁsâ bhûtânaṁ ñâtinaṁ saṁpaṭipati, bamhaṇasamaṇânaṁ saṁpaṭipati, mâtaripitari [7] susûsâ, thaira susûsâ; êsa añacha bahuvidhaṁ dhaṁmacharaṇaṁ vaḍhitaṁ, vaḍhayisaticheva Devânaṁpiyo [8] Piyadasi râjâ dhaṁmacharaṇaṁ idaṁ, putâcha potâcha papotâcha Devânaṁpiyasa Piyadasino râño [9] vadhayisaṁti idaṁ dhaṁmacharaṇam; (y)âva savaṭakapâ dhaṁmamhi sîlâmhi tisṭaṁto dhaṁmaṁ anusâsisaṁti; [10] sahi sesṭaṁ kaṁmaṁ ya dhaṁmânusâsanaṁ, dhaṁmacharaṇaṁpi na bhavati asîlasa. Se imamhi athamhi [11] vadhîcha ahânîcha sâdhu; etâya athâya idaṁ lekhâpitaṁ; imasa atha(*sa*) vadhi(*ṁ*) yu(*ṁ*) jaṁtu, hânicha [12] (*nâ*-) lochitavyâ. Dvâdasavasâbhisitena Devânaṁpiyena Piyadasinâ râñâ idaṁ lekhâpitaṁ.

The Girnâr inscription may thus be put back into Sanskṛit, with the exception of all that is positively at variance with the rules of Sanskṛit syntax:—

Antikrânte 'ntare, bahûni varshaśatâni, vardhita eva prâṇâlambho vihiṁsâcha bhûtânâṁ, jnâtishv asampratipattir, brâhmaṇaśramaṇânâm asampratipattiḥ. Tad adya Devânâmpriyasya Priyadarśino râjno dharmacharaṇena bherîghosho 'bhavad dharmaghosho, vimânadarśane cha hastidarśanechagniskandheshuchânyeshucha divyeshu rûpeshu darśitavatsu janaṁ. Yâdṛiśam bahubhir varshaśatair na bhûtapûrvaṁ, tadṛiśam adya vardhito Devânâmpriyasya Priyadarśino râjno dharmânuśâstyânalambhaḥ prâṇânâm, avihiṁsâ bhûtânâm, jnâtishu sampratipattir, brâhmaṇaśramaṇeshu sampratipattir, mâtâpitroś śuśrûshâ, stavire śuśrûsha. Etad anyachcha bahuvidhaṁ dharmacharaṇaṁ vardhitaṁ, vardhayishyati chaiva Devânâmpriyaḥ Priyadarśi râjâ dharmacharaṇam idaṁ, putrâścha pautrâścha prapautrâścha Devânâmpriyasya Priyadarśino râjno vardhayishyantîdaṁ dharmacharaṇaṁ, yâvat saṁvartakalpâd dharme śîle tishṭhanto dharmam anuśâsishyanti;§§ etaddhi śreshṭhaṁ karma yad dharmânuśâsanaṁ dharmacharaṇam api na bhavaty aśîlasya. Tad asminn arthe vṛiddhiśchâhaniścha sâdhuḥ; etasmây arthâyedam lekhitam;‖‖ asyâr thasya vṛiddhiṁ yuñjantu, hâniścha nâlochayitavyâ.¶¶ Dvâdaśavarshâbhishiktena Devânâmpriyeṇa Priyadarśinâ râjnedaṁ lekhitam.*

In the following translation I have endeavoured to preserve the *naïf* style of the original. I have also allowed myself—the object being taken into consideration—to translate more literally than is consistent with strict propriety. I am well aware that, as a general rule, a literal translation is the very opposite of a correct one. Literal translations are a sort of *tour de force*, which on occasion may have their use, provided they are not given forth as real translations. A man who translates literally does not understand the language from which he is translating, and, generally speaking, he does not understand the language into which he is translating.

*Translation of No. IV.*

"In past times, during many centuries, attacking animal life and inflicting suffering on the creatures, want of respect for Brâhmaṇs and monks, have only grown greater. But now, when king Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin practises righteousness, his kettle-drum has become a summons to righteousness,† while apparitions of chariots of the gods, and apparitions of celestial elephants, and fiery balls, and other signs in the heavens, showed themselves to the people. In such a manner as has not been the case in many centuries previously, now, through the exhortation of king Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin to cultivate righteousness, has the sparing of animal life, the gentle treatment of creatures, respect for relatives, respect for Brâhmaṇs and monks, obedience to father and mother, obedience to an elder,‡ grown greater. This and many other kinds of virtuous practices have grown greater, and king Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin shall cause this practice of virtue to increase still more, and the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin shall also§ cause this culture of virtue to increase; standing steadfast in righteousness and morality until the destruction of the world,‖ they shall exhort to righteousness;¶ to exhort to righteousness is surely a very excellent work, while from him who is immoral no practice of righteousness is to be expected. Increase, therefore, in these things, and no diminution, is good; for this end has this been written;** may they attend heartily

§§ Dhauli,—*bhavishyantaḥ śasishyanti.*
‖‖ Dh.,—*likhitam.*
¶¶ Dh.,—*hâniñcha mâlulochan.*
* Dh.,—*dvâdaśa arshâny vabhishiktasya Devânâmpriyasya Priyadarśino râjna etal likhitam.*
† The meaning is "and not to war, as is usually the case."
‡ It is not quite clear what is to be understood by "an elder." In No. VIII. one text has the same word, while another has *vṛiddha*.
§ "Also" is wanting in Girnâr, but is found duly expressed in Dhauli.
‖ Dhauli—"As long as the world (*seculum*) lasts."
¶ Dhauli—"they shall rule."
** Girnâr—"has this been caused to be written."

to the increase hereof, and not aim at the diminution of it! king Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin has caused this to be written twelve years after his inauguration."

In comparing this translation with that of Burnouf, it will be seen that they differ in a marked degree only in two places. Burnouf, as well as Lassen and Prinsep before him, had perceived that the clause beginning at *vimânadaśaṇâcha* and ending at *janam* exhibits an altogether irregular combination of words, and they translate as if there stood in the Sanskṛit '*vimânadarśane &c. .... darśiteshu.*' In this they are right, I think, but the meanings which they have assigned to most of the terms are unknown in the language. *Vimâna* is a so-called "chariot of the gods;" what aërial phenomenon is to be understood by it matters little for our present purpose. Between a certain aërial phenomenon or chariot of the gods, and "char de parade," as Burnouf translates it, there is hardly any connection to be seen. The rendering of *agniskandha* (*agnipiṇḍa*) by "feux d'artifices" is sheer arbitrariness. The expression *divyâni rûpâni* might in itself be sufficient to convince us that celestial phenomena are meant, for the term is, in Latin phrase, "solemnis." *Darśayati* is not only "shows," but also "shows itself." The only other expression which remains to be explained is *hastidarśanam*. I have never met with *hastin* itself in the sense of an aërial phenomenon, but it is a synonym of *Airâvata*, which is used especially to denote Indra's elephant, and *airâvata* is an aërial phenomenon which is frequently mentioned. There is therefore but little doubt that *hastidarśanam* is another expression for *airâvatadarśanam*. This is confirmed by *hathîni* being neuter in Dhauli: for *airâvata*, in the sense of an aërial phenomenon, is sometimes masculine, sometimes neuter; therefore also *hastin* when it is used in the signification here assigned to it. What Aśoka says is almost as follows:—'The joyful circumstance which consisted in the fact that the sound of the war-drum would henceforth be a symbol of peace was announced, and as it were received with acclaim by the heavenly powers.' Every man who is in any degree acquainted with Sanskṛit literature knows how frequently the above-named phenomena are mentioned, and no one who knows aught of human nature will be surprised that the king, on beholding celestial phenomena which, though indeed not of daily occurrence, yet were far from being very uncommon, connected them with an event which, in his eyes, was so important.†

The words *vadhiṁ yuṁjaṁtu* and *hâniṁ mâlochayisu* are clear when it is considered that as *vriddhi* and *ahâni* are synonyms the predicates also must be in the same position. Consequently, *yunakti* is to be taken in that sense in which it expresses almost the same thing as *âlochayati*; that is, in the meaning of *anuchintayati*, for which see *Petersb. Dict.* For the sake of distinctness I have written *vaḍhiṁ yuṁjuṁtu*, without, on that account, overlooking the fact that *vaḍhiy yu-*, with Anunâsika rejected or not expressed, agrees with *say(y)ama, &c.* The cases, however, are not altogether parallel, for the phonetic alterations in a word apply in Prâkṛits only exceptionally in the period.—A syllable has fallen out on the stone before *lochetavyâ*, which can have been nothing but *na* or *nâ*, because there does not appear to be room enough for *no â-*, which would signify the same thing.

In the inscription now discussed there is nothing which could give offence to any class of the people. It is true, indeed, that the term *dharma* might be understood by some as an allusion to the Dharma, the Religion of the Buddhists, but none of that generation could fail to see, even for a moment, both on account of the connexion and the combination *dharamcharaṇam*, that the word here signified "righteousness," "virtue." Apart from the style, there is so little exclusively Buddhistic in this document, that we might equally well conclude from it that the king, satiated with war, had become the president of a peace society, and of an association for the protection of the lower animals, as that he had embraced the doctrine of Śâkyamuni. More plainly, but at the same time most modestly, Aśoka mentions his conversion in No. VIII. of Girnâr.

The VIIIth edict reads thus :—

[1] Atikâtaṁ aṁtaraṁ râjâno vihârayâtâṁ ñayâsu etamagavya aññâcha etârisâni [2] abhîramakâni ahuṁsu ; so Devânaṁpiyo Piyadasi râjâ dasavasâbhîsito saṁto ayâya saṁbodhiṁ [3] tena sâ dhamayâtâ eta yaṁ hoti bâmhaṇâsamaṇânaṁ dasaṇecha dâṇecha, thairâṇaṁcha dasâṇecha [4] hiraṇapaṭividhânecha janapadasacha janasa dasanaṁ dhaṁmânusasṭîcha dhamaparipuchhâcha [5] tadopaya esâ bhûya rati bhavati Devânaṁpiyasa Piyadasino râño bhâge aṁñe.

This was rendered by Burnouf‡ as follows :—

"Dans le temps passé, les rois connurent la promenade du plaisir ; alors la chasse et d'autres divertissements de ce genre avaient lieu. [*Mais*] Piyadasi, le roi chéri des Dêvas, parvenu à la dixième année depuis son sacre, obtient la science parfaite que donne la Buddha. C'est pourquoi la prome-

† Kern, *u.s.* pp. 48-54.

‡ *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 757ff.; and conf. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. II. p. 238, and note 2.

nade de la loi est cette qu'il faut faire : ce sont la visite et l'aumône faites aux Brâhmaṇes et aux Samaṇas, distribution de l'or [*en leur faveur*], l'inspection du peuple et du pays, l'injonction d'exécuter la loi, les interrogatoires sur la loi; ce sont là les moyens qui causent un extrême plaisir à Piyadasi, le roi chéri des Dêvas, dans cette période de temps, différente [*de celle que l'a precédée*]."

Professor Kern thus revises and translates it :—

[1] Atikâtaṁ aṁtaraṁ râjâno vihârayâtaṁ ñayâsu etamagavyaṁ aññânicha etârisâni [2] abhiramakâni ahuṁsu; so Devânaṁpiyo Piyadasi râjâ dasavasâbhisito saṁto ayâya saṁbodhiṁ; [3] tena sa dhaṁmayâtâ etâ, yaṁ hoti: bamhaṇasamaṇânaṁ dasanaṁcha dânaṁcha, thairâṇaṁ dasanaṁcha [4] hiraṇapatividhânaṁcha jânapadasacha janasa dasanaṁ, dhaṁmânusasṭicha dhaṁmaparipuchhâcha. [5] Tadopayâ esâ bhûya rati bhavati Devânaṁpiyasa Piyadasino râño bhâge aṁñe.

In Sanskṛit—

Atikrânte 'ntare râjâno vihârayâtrâṁ nirayâsishuḥ; etamṛigavyam anyânichaitâdṛisâny abhirâmâṇy abhûvan. Tad Devânâmpriyaḥ Priyadarsî râjâ daśavarshâbhishiktas sann iyâya sambhodim; tena sâ dharmayâtraita, yad bhavati : brâhmaṇaśramaṇânâṁ darśanañcha dânañcha sthavirâṇâṁ darśanañcha hiraṇyapratividhânañcha, jânapadasyâcha janasya darśanaṁ, dharmânuśâstiścha dharmaparipṛichchhâcha. Tadauparishṭâd eshâ bhûyo ratir bhavati Devânâmpriyasya Priyadarśino râjno 'parabhâge.

*Translation of No. VIII.*

"In past times the kings went out on journeys of pleasure;§ stag-hunting|| and other such like recreations were in vogue.¶ But king Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin, ten years after his inauguration, came to the true insight. Therefore he began a walk of righteousness,* which consists in this, that he sees at his house, and bestows gifts upon Brâhmaṇs and monks, he sees at his house, and presents elders with gold, he receives subjects of town and country, exhorts to righteousness and seeks righteousness. Since then this is the greatest pleasure of king Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin in the period after his conversion.

"In this little piece," adds Professor Kern, "there is only one expression which presents any difficulty in interpreting,—*tadopayâ* in Girnâr, and *tadâpeyâle* in Dhaulî, though the meaning may readily be conjectured. There must be something which is generally expressed in Sanskṛit by *tadâprabhṛiti; tadârabhya* and such like *upâḍâya*, which the Buddhistic style, both Sanskṛit and Pâlî, so often employs, is not to be thought of. *Tadupâdâya*, or also *tadopadayâ* = *tadâprabhṛiti*, signifying 'thenceforth,' 'since that;' and if *tadopayâ* was found only in Girnâr it might perhaps be attributed to an error, but Kapurdigiri also has *tadopayaṁ*, which deviates from *tadopayâ* sufficiently to convince us that the readings support each other, and are therefore genuine. To what Sanskṛit form, then, can the Prâkṛit correspond? In my opinion, to an ablative, *auparyât*, on the one hand, and to an adverbial accusative, *auparyam*, on the other. *Auparya* is derived regularly from *upari*, 'after, later.' Now since *auparya* becomes *opaya* in Prâkṛit, just as *kârya* becomes *kayya*, &c., *tadopayâ* corresponds to a Sanskṛit *tadauparyât* = 'since that;'—or, if a form known otherwise be preferred, *tadauparishṭât*. In the Dhaulî text there is an entirely different word, a synonym of the foregoing,—*peyâle*, which, after the example of the *Lalitavistâra*, I have rendered in Sanskṛit by *preyâlam*. It will be in vain sought for in the dictionaries, though its existence had not escaped the notice of Burnouf in his widely extended investigations. He seems, however, not to have found it otherwise than in the Prâkṛit form *preyâla*. After having remarked, in *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 388, that he had met with this *peyâla* in a number of the writings of the northern Buddhists, he proceeds to say :—

"'Dans le textes pâlis, la formule abbréviative *comme ci-dessus* est exprimée par le monosyllable *pê* qui est le commencement de *pêyyâlam*; car c'est ainsi qu'est orthographié ce mot en pâli. J'en trouve un example dans l' *Aṭânâṭiya sutta*, qui est ainsi conçu: *sôyêva purimapêyyâlêna vitthârêtabbô*, "il doit être développé avec le précédent *peyyâla*."† Je n'ai jusqu'à présent trouvé d'autre manière d'expliquer ce mot que de supposer qu'il dérive de *pê*, abbréviation de *pûrvê*, "précédemment," réuni à *alam*, "assez," de façon à exprimer cette idée, "la chose a été dite précédemment d'une manière suffisante." Je ne donne cependant encore cette explication que comme une conjecture.'

"We can pay no better tribute to the memory of the greatest Indologue of France, who shortly after writing the above words was snatched away from science, than to take up the inquiry at the point where he dropped it. Let it be observed, in the first place, that the brief clause quoted

§ Dhaulî has—"The kings went out on so-called journeys of pleasure."

|| The impression in Dhaulî is more general, for *mṛiga* signifies not merely "stag, gazelle," but wild beast in general.

¶ Dhaulî—"There existed for them stag-hunting, &c."

* The play on the words *vihârayâtâ* and *dhammayâtâ* is lost in the translation.

† *Dighanikâya*, f. 177a.

above is not quite clear, and may mean 'with what precedes and what follows,' equally well as 'with repetition of the preceding.' In no case can it mean what Burnouf imagines. Fortunately the expression occurs often enough in the *Lalitavistâra* to enable us to determine its signification. In *Lalitav.* 320, 18, we see that the words *peyâlaṁ yâvat* are equivalent to the expression *pûrvavadyâvat*, which occurs four lines previously, that is, 'as before on to.' Hence it follows not that *peyâlam* signifies properly the same as *pûrvavat;* for if it be once supposed that the word signified 'repetition,' it would then be a matter of indifference whether we said 'repetition (*da capo*) on to,' or 'as before on to,' without implying thereby that the ideas 'as before' and 'repetition' were in themselves allied. To confirm this further, I refer to p. 445, where *peyâlam* has a synonym, or substitute, *vistareṇa yâvat, i.e.* 'copious (to complete) on to.' To determine the sense completely, we must avail ourselves of the word *preyâla*, which also occurs more than once in the *Lalitavistâra*, and which plainly is nothing else than the Sanskṛit or Sanskṛiticized form of *peyâla*. The circumstance that wherever the Prâkṛit *peyâla* stood as a technical, almost algebraic term, the compilers of the said book have neglected to translate it into Sanskṛit, is an additional proof for the view that Sanskṛit is of comparatively late date in the writings of the northern Buddhists. Where *preyâlam* is found fully written, it is not a technical term, but has a meaning which can easily be felt. This *preyâlam* admits of being represented by another Sanskṛit word, viz. *bhûyas*, in the various applications in which the latter can be used. Thus we read, immediately after a song addressed by the good sons of Mâra the Wicked, to their father, *Lalitavist.* 397, 7 :—

"'*Preyâlam evaṁ te sarve Mâraputrâḥ—Mâram pâpiyasam pṛithakpṛithag gâthâbhir adhyabhâshanta,*' *i.e.* 'Thus spoke again (Sans. *bhûyas*) all those sons of Mâra to Mâra the Wicked, alternately in songs.'

"The meaning of *preyâlam* comes out less clearly p. 369, 11; because the verse is corrupt, or has been spoiled by the editor.

"When we compare the particulars now adduced with each other, when we remember the opposition so common between *pûrvam* and *bhûyas*, and keep in view that *bhûyas* signifies 'more, ample,' as much as 'later, subsequent,' then there can remain no doubt that *preyâlam*, Prâkṛit *peyâlaṁ*, is $=$ *bhûyas*. The Pâli form *peyyâlaṁ* might, where it appears as a substantive, correspond to a *praiyâlyam* or to *bhûyastvam;* but that makes no difference in the main idea of the word. The double *yy* in the Pâli is one of the many instances which show clearly that the regulators of that artificial and literary language have been frequently very unfortunate in rendering Magadhî words, which they misunderstood on account of the old spelling, which did not usually express the doubling of consonants.‡ That we may be convinced of this we shall investigate the etymology of the word. There is, in Sanskṛit, a comparative of *puru* (from *peru*), viz. *prâyas*, which is used exclusively in the neuter, though the full form masculine *frâyan*, neut. *frâyo*, is still preserved in Baktrian. This *prâyas* is (apparently) regular, inasmuch as it has Vṛiddhi instead of Guṇa,§ but the form is perfectly regular in other Indo-Germanic languages; thus Greek πλεῖον (mas. πλειων), Latin *plus*, from *plois* (*plais*), Norse *fleir*. The superlative is lost in Sanskṛit,—it must have been *preshṭha;* but as there is an entirely different *preshṭha* from *priya*, it is probable that the form was avoided, and then fell into desuetude. On the contrary, the Baktrian still possesses *fraeshta*, Greek πλεῖστος, Norse *flestr* (for *fleestr*, *fleistr*, by the shortening of the vowel on account of the two consonants following). In making acquaintance with the Sanskṛit *preyâlam*, Magadhî *peyâle*, we learn at the same time the remarkable circumstance that along with *prâyas* there must also have existed in Sanskṛit a form *preyas*, the use of which was also avoided, as being a homonym of the comparative of *priya*. The suffix *ala* joined to *preyas*, or rather to *preya* $=$ Sans. *prâya*, "multitude," has, on the one hand, an extensive or augmentative force, and, on the other hand, an iterative, and therefore a diminutive force. In *preyâla*, to judge by the common signification, *ala* is rather augmentative, and, as augmentative and comparative ideas coincide, *preyâla* is to be compared with the Dutch double comparatives *meerder*, *eerder;* in nature and form, though not in meaning, *preyâla* agrees with the Lat. *plusculus*. Having

‡ We meet with the same error in the double *y* in *moneyya*, and the absurd double *s* in *assa*. It is perfectly evident to every one who is willing to see it that the manufacturers of the Pâli knew nothing of the pronunciation.

§ This is certainly the reason why so acute a philologist as Pâṇini did not recognise the word as the comparative of *puru*. For the same reason he failed to see that *bhûyas* is a comparative of *bhûri*. Properly, *prayas* is not irregular; it has originated from an old Indo-Germ. *pĕraias*, which must have been another form of *praias* (compare Lat. *trans* with Sans. *tiras*, Indo-Germ. *tĕras*). The form *puru* is not identical with Gr. πολυ, and as little is *guru* identical with βαρυς, or Prâkṛit *garu*. Whoever asserts that *guru* is a corrupt form from *garu* (instead of from *gĕru*) must also show that *kshipra* is a corrupt form from *kshĕpiyan*, *dûru* from *daviyan*, &c. One of the many counterfeits of *prâyas*, from *peraias*, is Lat. *gravis*, from *gĕravis*. It is now high time that the superficial assertion of Bopp, that *ĕ* and *r* (*rĕ*, *ĕr*) were not old Indo-Germ., should no longer be regarded.

thus considered these particulars as briefly as it was possible, I return to the inscription. The Mag. *tadá peyále*, in meaning = *tadopayá* of Girnâr, Sanskṛit *tadá*(or *tato*)*bhûyaḥ*, is, therefore, 'after that, since then.' . . . . . .

"This short inscription," he adds, "is distinguished by a certain simplicity and sentiment of tone, which makes it touch a chord in the human breast. There is a tenderness in it, so vividly different from the insensibility of the later monkish literature of Buddhism, of which Th. Pavie somewhere observes with so much justice, 'Tout reste donc glacé dans ce monde bouddhique!'

"This simple tone of the passage is well calculated to awaken in us the conviction that the atrocities attributed by the later Buddhists to their benefactor rest upon a misunderstanding. The stories of both the Northern and Southern Buddhists, to which it is usual to give the species name of traditions,|| differ among themselves to such an extent as to be suspicious on that ground alone. The ninety-nine fold fratricide committed, as is stated, by Aśoka, is related with such circumstantiality that its untruth is palpable. The story of the Northern Buddhists is different, but, if possible, still more inept. According to them, Aśoka, at the beginning of his reign, caused a place of torture to be built in order to torment poor creatures, and so forth.¶ Now the king himself states, in the first tablet, that at the beginning of his reign he permitted the death of innocent creatures, that is, their slaughter for food. Is it not in the highest degree probable that the hell for the torture of poor animals is a misrepresentation, intentional or otherwise, of the slaughter-house? The contrast between the hell built by the prince before his conversion, and the monasteries built by him after that event, was too striking for so splendid an opportunity for a display of bigotry to be allowed to pass. In the midst of the conflicting variations which have sprung up under the clumsy hands of monks without humour or imagination, without feeling or love of truth, we can yet distinguish a uniform theme which may thus be expressed: 'In his youth Aśoka gave himself up to depraved passions, to *vyasanâni* (to which the chase belongs): he had shown no mercy to innocent creatures (*i.e.* deer, &c.), was cruel, a C h a ṇ ḍ a-A ś o k a. But after his conversion he bade farewell to his sinful life, gave himself up exclusively to righteousness, and became a D h a r m a-A ś o k a.' The only thing we are justified in believing, after comparison of the different accounts, is the change that took place in the king's mind in the way in which *he* has himself represented it. He acknowledges his depravities, and although we cannot from his silence regarding particular misdeeds conclude that he was wholly free from them, we are not so credulous as to believe a single one of them merely on the authority of people whose gross ignorance and tendency to distort and exaggerate shows itself in everything. Still vaguer is the information given by the non-Buddhist, the Brâhmaṇ Kalhaṇa Paṇḍit. In the few lines which he devotes to Aśoka the historian tells us very little, which is exactly a proof that he says no more than he thought he was able to answer for, since the scantiness of his communications is not the result of contempt for, or a want of appreciation of, the great ruler. The *Rájataraṅgiṇî*, I. 101 ff., we read—

*Prapantraḥ Śakunes tasya bhûpateḥ prapitṛivyajaḥ* |
*áthávahad Aśokakhyaḥ satyasandho vasundharám* ||
*yaḥ sántavṛijino rájá prapanno Jinaśásanam* |
*Śushkakshetraṁ Vitastádrau tastára stúpamaṇḍalaiḥ* ||

*i.e.* 'The son of the great-uncle of this prince (Śachînara) and great-grandson of Śakuni, the upright Aśoka, ruled over the land, &c.'"

With the exception of the mention of the merit which Aśoka acquired by the construction of various edifices, we find nothing further about him in the next five verses of the *Rájataraṅgiṇî*.

The tolerant spirit of Aśoka, which the narrow intellect of Mahânâma was incapable of comprehending, manifests itself in a conspicuous manner in No. XII. of Girnâr,* which has no parallel either in the Dhauli or Kapurdigiri series.†

The XIIth edict is in nine long lines, and reads thus :—

[1] Devânaṁpiyo Piyadasi râjâ savapâsaṁḍânicha pavajitânicha ghârastânicha pûjayati, danenacha vividhâyacha pûjâya pûjayati ne,[2] na tu tathâ dânaṁ vâ pûje va Devânaṁpiyo maṁñate yathâ kitisâravadhî asa savapâsaṁḍânaṁ sâravaḍhî ta bahuvidhâ; [3] tasa-tasa tu idaṁ mûlaṁ ya vachiguti kiṁti âptapâsaṁḍapûjâ va parâpâsaṁḍagarahâ va no bhave, apakaraṇamhi lahukâ va asa [4] tamhi-tamhi pakaraṇe pûjeta yâ tu eva parapâsaṁdâ tena-tena pakaraṇena evaṁkaraṁ, âptapâsaṁḍacha vaḍhayati parapâsaṁḍasacha upkaroti [5] tadaṁñathâ karoto âptapâsaṁḍaṁcha chhaṇati parapâsaṁḍasachâpi apakaroti yohi kâchi âptapâ-

|| "Tradition, in the true sense of the term, is of great value, but stories of which the time and place of origination are unknown have no title to the name of tradition. Every so-called tradition, the authenticity of which cannot be established, ceases to be a tradition, and falls under the category of rumour."

¶ *Mém. de Hiouen Thsang*, tom. I., pp. 441 ff.; Burnouf, *Introduction*, pp. 365 ff.

* Dealt with by Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 761.

† Kern, u.s. p. 63.

saṁḍaṁ pûjayati parapâsaṁḍaṁ va garahati, [6] savaṁ âptapâsaṁḍabhatiyâ kiṁti âptapâsaṁḍaṁ dîpayema iti socha puna tatha karoto âptapasaṁ-ḍaṁ bâḍhataraṁ upahanâti ta samavâyo eva sâdhâ [7] kiṁti· mañamaṁñasa dhaṁmaṁ sunâjucha su-saṁserâcha evaṁhi Devânaṁpiyasa ichhâ kiṁti savapâsaṁḍâcha bahusutâcha asu kalâṇâgamâcha asu; [8] yecha tatâ-tata pasaṁam tehi vatavyâ: Devânaṁpiyo no tathâ dânaṁ va pûjâ vâ maṁñate yathâ kiṁtisâravadhi asa savapâsaṁḍânaṁ bahakâ va etâya [9] athâ vyâpatâ dhaṁmamahâmâtâcha ithâjhakhamahâmâtâcha vachabhûmikâcha añe-cha nikâyâ ayaṁcha etasa phala ya âptapâsaṁḍa-vaḍhîcha hoti, dhaṁmasacha dîpanâ.‡

Professor Kern revises this as follows :—

[1] Devânaṁpiyo Piyadasi·râjâ savapâsaṁḍânicha pavajitânicha ghârastânicha pûjayati, dânenacha vividhâyacha pûjâya pûjayati ne. [2] Na tu tathâ dânaṁ vâ pûjam vâ Devânaṁpiyo maṁñate, yathâ kitisâravadhî asa savapâsaṁḍânaṁ. Sâravaḍhî tu bahuvidhâ; [3] tasa-tasa tu idaṁ mûlaṁ ya vachigu-ti; kiṁti? âptapâsaṁdapûjâ vâ parapâsaṁḍagarhâ vâ no bhave, apakaraṇamhi lahakâ vâ asa; [4] tamhi-tamhi pakaraṇe pûjeta. Ya tu eva parapâsaṁḍa-(sa) tena-tena pakaraṇena evaṁkataṁ, âptapâsaṁ-ḍaṁcha vaḍhayati parapâsaṁḍasacha upakaroti; [5] tadaṁñathâ karoṁto âptapâsaṁḍaṁcha chhaṇati parapâsaṁḍasachapi apakaroti. Yopi kachi âpta-pâsaṁḍaṁ pûjayati parapâsaṁḍaṁ vâ garahiti, [6] savaṁ âptapâsaṁḍabhatiyâ; kiṁti? âptâpâsaṁ-ḍaṁ dîpayema iti. Socha puna tathâ karoṁto âptapâsaṁḍaṁ bâḍhataraṁ upahanati. Ta sama-vâyo eva sâdhu; [7] kiṁti? maṁñamaṁñasa dhaṁ-maṁ sunejucha pasamseraṁcha; evaṁ hi Devâ-naṁpiyasa ichhâ; kiṁti? savapâsaṁḍâcha bahusu-tâcha asu, kalâṇâgamâcha asu; [8] yecha tata-tata pasaṁñâ tehi vatavyâ; Devânaṁpiyo no tathâ dânaṁ vâ pûjam vâ maṁñate, yathâ kitisâravadhi asa savapâsaṁḍânaṁ bahakâ vâ. Etâya [9] athâya vyâpatâ dhaṁmamahâmâtâcha ithâjhakhamahâmâ-tâcha vachabhûmikâcha aṁñecha nikâyâ. Ayaṁ-cha etasa phalaṁ, ya âptapâsaṁḍavaḍhîcha hoti, dhaṁmasacha dîpanâ.

Before giving translations of this we will consider some expressions :—The meaning of the neuter *pâsaṁḍaṁ*, and of the masc. *pâsaṁḍo*, comes out more clearly in this document. The first is "sect," the second "member of a sect." They are both introduced into the Sanskṛit, but in the modified signification of "heretical sect" and "heretic." The word "sect" shows the same change of meaning also in English, where it is used to signify "another sect than the dominant one," and "sectarian" "any one of another sect than the recognized and common one." The Greek *hæresis* and *hæreticus* have had the same history. When we have now found from the Girnâr document what the older meaning of *pâ-shaṇḍa*, is, the origin of the word becomes at the same time clear. It has arisen from a Sansk. *pârshadya, pârshada*, with the understanding that there must have been a western form, viz. *pâr-shanda, pârshandya.* The root *sad* has no longer a nasal sound in the Sanskṛit, but in kindred languages, the Sclavic among others, the form *sand* is very common; and in the Sanskṛit itself there is at least one word in which the nasal sound has been preserved, viz. *âsandî*, "arm-chair, throne."§ *Asa* is the Vedic *asat; asu* corrupted from *asan* by a false analogy. This conjunctive has also been adopted into the Pâlî; but, as has been already observed, those who made the Pâlî books no longer understood the form, and made of it *assa, assu*, as if formally *assa* were = *siyâ*,—a proof that they no longer knew anything of the pronunciation of the old Prâkṛit. *Kiṁti*, Sansk. *Kimiti*, "with what intention a thing is thought, or spoken, or done," refers to the intention or aim of what goes before. Instead of the *oratio directa*, which is such a favourite in all the older and more modern Indian languages, our idiom requires a dependent sentence. *Kiṁti* with the subsequent independent sentence becomes "in order that," and sometimes "so that," followed by a dependent clause. This syntactic peculiarity of the Indian languages is sufficiently well known, and would not have been noticed here if previous expositors had not altogether misunderstood the little word. The spelling *âpta* is incorrect, just as is that of *bâmhaṇa*; the word ought to have been spelled *apta* (*i.e. atta*), according to the vocal laws of the Prâkṛit; on the other hand, *âta* (= *atta*) is permissible; and it is by no means improbable that *âpta* used to be pronounced as *âta*, and therefore no inconvenience was found in the long *â*. *Pûjita* is 3rd sing. opt. middle. The middle is here employed, probably, because the word is intransitive; *Pûjayati aṁnaṁ* is "he honours another;" *pûjayate*, "he shows his reverence, his esteem." The word *bahukâ*, "mean estimation," is not known beyond Sanskṛit literature; which, however, is not saying much. A scholiast on Pâ-

‡ The new readings in the estampage are :—In line 3 *lahukâ* for *lahakâ*; in line 6 *savaṁ* for *sava*; in line 7 *kalâṇâgamâ* for *kalânâgama*; in line 8 *vatavyaṁ* for *vatavya*.

§ The spelling *pâkhaṇḍa*, which occurs in Sansk. along with the spelling with *sh*, represents a western pronunciation which is now widely spread in all Northern India, and was also prevalent, though in a less degree, in very ancient times. *Kh* for *sh* has frequently crept into the prevailing dialect—the classical Sanskṛit; *e.g.* such a form as *dvekishi*, from *dvish*, could not have originated unless *sh* had been pronounced as *ch*. So also *rikh, likh*, with their derivatives, are only a western pronunciation of *rish, lish*, "to tear, to scratch;" so also *ukhâ, mayûkha*.

nini VII. 3. 44, does indeed mention *bahuká* without saying whether he regards it as a substantive or an adjective. If the former, it can mean nothing else than *bahaká* of Girnâr, for the adjective *bahuká* is "placed at a high price, dear." *Alaghuká* has not come down to us, but must have been in use as much as *bahuká*. In order to proceed with certainty, I shall, in the Sanskṛit paraphrase, use *lághavam* (taking therefore *laghutá, laghutvam*) and *bahumánam*. Our resources do not enable us to decide whether the reading should not be *bahuká* and *lahuká*. None of the terms discussed presents the slightest difficulty, so far as the sense is concerned. It is somewhat more troublesome to determine the sense of *vachabhúmika*. The only attempt at explanation which deserves the name is that of Burnouf.|| He resolves the combination into *vacha* (Sansk. *varchas*, "ordure") and *bhúmika*, derived from *bhúmi*, "ground," from which it would follow that the word means "inspectors of the privies." He had neglected to say that the Sansk. form would then, with Vṛiddhi, have been *várchobhúmika*, but since the Sansk. *várch* would give in the Prâkṛit *vachch*, (spelled *vach*) as well as *vách*, there is no other remark to be made. The same scholar does not fail to refer to No. VI. of Girnâr, where *vacha* also occurs, and certainly in the same meaning as here, though it does not appear more clearly what that meaning is. But No. VI. has been subjected to such treatment that we could not be satisfied with quoting a couple of terms from it; and a proper discussion of the part where mention is made of the appointment of overseers of *vacha*, &c. would occupy more space than we can afford. We shall, therefore, merely assume here, provisionally, without proof, that *vachabhúmika* answers to a Sansk. *vrátyabhúmika*, derived with Vṛiddhi from *vrátyabhúmi*, "a place for wandering comrades," *i.e.* a hospice. The usual name of the royal magistrates or overseers is *mahámátra*, Sansk. *mahámátra*.¶

In Sanskṛit:—

Devânâmpriyaḥ Priyadarśi râjâ sarvapârishadânicha pravrajitânicha gârhasthyânicha pûjayati, dânenacha vividhayâcha pûjayâ pûjayaty enâni. Na tu tathâ dânaṁ vâ pûjâm vâ Devânâmpriyo manyate, yathâ yena kirtisâravṛiddhis syât sarvapârishadânâm. Sâravṛiddhis tu bahuvidhâ; tasyatasya tvidaṁ mûlaṁ yad vâgguptiḥ; kimiti? âtmîyapârishadapûjâ vâ parapârishadagarhâ vâ no bhaved aprakaraṇe laghutâ vâ syât; tasmiṁstasmin prakaraṇe pûjeta. Yat tveva parapârishade tenatena prakaraṇenaivaṁkṛitam, âtmîyapârishadañcha vardhayati parapârishadasyachopakaroti; tadanyathâ kurvann âtmîyapârishadañcha kshanoti parapârishadasyachâpy apakaroti. Yo 'pi kaśchid âtmîyapârishadam pûjayati, sarvaṁ svapârishadabhakteḥ (kuryât); kimiti? svâpârishadam dîpayemeti. Sa punas tathâ kurvant svapârishadam bâḍhataram upahanti. Tat samavâya eva sâdhuḥ (= śreshṭham); kimiti? anonyasya dharmaṁ śṛiṇuyuścha tuśrûsheraṁścha. Evaṁhi Devânâmpriyasyechchhâ; kimiti? sarvapârishadâ bahuśrutâścha syuḥ kalyâṇâgamâścha syuḥ; yecha tatra tatra prasannâs te hi vaktavyâḥ: Devânâmpriyo na tathâ dânaṁ vâ pûjâṁ vâ manyate, yathâ yena kirtisâravṛiddhis syât sarvapârishadânâm bahumânaṁ vâ. Etasmây arthâya vyâpṛitâ dharmamahâmâtrâścha stryâdhyakshyamahâmâtrâścha vrâtyabhûmikâśchânyecha nikâyâḥ. Idañchaitasya phalaṁ yad âtmîyapârishadavṛiddhiścha bhavati, dharmasyacha dîpanâ.

*Translation of No. XII.*

King Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin honours all sects, and orders of monks, and conditions of heads of families,* and honours them with love-gifts and with marks of honour of all kinds! To be sure, Devânâmpriya does not attribute so much value to love-gifts or marks of honour as to this, that the good name and the intrinsic worth of all sects may increase. Now intrinsic worth can grow greater in many ways, but the foundation thereof in all its compass is discretion in speaking,† so that no man may praise his own sect, or contemn another sect, or despise it on unsuitable occasions; on all manner of occasions let respect be shown. Whatever of good, indeed, a man, from any motive, confers on any one of a different persuasion, tends to the advantage of his own sect and to the benefit of a different persuasion; by acting in an opposite manner a man injures his own sect and offends a different sect, though every one who praises his own persuasion may perhaps do all that from attachment to his own sect, for the purpose of glorifying it; nevertheless he shall by so doing greatly injure his own persuasion. Therefore concord is best, so that all may learn to know and willingly listen to each other's religion. Because it is the wish of Devânâmpriya that the members of all persuasions may be well instructed, and shall adhere to a

|| *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 773.

¶ In Anglo-Saxon the steward or overseer of an estate is called *gerêfa*; the *dhammamahâmâtra* is therefore the *sciregerêfa*, the English *sheriff*. "Sheriff," therefore, would be the best English translation.

* That is, "kinds of laics."

† That is, "to curb the tongue." [*Virtutem primam esse puta compescere linguam* is a curious coincidence.—A.M.]

are able to refer to the parallel passage in the Pâlî redaction quoted by Childers, *Pâlî Dict.* sub voce *jhânaṁ*. The whole text given there by Childers agrees almost literally with *Lalitav.* 147 and 439, and since the Pâlî also has *sukhañcha kâyena paṭisaṁvvedeti*, the signification of the denominative is determined not merely for the Sanskrit, but for the Pâlî as well. It follows now, as a matter of course, that the *paṭivedeti* of our inscription signifies 'to have care of, to observe, to inspect,' as well as 'to communicate, to inform.' The *prativedakas*, therefore, were not spies, as others have made them out to be in spite of the plain words of the king, but inspectors, and at the same time, as would be felt in the Indian language, reporters.

"*Orodhana*, Sansk. *avarodhana*, is entirely the same in meaning as *antaḥpura*, signifying therefore 'women's chamber.' That *antaḥpura* is the Sanskrit word for what we are accustomed to call 'the sex' is unknown to the dictionaries, but is otherwise well enough known from Sanskrit literature. Any one may convince himself of this by reading Varâhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṅhita*, chaps. 74—78, which together constitute the *Antaḥpurachinta*, *i.e.* 'observations upon the sex.'|| The text of Dhaulî has *aṁte-olodhana*, which answers to a Sansk. *antovarodhana*.¶

"The conjecture has been made with regard to *vacha* that it is = Sansk. *vrâtya*. *Vrâtya* is 'wanderer, any one without a fixed residence,' and is accurately rendered by the Latin *peregrinus:* for it, too, just as the Latin word, took the signification of 'pilgrim, roaming spiritual brother;'* a guest also is sometimes addressed as *vrâtya*. The singular *vachamhi* can be here taken in a plural signification, just as well as the immediately preceding *gabhâgâramhi*, 'over sanctuaries, *in sacella*,' and in the text of Kapurdigirî, *uyânisi* also, 'over the public gardens.' The variant of *vacha* in the Dhaulî redaction is unfortunately only partially legible: *saṃ* at the beginning is recognizable, and *si* at the end; *pi* seems to stand before the termination *si*, but this might easily be a wrongly written or read *ha*. One letter, unrecognizable in the facsimile, remains still to be filled in, *ga* as I suppose. From the Sanskrit literature with which I am acquainted I cannot quote any instance of *saṅgraha* in the sense of lodgings; still it must have been a word in daily use, for it occurs in this sense frequently in the old Javanese.†

"It is still more troublesome to determine the sense of *vinîta*, as Girnâr and Kapurdigiri read; and especially because Dhaulî has *ninîta*. Both are either masculine or neater. It is a general rule that the neuter of the so-called part. perf. of all intransitive verbs in Sanskrit expresses the same thing as collectives in Dutch with or without the prefix *ge:* Thus *hasitam* is 'gelach,' *ruditam*, 'geween,' &c.; the same form also serves as infinitive aorist; thus *avalokitam* is τὸ κατιδεῖν, &c. *Vinîta* is 'transported,' therefore *vinîtam* is 'transport, traffic.' Even the masculine *vinîtaḥ* is, according to the Indian lexicographers, 'trader.' Beyond all doubt, therefore, *vinîta* is a synonym of *nigama;* for this also is both 'traffic,' and 'trader,' and 'market.' However, since *vinîtam* may signify 'correction,' and *vinîta* 'corrected,' &c., we have still to inquire whether the variant *ninîta* strengthens or weakens our supposition. Unfortunately it does neither the one nor the other. If it be = Sansk. *ninîtam*, it may then mean 'importation;' but if it originates from *nirnîtam* it would then be the 'decision, sentence.' Though it were granted, even, that 'inspectors over arbitration' may be thought of, which I doubt, still in that case *vinîta*, which occurs in two redactions, could not agree with it. On that ground I think I may postulate it as probable that by *vinîta* is meant 'trade,' or 'market,' or 'trader,' according as we regard it as neuter or masculine. As regards *ninîta*, it has to be remarked that *nî*, 'to lead,' is nothing else than the causative of *gam*, 'to go;' ‡ and since *nigama* signifies 'trade,' *ninîtam* may signify it just as well. Superintendence of trade is one of the first duties of a well-ordered state, in order to prevent the use of false weights and measures and other evil practices."

He then renders the first five lines into Sanskrit as follows:—

'Devânâmpriyaḥ Priyadarśî râjaivam âha: atikrânte 'ntare na bhûtapûrvaṁ sarvaṁ kâlam arthakarma vâ prativedanâ vâ; tan mayaivam kṛitam; sarvaṁ kâlam bhuñjânasya me 'varodhane garbhâgâreshu vrâtyeshucha vinîte§ chodyâneshucha, sarvatra prativedakâs sthitâḥ: artham majjanasya prativedayeteti; sarvatracha janasyârthaṁ karomi.'

Professor Kern's translation covers only the first

|| Compare the English translation *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. IV. 1870, p. 439.

¶ A Magadhî *antepula* has been by mistake Palicized by the regulators of the Pâlî into *antepura;* it ought to have been *antopura*, which indeed is also once met with.

* The great Vrâtya whose wanderings are described in mystic language in *Atharva-Veda* XV. is the Wind (Rudra); he is the counterpart of the Gangleri (*i.e.* the wanderer) of the Edda, or, as Sono calls him, the *Viator indefessus*, a surname of Odhin (Rudra). Compare *Praśnop.* p. 184.

† For instance, in the *Arjuna-Viváha*, v. 278, it is "reception (of a guest);" *gṛiha sangraha*, v. 291, is "apartment for lodging."

‡ *Nî* (*nayati*) must also be a causative of *i* (*eti, ayati*), although the causative force of the *n* is no longer to be discovered in the state of the language as it is now known to us.

§ Or *vinîteshu*, and in the Dhaulî version *ninîte*.

half of this inscription, but it is complemented by Lassen's version :—

King Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin saith: In past times there has never yet existed care for the (civil) interests, nor official superintendence; therefore have I instituted the same; all the time that I have been reigning, there have been everywhere inspectors|| over the women, sanctuaries, travelling pilgrims (?), traders (or trade, markets), and parks for walking, in order to attend to the interests of my people,¶ and in all respects I further the interests of my people;* and whatever I declare, or whatever the Mahâmatra shall declare, shall be referred to the Council for decision. Thus shall reports be made to me. This have I everywhere and in every place commanded, for to me there is not satisfaction in the pursuit of worldly affairs; the most worthy pursuit is the prosperity of the whole world. My whole endeavour is to be blameless towards all creatures, to make them happy here below, and enable them hereafter to attain *Svarga*. With this view this moral edict has been written: may it long endure; and may my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons after me also labour for the universal good; but this is difficult without extreme exertion."†

The XIth edict reads thus :—

[1] Devânaṁpiyo Piyadasî râjâ evaṁ âha nâsti etârisaṁ dânam yârisaṁ dhaṁmadânaṁ dhaṁmasaṁstavo vâ dhaṁmasaṁvibhâgo vâ dhaṁmasambadho va [2] tata idaṁ bhavati dâsabhatakamhi samyapatipatî mâtari pitari sâdhusususâ mitasaṁstutaññâtikânaṁ bâmhaṇasamaṇânaṁ sâdhudânaṁ [3] pâṇânaṁ anâraṁbho sâdhu eta vatavyaṁ pitâ va putena va bhâtâ va mitasaṁstutaññâtikena va âvapaṭivesiyehi ida sâdhu ida katavya [4]. so tâthâ karu ilokachasa ârâdho hoti paratacha aṁnaṁtaṁ puṁññaṁ bhavati tena dhaṁmadânenaṁ.‡

As revised by Dr. Kern, this reads :—

[1] Devânampiyo Piyadasi râja evâṁ âha: nâsti etârisaṁ dânaṁ yârisaṁ dhaṁmadânaṁ dhaṁmasaṁstavo vâ dhaṁmasaṁvibhâgo vâ dhaṁmasambaṁdho vâ; [2] tata idaṁ bhavati: dâsabhatakamhi samyapatipatî, mâtari pitari sâdhususuśâ, mitasaṁstutaññâtikânaṁ bâmhaṇasamaṇânaṁ sâdhudânaṁ, [3] pâṇânaṁ anâraṁbho. Sâdhu eta vatavyaṁ pitâ vâ putena vâ bhâtâ vâ mitasaṁstutaññâtikena vâ (y)âvapaṭivesiyehi; idaṁ sâdhu idaṁ katavyaṁ. [4] So tâthâ katâ ilokasa-cha ârâdho hoti, paratacha anaṁtaṁ puṁñaṁ bhavati tena dhaṁmadânena.

In Sanskrit :—

Devânâṁpriyaḥ Priyadarśî râjaivam âha, nâsty etâdṛiśaṁ dânaṁ yâdṛiśaṁ, dharmadânaṁ dharmasaṁstavo vâ dharmasaṁvibhâgo vâ dharmasaṁbandho vâ; tatredam bhavati; dâsabhṛitakeshu samyakpratipattir, mâtâpitros sâdhuśuśrûshâ mitrasaṁstutânâm brâhmaṇaśramaṇânâṁ sâdhudânaṁ, jîvânâm anârambhaḥ. Sâdhu etad vaktavyam pitrâ vâ putreṇa vâ bhrâtrâ vâ mitrasaṁstutajñâtibhir vâ, yâvatprativeśyaiḥ; idaṁ sâdhu; idaṁ kartavyaṁ. So tâthâkartehalokasyachârâdhi bhavati, paratrachânantam puṇyam bhavati tena dharmadânena.

*Translation of No. XI.*

King Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus :—There is no charity which equals right charity, or right conversation, or right liberality, or right relation. Under that is comprehended proper treatment of servants and subordinates, sincere obedience to father and mother, sincere charity towards friends and acquaintances, Brâhmaṇs and monks, the sparing of animal life. This is to be commended as good, whether by fathers or by sons, by brothers, by friends, acquaintances and relatives, nay, even by neighbours; thus it is *good;* thus must men act. He who acts thus makes this world a friend to him, and hereafter a man obtains for himself an imperishable reward through all that true charity.

No. IX. of Girnâr reads thus :—

[1] Devânaṁpiyo Piyadasi râja eva âha asti jano uchâvachaṁ maṅgalaṁ karote âbâdhesu vâ [2] avâhavivâhesu vâ putalâbhesu vâ pavâsaṁmhi vâ etamhicha aññamhicha jano uchâvachaṁ maṅgalaṁ karote [3] eta tu mahâḍâyo bahukaṁcha bahuvidhaṁcha chhudaṁchanirathaṁchamaṅgalaṁkarote ta katavyameva tu maṅgalaṁ apaphalaṁ tu kho [4] etârisaṁ maṅgalaṁ ayaṁ tu mahâphale maṅgale ya dhaṁmamaṅgale tata dâsabhatakamhi samyapatipatî gurûnaṁ apachiti sâdhu [5] pânesu sayame

|| As the sheriffs were appointed by Aśoka, not at the beginning of his reign, but in the eleventh year after his ascension to the throne, as we learn from No. V. of Girnâr, so they do not belong to the above-mentioned magistrates.

¶ The Dhaulî redaction reads—"All the time that I have been reigning, the inspectors over, &c. have had to communicate to me the interests of the people."

* Thus far Kern, *ut sup.* pp. 75, 76.

† Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. p. 268, note 1; and Mrs. Spiers's *Life in Anc. India*, p. 236. Burnouf (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 654) translates the last sentence, "mais cela est difficile à faire si ce n'est par un héroisme supérieur."

‡ The new readings are :—In line 2 *bhatakamhi* for *bhatakami; saṁstuta* for *sastuta;* and *samaṇânaṁ* for *samanâna.* In line 3 *anâraṁbho* for *anârabho*, and *saṁstutâ* for *sastuta.* In line 4 *so tâthâ karu* (*or karû*) for *so tâthâ kata.*

sâdhu bamhaṇasamaṇânaṁ sâdhudânaṁ etacha añecha etârisaṁ dhaṁmamaṅgalaṁ nâma ta vatavyaṁ pitâ va [6] putena vâ bhâtâ vâ svâmikena vâ idaṁ sâdhu idaṁ katavya maṅgalaṁ âva tasa athasa nisṭânâya asticha pâvutaṁ [7] sâdhudânaṁ iti na tu etârisaṁ asti dânaṁ vâ anagaho vâ yârisam dhaṁmadânaṁ va dhaṁmanugaho va ta tu kho mitena va suhadayena [8] ñatikena va sahâyana va ovâditavyaṁ tamhi-tamhi pakarâṇe idaṁ kachaṁ idaṁ sâdha imini saka . . . [9] svagaṁ ârâdhetu iti kâcha imini katavyatarâṁ yathâ svagârâdhî.§

Professor Kern's amended text and translations are as follows:—

[1] Devânampiyo Piyadasi râjâ evaṁ âha: asti jano uchâvachaṁ maṅgalaṁ karoto âbâdhesu vâ [2] âvâhavivâhesu vâ putalâbhesu vâ pavâsamhi vâ; etamhicha aññamhicha jano uchâvachaṁ maṅgalaṁ karote. [3] Eta tu mahâdâyo bahukaṁcha bahuvidaṁcha chhudaṁcha nirathaṁcha maṅgalaṁ karote. Ta katavyameva tu maṅgalaṁ apaphalaṁ tu kho [4] etârisaṁ maṅgalaṁ; ayaṁ tu mahâphalaṁ ya dhaṁmamaṅgalaṁ; tateta; dâsabhatakamhi samyapatipatî, gurûṇaṁ apachiti sâdhu, [5] paṇesu sayamo sâdhu, bamhaṇasamaṇânam sâdhudânaṁ. Etacha aññacha dhaṁmamaṅgalaṁ nâma; ta vatavyaṁ pitâ vâ [6] putena vâ bhâtâ vâ svâmikena vâ; idaṁ sâdhu; idaṁ katavyaṁ maṅgalaṁ (y)âva tasa athasa nisṭânâya. Asticha pâvutaṁ [7] sâdhudânaṁ iti; na tu etârisaṁ asti dânaṁ vâ anugaho vâ yârisaṁ dhaṁmadhânaṁ vâ dhaṁmanugahovâ. Ta tu kho mitena vâ suhadayena, [8] ñatikena vâ, sahâyena vâ ovaditavyaṁ tamhi-tamhi pakaraṇe: idaṁ kachaṁ, idaṁ sâdhu iti. Imâni saka-(*lâni karoṁto*) [9] svagaṁ ârâdhetu iti kâchani (?) imâni katavyatarâṁ yathâ śvagârâdhî.

In Sanskrit:—

Devânâmpriyaḥ Priyadarśî râjaivam âha: asti jana uchchâvacham maṅgalaṁ kuruta âbâdheshu vâvâhavivâheshu vâ putralâbheshu vâ pravâse vâ. Etasmiṁśchânyasmiṁścha jana uchchâvacham maṅgalaṁ kurute. Etat tu mahâmâḍho bahukañcha bahuvidhañcha kshudrañcha nirarthañcha maṅgalaṁ kurute. Tat kartavyam eva tu maṅgalaṁ; alpaphalan tu khalv etâdṛiśam maṅgalaṁ, idan tu mahâphalaṁ maṅgalam yad dharmamaṅgalaṁ; tatraiṭat: dâsabhṛitakeshu samyakpratipattir, gurûṇâm apachitis sâdhur, jîveshu saṁyamas sâdhur brâhmaṇaśramaṇebhyas sâdhudânam. Etachchânyachchaitâdṛiśam dharmamaṅgalaṁ nâma; tad vaktavyam pitrâ vâ putreṇa vâ bhrâtrâ vâ svâminâ vâ: idaṁ sâdhu, idaṁ kartavyam maṅgalaṁ yâvat tasyârthasya nishṭhâyâḥ. Asticha prâguktaṁ "sâdhudânam" iti; na tvetâdṛiśam asti dânaṁ vânugraho vâ, yâdṛiśaṁ dharmadânaṁ vâ dharmânugraho vâ. Tat tu khalu mitreṇa vâ suhṛidayena, jñâtina vâ, sahâyena vâvavaditavyaṁ tasmiṁstasmin prakaraṇe; idaṁ kartavyam, idaṁ sâdhviti. Imâni sakalâni kurvant svargam ârâdhayeteti kṛityânîmâni kuryâttarâṁ yathâ svargârâdhi.

*Translation of No. IX.*

King Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus:—It is a fact that men do all kinds of things which are thought to assure luck, as well in sicknesses as at betrothals and marriages, at the getting of children, or at going from home. On these and other occasions men do all kinds of things which are thought to bring prosperity. But he is a great fool who does all those manifold, multifarious, vain and useless things. This, however, does not indeed remove the necessity of a man's doing something which will bring prosperity,|| but such a kind as has been named is of little use, while of great use is true piety. To that belongs proper treatment of servants and subordinates, sincere reverence for elders and masters, sincere self-restraint towards living beings, sincere charity to Brâhmaṇs and monks. These and other such like actions—that is called true piety. Every man must hold that forth to others, whether he is a father, or a son, a brother, a lord; this is noble; this must a man do as something that assures luck, until his aim has been fully attained. Mention was made just now of "sincere charity;" now there is no charity, no affection to be compared to charity or affection springing from true piety. It is just this which a well-meaning friend, relative, or companion must, at every occurring opportunity, impress on another, that this is duty, this is proper. By doing all this, a man can merit heaven; therefore let him who wishes to gain heaven for himself fulfil, above all things, these his duties.

No. X. reads thus:—

[1] Devânaṁpiyo Piyadasi râjâ yaso va kiti(ṁ) va na mahâthâvahâ mañate añata tadâptano dîghâyacha me jano, [2] dhaṁmasusûṁsâ susûsatâṁ dhaṁmavu-

§ The new readings here are:—Line 2, *vivâhesu* for *vîvâhesu*, and *etamhi* for *etamhî*. L. 3, *chhudaṁcha* for *chhudaṁva*. L. 4, *tata* for *tateta*. There is a trace of a ⅄, or perhaps rather ꓘ; but it appears as if the sculptor had himself erased it. L. 4, *gurûnaṁ* for *gujunaṁ*. L. 6, *svâmikena* for *svamikena*.

|| If the reading of Kapurdigiri *Katavo amaṁgala* is not a mistake, caused by carelessness, for *aňamaṁgalo*, the writer of Kapurdigiri has not understood the meaning. Dhauli is unintelligible.

taṁcha anuvidhîyatâṁ etakâya Devânaṁpiyo Piyadasi râjâ yaso va kîti va ichhati, [3] ya tu kichi parâkamate Devânaṁ Piyadasi râjâ ta savaṁ pâratikâya kiṁti sakale apaparisâve asa esa tu parisave ya apuṁñaṁ, [4] dûkaraṁ tu kho etaṁ chhudakena vâ janena usaṭena vâ añata agena parâkamena savaṁ parichajiptâ eta tu kho usaṭena dûkaraṁ.¶

Prof. Kern's revised text and translations are :—

[1] Devânaṁpiyo Piyadasi râjâ yaso vâ kîti(ṁ) vâ na mahâthâvahâ maññata añata tadâptane dîghâyacha me jano, [2] dhaṁmasusûsâṁ susûsatâṁ dhaṁmavutaṁcha anuvidhîyatâṁ. Etakâya Devânaṁpiyo Piyadasi râjâ yaso vâ kîtiṁ vâ ichhati. [3] Ya tu kichi parâkamate Devânaṁpiyo Piyadasi râjâ ta savaṁ pâratikâya; kiṁti ? sakalo apaparisavo asa; esa tu parisavo ya apuṁñaṁ. [4] Dûkaraṁ tu kho etaṁ chhudakena vâ janena, usaṭena vâ, añatâ agena parâkamena savaṁ parichajiptâ. Eta tu kho usaṭena dûkaraṁ.

In Sanskṛit :—

[1] Devânâmpriyaḥ Priyadarśi râjâ yaśo vâ kîrtiṁ vâ na mahârthâvaham, amaṁsyata, yadi na tatâdve dîrghâyacha tajjano dharmaśuśrûshâm śuśrûsheta [2] dharmoktañchânuvidhîyeta. Etâvata eva Devânâmpriyaḥ Priyadarśî râjâ yaśo vâ kîrtiṁ vechchhati. [3] Yat tu kiñchit parâkramate Devânâmpriyaḥ Priyadarśî râjâ, tat sarvam pâratrikâya; kimiti? sakalo 'pâsravas syât. Esha tvâsravo yad apuṇyam. [4] Dushkaran tu khalv etat kshudrakeṇa vâ janenonnatena vânyatrâgryeṇa pûrakrameṇa sarvam parityajya. Etat tu khalûnnatena dushkaram.

*Translation of No. X.*

King Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin does not deem that renown and great name bring advantage greatly, if, at the same time, his people, for the present and afterwards, were not practising right obedience, and following exhortation to virtue. In so far only, King Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin desires renown and great name. All, therefore, that king Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin strenuously strives after, is for the life hereafter, so that he may be wholly and altogether free from blemish.* Now blemish is the same as sinfulness. But such a thing is indeed difficult to anyone, whatever be he, a person of low degree or of high station, unless with the utmost exertion of power, by sacrificing everything.† But this is indeed most difficult for a person of high station.

[1] Savata vijitamhi Devânaṁpiyasa Piyadasino raño, [2] evamapi pâchaṁtesu yathâ Choḍâ Pâḍâ Satiyaputo Ketalaputo a Taṁba[3]-paṁṇî, Aṅtiyako Yonarâjâ, yevâpi tasa Aṅtiyasa samîpaṁ [4] râjâno, savatâ Devânaṁpiyasa Piyadasino râño dve chikîchhâ katâ, [5] manusachikîchha; pasuchikîchhâcha; osuḍhânicha yâni manusopagânicha [6] pasopagânicha yata-yata nâsti, savatâ hârâpitânicha ropâpitânicha [7] mûlânicha phalânicha yata-yata nâsti, savatâ hârâpitânicha ropâpitânicha; [8] paṁthesû kûpâcha khanâpitâ, vachhâcha ropâpitâ paribhogâya pasumanusânaṁ.‡

Dr. Kern translates this literally into Sanskṛit as—

Sarvatra râshṭre Devânâmpriyasya Priyadarśino râjnas, tathaivo prâtyanteshu, yathâ Choḍâh, Pâṇḍyaḥ Satyaputraḥ, Keralaputra â Tâmraparṇîm Antiyoko Yavanarâjo, yechâpi tasya sâmantâ, râjânaḥ, sarvatra Devânâmpriyasya Priyadarśino râjno dvayî chikitsâ kṛitâ, manushyachikitsâ paśuchikitsâcha; aushadhânicha yâni manushyopagânicha paśûpagânicha yatra-yatra na santi, sarvatrâhâritânicha tadropaṇañcha kâritaṁ, mûlânicha phalânicha yatra-yatra na santi, sarvatrâhâritânicha tadropaṇañcha kâritaṁ, kûpâścha pathishu khânitâ, vṛikshâṇâṇâñcha ropaṇaṁ kâritaṁ paribhogâya§ paśumanushyâṇaṁ.

*Translation.*

In the whole dominion of King Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin, as also in the adjacent countries, as Chola, Paṇḍya, Satyaputra, Keralaputra, as far as Tâmraparṇî, the kingdom of Antiochus the Grecian king and of his neighbour kings,‖ the system of caring for the sick, both of men and cattle, followed by King Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin, has been everywhere brought into practice, and at all places where useful healing herbs for men and cattle were wanting he has caused them to be brought and planted; and at all places where roots and fruits were wanting he has caused them to be brought and planted; also he has caused wells to be dug and trees to be planted, on the roads, for the benefit of men and cattle.

No. IV. on the Dehli Pillar,¶¶ reads thus :—

Devânaṁpiye Piyadasi lâja hevaṁ âha: duvâḍasavasâbhisitena me dhaṁmalipi likhâpitâ lokasa hitasukhâye. Se taṁ âpahâṭa** taṁ-taṁ

¶ The only new readings are :—In line 1 *jano* for *janâ*; in line 4, *tu kho* for *ta kho*.

* Kapurdigirî has "without blemish."

† That is, by self-sacrifice and self-denial in all respects.

‡ The corrections supplied here are four :—In lines 2 and 3 *â Taṁbapaṁnî* for *a Tambapaṇi*; in line 3 *râjâ* for *râja*; and in line 4 *râjâno* for *râjano*.

§ Dhaulî—*pratibhogâya*.

‖ In the first place, Baktria.

¶¶ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. p. 580.

** Variant: *apahaṭâ*, i.e. *appahaṭṭâ*.

dhaṁmavaḍhi (ṁ) pâpovâ. Hevaṁ lokasa hitasukheti paṭavekhâmi; † athâ iyaṁ nâtisu, hevaṁ patyâsaṁnesu, hevaṁ apakaṭhesu kâmakâri ‡ sukhaṁ âvahâmîti, tathâcha vidahâmi. Hemeva savanikâyesu paṭavekhami; savapâsaṁdâpi me pûjitâ vividhâya pûjâya; echa yaṁ âtana § pachupagamane, se me mokhyamate. Saḍḍavîsativasâbhisitena me iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi likhâpitâ.

In Sanskṛit this is rendered :—

Devânâmpriyaḥ Priyadarśî râjaivam âha: dvâdaśavarshâbhishiktena mayâ dharmalipir lekhitâ lokasya hitasukhâya. Yas|| tâṁ na prahartâ, tântâm dharmavṛiddhim prâpnuyât. Evaṁ lokasya hitasukham iti pratyavekshe; yathedaṁjnâtishu, tathâ pratyâsanneshu, tathâpakṛishṭeshu kâmakârî sukham âvahâmîti, tathâcha vidadhâmi. Evameva sarvanikâyeshu pratyavekshe; sarvapârishadâ api mayâ pûjitâ vividhayâ pûjayâ yachchedam âtmano 'bhyupagamanaṁ tan me mukhyamatam Shaḍviṁśativarshâbhishiktena mayeyaṁ dharmalipir lekhitâ.

*Translation of No. IV. on the Dehli Pillar.*

King Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus:—Twelve years after my coronation, I caused a righteousness-edict to be written for the benefit and happiness of the public. Every one who leaves that unassailed shall obtain increase of merit in more than one respect. I direct my attention to what is useful and pleasant for the public,¶ and take such measures as I think will further happiness, while I provide satisfaction to my nearest relatives, and to (my subjects) who are near, as well as to them who dwell far off. As much do I devote my care to all corporations; also I have honoured members of all sects with every kind of work of honour, although, at the same time, I esteem my own communion the most highly. This righteousness-edict I have caused to be written twenty-six years after my coronation.

No. II. of the Dehli pillar** reads :—

Devânaṁpiye Piyadasi lâja hevaṁ âha; saḍḍavîsativasa-abhisitena me iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi likhâpitâ. Lajukâ me bahusu pânasatasahasesu janasi âyutâ; †† tesaṁ ye abhihâle vâ daṁḍe vâ atapatiye me kaṭe; kiṁti? lajukâ‡‡ asvathâ abhîtâ kaṁmâni pavatayevuṁ, janasa janapadasa hitasukhaṁ upadahevum, anugahine vachâ§§ sukhîyanadukhîyanaṁ jânisaṁti|||| dhaṁmayutenacha viyovadisaṁti janaṁ janapadaṁ; kiṁti? hidatamcha pâlatamcha âlâdhayevûti. Lajukâpi lahaṁti¶¶ paṭichalitave maṁ pulisânaṁpi me chhaṁdanâni* paṭichalisaṁti. Tepi chakâni viyovadisaṁti; yena mâṁ lajukâ chaghaṁti âlâdhayitave. Athâhi pajaṁ viyatâye dhâtiye nisijitu asvathe hoti "viyatâ dhâti châghati me pajaṁ sukhaṁ palihâṭaveti," hevaṁ mama lajukâ kaṭâ janapadasa hitasukhâye, yena ete abhîtâ asvathâ saṁte† avimanâ kaṁmâni pavatayevûti. Etena me lajukânaṁ abhihâle vâ daṁḍe vâ atapatiye kaṭe; ichhitaviyâ hi esa kiti: viyohâlasamatâcha siyâ, daṁḍasamatâcha. Âva itepicha me âvuti: baṁdhanabadhânaṁ munisânaṁ tîlitadaṁḍânaṁ patavadhânaṁ tîni divasâni me yote diṁne, nâtikâvakâni, nijhapayisaṁti jîvitâyeti, nânâsaṁgaṁcha‡ nijhapayitave dânaṁ dâhaṁti, pâlatikaṁ upavâsaṁ vâ kachhaṁti. Ichhâ hi me hevaṁ niludhasâpi§ kâlasi pâlataṁ âlâdhayevuti, janasacha vaḍhati vividhe dhaṁmachalane, sayaṁe, dânasavibhâgeti.

Rendered into Sanskṛit this becomes :—

Devânâmpriyaḥ Priyadarśi râjaivam âha: shaḍviṁśativarshâbhishiktena mayeyaṁ dharmalipir lekhitâ. Mahâmâtrâ mayâ bahushu jîvaśatasahasreshu jana âyuktâḥ; tesham abhiyogo vâ daṁḍo vâ svalantraḥ kṛitaḥ? Kimiti? mahâmâtrâ âśvastâ abhîtâḥ karmâṇi pravartayeyur, janasya janapadasya hitasukham upadadhyus, sânugrahâ vâchâ sukhâkaraṇaduḥkhâkaraṇaṁ jnâsyanti dharmayuktyâcha nirṇayaṁ vadishyanti janasya janapadasya; kimiti? aihikañcha pâratrikañ chârâdhayeyur iti. Mahâmâtrâ apy arhanti paricharitam mâm, matpurushâṇâm api chhandam pratyeshyanti. Te 'pi chakreshu nirṇayaṁ vadishyanti; yena mâm mahâmâtrâ arhanty ârâdhayitum. Yathâ hi prajâṁ vyaktâyâṁ dhâtryâṁ nisṛijyâśvasto bhavati: "vyaktâ dhâtrî pratipadyate matprajâṁ sukham parirakshitum" iti, evam mayâ mahâmâtrâḥ kṛitâ janapadasya hitasukhâya, yenaite 'bhîtâ âśvastâs santo 'vimanasaḥ karmâṇi pravartayeyur iti. Etena mayâ mahâmâtrâṇâm abhiyogo vâ danḍo

† Variant: *pativekhâmi*; Sans. *pratyavekshe.*
‡ Perhaps for *kimaṁkâni*, *kâmakânâ.*
§ Variant, *atanâ.*
|| Literally: *sa tâm aprahartâ.*
¶ *Hitasukham* is the Latin "utile dulci."
** See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 741.
†† Perhaps for *âyatâ*; Sans. *âyattâ.*

‡‡ Variants,—*lajakâ*, *lajûkâ*, &c.
§§ Var.—*vaṁchâ* (or, vuchchâ).
|||| Perhaps for *janisaṁti.*
¶¶ Var.—*laghaṁti.*
* Perhaps for *sanipi*,-*sânapi*, and *chaṁdâṁnâni.*
† Perhaps for *saṁtaṁ.*
‡ Perhaps for *naṁnâsaṁtaṁva.*
§ Perhaps for *niladhasipi* or *nilapasipi.*

vâ svatantraḥ kritaḥ. Eshṭavyâ hy eshâ kîrtir yad vyavahârasamatâcha syâd daṇḍasamatâcha. Yâvad ito 'picha madâvrittir yad bandhanabaddhânâm manushyâṇâṁ tîritadaṇḍânâm prâptavadhânâm trayo divasâ mayâ yautakaṁ dattam, anyûnâdhikâḥ, kshapayishyanti jîvitam iti; nânâsangañcha kshapayitum dânaṁ dâsyanti pâratrikam upavâsañcha karishyanti. Ichchhâ hi madîyaivaṁ nirodhasyâpi kale pâratryam ârâdhayeyur iti, janasyacha vardhate vividhadharmacharaṇaṁ saṁyamo dânasaṁvibhâga iti.

*Translation of No. II. on the Dehli Pillar.*

King Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus: Twenty-six years after my coronation I have caused this righteousness-edict to be written. I have appointed sheriffs over many hundred thousands of souls in the land; I have granted to them free power of instituting legal prosecution and inflicting punishment, with intent that the sheriffs undisturbed and undismayed shall discharge their functions; further the interest and the happiness of the inhabitants of town and country; take cognizance, with benevolence in their manner of speaking, of what awakens satisfaction or dissatisfaction; and with justice shall pronounce judgment among the residents in town and country, so that they may receive reward here and hereafter.

And the sheriffs must serve me, and, at the same time, they shall take cognizance of the wishes of my men.|| They shall also pronounce judgment in the provinces, and therewith shall the sheriffs be pleased to satisfy me. Because, as any one who entrusts his offspring to a nurse is at rest, thinking "an efficient nurse will take care of my offspring diligently and well," so have I appointed sheriffs for the advantage and happiness of the natives, so that they, feeling themselves undisturbed and undismayed, may without reluctance prosecute their business. For this end I have committed to the sole power of the sheriffs both legal prosecution and imposition of punishment. Because it is an enviable renown (for a prince) that there is equality of law and equity of punishment. Up to the present day it has also been a steadfast custom of mine to grant to the prisoners who have been condemned to the utmost punishment, and have reached the time of execution, a respite of three days, no more and no less; out of consideration that they must be deprived of life, and in order to forsake every attachment to other things, shall they give alms, and prepare themselves for the life hereafter. For thus is my wish, that they, even in the time of imprisonment, may secure to themselves the happiness of an hereafter, and the practice of virtue in every kind of respect, self-control, and generous liberality, may increase among the people.

No. I. of the Dhauli rock inscriptions¶ reads thus:—

(Devâ)naṁpiyasa (vacha)nena Tosaliyaṁ mahâmâtâ nagalavi(yo)hâlaka (va)taviya aṁ kichhi de(khâm)i haṁ naṁtaṁ ichhâmiṁ kalinaṁ enaṁ paṭivedaye haṁ duvâlatecha âlabhe haṁ esacha me mokhyamataduvâ(le etasi aṭha)si aṁ tuphe anusathi tuphehi bahûsu pânasahasesu âyuta janame gachhacha sumusisâuaṁ save sumunise paja mamâ atha pajâye ichhâmi haka ka savaṁna sitasukhona hidalo(kika)pâlalonineya y(ujevâti).

This is first corrected by Dr. Kern thus:—

Devânaṁpiyasa vachanena Tosaliyaṁ mahâmâtâ nagalaviyohâlakâ vataviyâ: aṁ kichhi dekhâmi haṁ nîtaṁ ichâmi, kâlinaṁ enaṁ paṭivedaye haṁ, duvâlatecha âlabhe haṁ; esacha me mokhyamataduvâle etasi aṭhasi aṁ tuphe anusathâ. Tuphe hi bahûsu pânasahasesu âyutâ jane me gachhecha sumunisânaṁ. Save sumunise pajâ mama; atha pajâya ichâmi hakaṁ te savena hitasukhena hidalokikapâlalokikâye yujevûti.

And translated into Sanskrit this becomes:—

Devânâmpriyasya vachanena Tosalyâm mahâmâtrâ nagaravyavahârakâ* vaktavyâḥ: yat kiñchit paśyâmy ahaṁ nîtam ichchhâmi, kâriṇâm enaḥ prativedaye 'ham; etachcha mama mukhyamatadvâram etasminn arthe yad yûyam anuśishṭaḥ; yûyaṁhi bahushu jîvasahasreshv âyuktâ majjane gachchhecha sujanânâm. Sarvas sujanaḥ prajâ me; yathâ prajâyây ichchhâmy ahaṁ te sarveṇa hitasukhenaihalokikapâralokikâya yujyeyur iti.

*Translation of No. I. of the Dhauli Inscriptions.*

In the name of Devânâmpriya be it said to the magistrates charged with the jurisdiction of the city of Tosalî. Every cause which is

|| It is not quite certain whether this means subordinate functionaries, or subjects in general. We may remark that the word for "men" in the widest signification is, in the Mâgadhî of the edicts, *munise*, not *pulise*.

¶ See Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 672.

* Better *vyâvahârikâ*.

ASOKA INSCRIPTION,-EDICTS X - XIV.




J. Burgess fecit.

Collotype by W. Griggs.

submitted to my judicial decision I wish to have investigated; I convince myself of the guilt of the perpetrators, and I act myself according to a steadfast principle.† The principle on which I place the highest value in these is communicated to you in this instruction. Because ye are placed over many thousands of souls among the people, and over the whole number of the good. Every good man is a child to me; as for a child, I wish that they‡ may be blessed with everything which is useful and pleasant for this world and hereafter.

*No. XIV. of Girnâr.*

The last of the edicts is engraved to the right of the thirteenth, and is in five and a half lines. It reads thus :—

[1] Ayaṁ dhaṁmalipî Devânaṁpiyena Piyadasinâ râñâ lekhâpitâ asti eva [2] saṁkhitena asti majhamena asti vistatana nâcha savaṁ savata ghaṭitaṁ [3] mahâlakepi vijitaṁ bahucha likhitaṁ likhâpayisaṁchema asticha etakaṁ [4] punapunavutaṁ tasatasa athasa mâdhûritâya kiṁti jano tathâ paṭipajetha [5] tata ekadâ asamâtaṁ likhitaṁ asaṁdesaṁ va sachhâyakâraṇaṁ va [6] alocheptâ lipikarâparâdhena va.§

Professor Kern's revised reading of the text is as follows :—

[1] Ayaṁ dhaṁmalipî Devânaṁpiyena Piyadasinâ râñâ lekhâpitâ; asti eva [2] saṁkhitena, asti majhamena, asti vistatena, nocha savaṁ savata ghaṭitaṁ; [3] mahâlakaṁhi vijitaṁ, bahucha likhitaṁ likhâpayisaṁ . . . Asticha etakaṁ [4] punapunavutaṁ tasa-tasa athasa mâdhûriyâ (*or* mâdhûratâya); kiṁti? jano tathâ paṭipajetha. [5]. Tata ekadâ asamâtaṁ likhitam asadisaṁ vâ sachhâyakâraṇaṁ vâ [6] alocheptâ lipikarâparâdhena vâ.

In Sanskṛit :—

Iyam dharmalipir Devânampriyeṇa Priyadarśinâ râjnâ lekhitâ; asty eva saṅkshepato 'sti madhyamam asti vistâreṇa, nacha sarvaṁ sarvatra ghatitam; mahaddhi râshṭram bahucha likhitam alîlikham. Asticha, tâvat, punaḥ punaruktaṁ, tasyatasyârthasya mâdhuryât; kimiti? janas tathâ pratipadyeteti Tattad ekadâsamâptaṁ likhitam asadṛiśaṁ vâ, sachchhâyopekshayâ vâ lipikarâparadhena vâ.

*Translation of No. XIV. of Girnâr.*

King Devânâmpriya Priyadarśin has caused this righteousness-edict to be written, here concisely, there in moderate compass, in a third place again at full length, so that it is not found altogether everywhere worked out; (?) for the kingdom is great, and what I have caused to be written much. Repetitions occur also, in a certain measure, on account of the sweetness of various points, in order that the people should in that way (the more willingly) receive it. If sometimes the one or other is written incompletely or not in order, it is because care has not been taken to make a good transcript||, or by the fault of the copyist (*i.e.* the stone-cutter).

Professor Kern thus concludes :—The edicts introduced into this treatise give an idea of what the king did for his subjects in his wide empire, which extended from Behâr to Gândhâra, from the Himâlaya to the coast of Coromandel and Pâṇḍya¶. They are not unimportant for the criticism of the Buddhistic traditions, though they give us exceedingly little concerning the condition of the doctrine and its adherents. The prince went over to Buddhism in the eleventh year of his reign. He was a zealous Buddhist who concerned himself with the spritual interest, and even with the catechism, of his co-religionists. At fitting time and place, he makes mention, in a modest and becoming manner, of the doctrine which he had embraced; but nothing of a Buddhist spirit can be discovered in his state policy. From the very beginning of his reign he was a good prince. His ordinances concerning the sparing of animal life agree much more closely with the ideas of the heretical Jainas than those of the Buddhists.

Although, then, the inscriptions of Aśoka

† *Dvâram*, properly "entrance," is not only *upâya abhyupâya*, as the native lexicographers periphrase it, but also *nyâya*, "principle, fundamental element, axiom, method." Thus (*e.g.*) when in the *Panchatantra*, 166, 17, it is said *dharmaśâstradvârenâsmâkam nirṇayaṁ dehi*. that means "give sentence according to the principles pertaining to jurisprudence." It is true that the proper meaning of *nyâya* itself is also "entrance."

‡ "They," in the plural, on account of the plural idea in the collective "every."

§ The new readings in the estampage are :—in line 2 *savata* for *pavata*; in line 4 *kiṁti* for *kiti*; in line 5 *asaṁdesam* for *asadeśam*.

|| Sanskṛit *chhâyâ* "transcript, copy," is wanting in the dictionaries; the word is well known to the paṇḍits, and occurs also in the Bombay editions of Sanskṛit dramas.

¶ In one part of No. V., which is equally corrupt in all the three redactions, he names, as the extreme (western) portions of his kingdom—in Girnâr, "Yona—Kambo(ja)—Gaṁdhârânaṁ Ristika—Petenikânam"; in Dhauli "Yâna—Kambocha—Gamdhâlesu, Lathika—Pitenikesu." Except the last name, this can easily be restored; in Girnâr "Yona—Kamboja—Gaṁdhârânaṁ Râsṭika—Petenikânaṁ." These names have been already explained correctly by Prof. Lassen. with perhaps the exception of the last. See *Ind. Alt.* (2nd ed.) 137 ff. II. 251.

the Humane may be only in part of direct interest for the history of Buddhism, yet the trouble bestowed upon the reading has not been lost. The A śoka with whom we become acquainted from his own words forms a striking contrast to the caricature which is exhibited to us in the works of Buddhists and others as the image of the noble king.

[The reader unacquainted with the history of these inscriptions will get some light from papers in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vols. VIII. and XII. by Professor H. H. Wilson; and in *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Jan. 1850 and Jan. 1853, by the late Rev. Dr. Wilson of Bombay; Burnouf's *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, Appendix X.; Mrs. Spiers's *Life in Ancient India*; Lassen's *Alterth.* Bd. II.; &c. Much of the ingenious criticism of Dr. Kern has been omitted in the above abstract from want of room.]

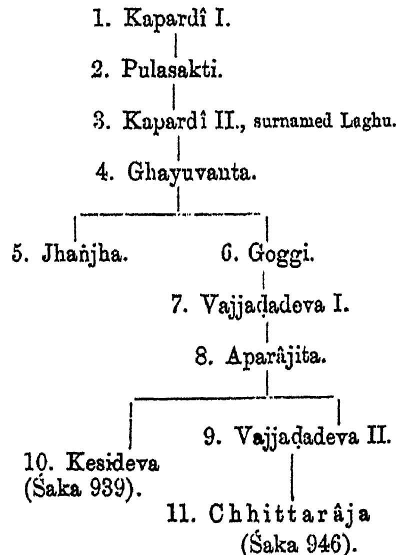
## A GRANT OF CHHITTARÂJADEVA, MAHÂMAṆḌALEŚVARA OF THE KONKAṆA.

BY G. BÜHLER.

This grant is one of the series of inscriptions from which extracts have been given by Mr. Wathen (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. II. p. 383).

Through the kind offices of Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, Collector of Bombay, I obtained the loan of the original from the owner, Mr. Hormasji C. Ashburner, on whose land near B h â ṇ ḍ u p it was found some forty years ago. The plates are three in number, and are connected by a very stout ring with a seal, bearing a Garuḍa, the cognizance of the Śilâhâras. Each plate measures 7½ inches by 4½. The first and the last are inscribed on the inner side only, and the second on both sides. They are well preserved. The characters are ancient Devanâgarî, and closely resemble those of the Mâlwa inscriptions of V â k p a t i, B h o j a, and their successors, as well as those of the later Râshṭrakûṭas or Yâdavas.

The donor of this grant is C h h i t t a r â j a d e v a,* of the Ś i l â h â r a or Ś i l â r a dynasty, which derives its descent from the Vidyâdhara J î m û t a v â h a n a, the son of J î m û t a k e t u, and is sometimes called simply the V i d y â d h a r a family.† The V i d y â d h a r a s are a race of demigods frequently mentioned in Buddhist works, and appear as the attendants of Śiva in certain legends, such as those treated in the *Vṛihatkathâs* of Kshemendra and Somadeva. The progenitor of the family, J î m û t a v â h a n a, has, of course, no better claim to be considered a historical person than the C h u l u k a, from whom the C h â l u k y a s are sometimes derived. Lassen‡ thinks that the Ś i l â h â r a s are of northern origin, as a Kâfir tribe called S î l â r is found in northern Kâbulistân. But, be that as it may, during the 9th and 10th centuries of our era the Ś i l â h â r a s were feudatories of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mânyakheṭa, and later of the C h â l u k y a s of K a l y â ṇ a, and held, besides the Konkaṇa, considerable parts of the Dekhan, between Sattârâ and Belgâm.§ They were probably divided into two or more distinct lines. The *vaṁśâvalis* are, however, in great confusion, as the inscriptions in which they occur have been deciphered imperfectly. According to our inscription the *vaṁśâvali* stands as follows:—




The name of the fourth king is certainly wrong. For the metre requires that its first syllable should be long. Probably V a p p u v a n n a, the reading of the facsimile|| of the grant of K e s i d e v a (Arikesari) gives the correct form.

* Mr. Wathen's Chhinnarâja is a misreading, and Prof. Lassen's Chihnarâja a further distortion of Mr. Wathen's mistake.

† Conf., *e.g.*, *Vikramânka charita* VIII. 3.

‡ *Ind. Alt.* vol. IV. p. 113.

§ See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. IV. *loc. cit.*

|| *As. Res.* vol. I. p. 357.

It is also probable that a king has been omitted between Aparâjita and Vajjaḍadeva II., or at least the real name of Aparâjita has been left out; for the verse in which the names of Kesideva and Vajjaḍadeva II. occurs is mutilated. It consists of two *pâdas* only, the second of which offends against the metre. Besides, a comparison with Kesideva's (Arikesari's) grant shows that there followed a good deal after v. 8, which is left out in our *śâsana*. Unfortunately the latter portion of the facsimile given in the *Asiatic Researches* and the whole of the translation are so untrustworthy as to be useless for the purpose of attempting a restoration. Like nearly all inscriptions read fifty or sixty years ago, Kesideva's grant requires re-deciphering.

The date of the grant is given as Sunday, Kârtika Śuddha 15, Saka 948 (*i.e.* 1026 A.D.), and it is added that an eclipse of the sun took place on that day. It is clear that either the date must be wrong, or that instead of 'an eclipse of the *sun*' an 'eclipse of the *moon*' ought to be read. I suspect that the former is the case, and that, while the *grant was made* on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, it was *written* on the date mentioned. A similar discrepancy occurs on the Morvi plate,* which is dated Sudi 5, when an eclipse of the sun is stated to have taken place!

The donee, Âmadevaiya, son of Vipranoḍamaiya, who belonged to the Chhandogaśâkhâ of the Sâmaveda, must have been a southerner, as the termination of his name, *aiya*, shows. The same remark applies to the ministers Sîhapaiya and Nâgaṇaiya, and the writer of the *śâsana*, Jogapaiya.

The field which was granted to Âmadevaiya was situated in the village of *Noura*, now *Nowohor*, belonging to the vishaya or tâlukâ of Shatshashṭhî, the modern Salsette, and included in Śrîsthânaka or Thâṇâ. The village of Gòṁvaṇi is now called Gowhan, and lies a little north of Bhâṅḍûp. *Gorapavali* is not to be traced on the Trigonometrical Survey map, but it may be the old name of *Bhâṅḍûp*, which occupies nearly the place assigned to *Gorapavali*. It is worthy of note that the "king's highroad" (*râjapatha*), which, according to the grant, passed to the west of the piece of land granted, followed nearly the same line as the present road from Bombay to Ṭhâṇâ. It no doubt connected one of the many harbours of Salsette, or Bombay, with Ṭhâṇâ. Regarding the residence of Chhittadeva, Purî, I am only able to repeat Mr. Wathen's conjecture that it may be Gârapurî or Elephanta.†

TRANSCRIPT.

*Plate I.*

(1) ओं जयश्चाभ्युदयश्च ॥ लभते सर्व्वकार्येषु पूजया गणनायकः । विघ्नं निघ्नन्स वः पायादपाया-

(2) द्गणनायकः ॥ स वः पातु सिवो नित्यं यन्मौलौ भाति जाह्नवी । सुमेरुसिखरोद्गच्छदच्छचंद्रकलोप-‡

(3) मा ॥ जीमूतकेतुतनयो नियतं दयालुर्ज्जीमूतवाहन इति त्रिजगत्प्रसिद्धः । देहं निजं तृण-

(4) मिवाकलयन्परार्थे यो रक्षतिस्म गरूडात्खलु संखचूडं ॥ तस्यान्वये नरपतिः समभूत्कप-

(5) र्द्दी सीलारवंसतिलको रिपुदर्प्पमर्द्दी । तस्मादभूच्च तनयः पुलसक्तिनामा मार्त्तण्डमण्ड-

(6) लसमानसमिद्धधामा ॥ जातवानथ लघुः स कपर्द्दी सूनुरस्य सकलैररिवर्गैः । यद्ध-

(7) येन सलिलाञ्जलिरुच्चैर्द्दीयते [स्म] निजराज्यसुखाय ॥ तस्मादभूच्च तनयो भुवनैकवीरः श्रीघयुव-

(8) न्त इति संगररङ्गवीरः । श्रीझंझ इत्यभवदस्य सुतः सुकीर्त्तिर्भ्राताथ गोग्गिनृपतिः सम-

(9) भूत्सुमूर्त्तिः ॥ तस्माद्विस्मयकारिहारिचरितप्रख्यातकीर्त्तिः सुतः श्रीमान्वज्जडदेवभू-

(10) पतिरभूद्भूचक्रचूडामणिः । दोर्द्दण्डैकवलस्य यस्य सहसा संग्रामरंगांगणे

(11) राज्यश्रीः स्वयमेत्य वक्षसि रतिं चक्रे मुरारेरिव ॥ जयन्त इव वृत्रारेः पुरारे-

(12) रिव षण्मुखः । ततः श्रीमानभूत्पुत्रः सच्चरित्रोपराजितः ॥ कर्ण्णस्त्यागेन यः

(13) साक्षात्सत्येन च युधिष्ठिरः । प्रतापाद्दीप्तिमार्त्तण्डः कालदण्डश्च यो द्विषां ॥

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 258.

† Possibly Râjpurî.—ED.

‡ Line 2, read शिवो. शिखर°. L. 4, read शंखचूडं. L. 5, read शीलारवंश°. L. 7, read रुच्चैर्द्दीयतेस्म नि.° with facsimile in *As. Res.* vol. I. p. 313; perhaps वप्पुवन्न or वप्पुवन्त for घयुवन्तः compare facsimile *As. Res. loc. cit.* L. 8, read भ्राता.

(14) **तस्मादभूद्वज्जडदेवनामा** ततोग्रजः **श्रीकेसिदेवश्च** । तद्भ्रातृ-
(15) जो **वज्जडदेवसूनुः** **श्रीच्छित्तराजो** नृपतिर्ब्बभूव । शीलारवंसः शिसुना-§

*Plate II.A.*

(1) पि येन नीतः परामुन्नतिमुन्नतेन ॥ अतः स्वकीयपुण्योदयात्समधिगताशेषपंचमहा-
(2) शब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतितगरपुरपरमेश्वरसिलाहारनरेंद्रजीमूतवाहना-¶
(3) न्वयप्रसूतसुवर्ण्णगरुडध्वजसहजविद्याधरत्यागजगज्झम्पिमण्डलिकशिखा-
(4) मणिसरणागतवज्रपंजरप्रभृतिसमस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहामण्डलेश्वरश्री-
(5) **मच्छित्तराजदेव**निजभुजोपार्ज्जितानेकमण्डलसमेतं पुरीप्रमुखश्चतुर्द्दशग्राम-
(6) सतीसमन्वितं समग्रकोंकणभुवं सपनुशासति तच्चैतद्राज्यचिन्ताभारमुद्वहत्सु सर्व्वाधिका-
(7) रिश्रीनागणैयसांधिविग्रहिकश्रीसीहपैयकर्ण्णाटशांधिविग्रहिकश्रीकपर्द्दिश्रीकरणा-
(8) दिपंचप्रधानेषु सत्सु अस्मिन् काले प्रवर्त्तमाने स च **महामण्डलेश्वरश्रीमच्छित्त-**
(9) **राजदेवः** सर्व्वानेव स्वसंवध्यमानकानन्यानपि समागामिराजपुत्रमंत्रिपुरोहि-
(10) तामात्यप्रधानाप्रधाननैयोगिकांस्तथा राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिनगरपतिग्रामप-
(11) तिनियुक्तानियुक्तराजपुरुषजनपदांस्तथा हंयमननगरपौरात्रिवर्ग्गप्रभृतींश्च
(12) प्रणतिपूजासत्कारसमादेसैः संदिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा ॥ चला विभूतिः
(13) क्षणभंगं यौवनं । कृतान्तदन्तान्तरवर्त्ति जीवितं ॥ संसारः सहजजरामरणसाधार-
(14) णं शरीरकं । पवनचलितकमलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरेव चायुषी इति मत्वा
(15) द्रढयन्ति दानफलं । तथा चोक्तं भगवता व्यासेन ॥ अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्ण्णं भूर्वैष्ण-

*Plate II.B.*

(1) वी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः । लोकत्रयन्तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥ इति धर्म्माध-
(2) र्म्मविचारचारुचिरन्तनमुनिवचनान्यवधार्य्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च श्रेयसोर्थिना मया सक-*
(3) नृपकालातीतसंवत्सरसतेषु नवसु अष्टचत्वारिंशदधिकेषु क्षयसंवत्सरान्तर्गतका-
(4) र्त्तिकसुद्धपंचदस्यां यत्रांकतोपि संवत् ९४८ कार्त्तिकसुद्ध १५ रवौ संजातो आदित्य-
(5) ग्रहणपर्व्वणि सुतीर्थे स्नात्वा गगनैकचक्रचूडामणये कमलिनीकामुकाये भगव-
(6) ते सवित्रे नानाविधकुसुमश्लाघ्यमर्घ्यं दत्वा सकलसुरासुरगुरुत्रैलोक्यस्वामिनं भ-
(7) गवन्तमुमापतिमभ्यर्च्य यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनादिषट्कर्म्मनिरताय क्रतुक्रिया-
(8) काण्डसौण्डाय पारासरगोत्राय च्छंदोगशाखिने महाब्राह्मणाय आमदेवैया-
(9) य विप्रनोडमैयसुताय यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनादिषट्कर्म्मकरणाय आगता-
(10) भ्यागतनित्यनैमित्तिकसम्व्यवहारार्थं बलिं चरुकवैस्वदेवाग्निहोत्रक्रतुक्रिया-
(11) द्युपसर्प्पणार्थं स्वपरिग्रहपोषणार्थं च श्रीस्थानकाभ्यन्तरषट्षष्ठीविषयान्तःपाति-
(12) नोउरग्रामान्तर्व्वर्ति वोडणिभद्रक्षेत्रं यस्य चाघाटनानि पूर्व्वतःगोंवणिमर्यादा दक्षि-
(13) णतःगोरपवलीमर्यादा पश्चिमतो राजप[illegible]:पूर्व्वोत्तरतो गोंवणि-
(14) मर्यादा एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितं ससीमापर्यन्तं समस्तोत्पत्तिसंयुक्तं
(15) अचाटभटप्रवेसं अनादेस्यं अनासेध्यं उदकातिस्वर्गेण नमस्यावृत्त्या परमया भ-

§ L. 15, read शिशुना·

¶ Line 2, read शिला°· L. 3, read माण्डलिक°. L. 4, read शरणा°· L. 5, read °राजदेवे ;—°समेतां; °प्रमुखच· L. 6, read शतीं· L. 7, read सांधिवि·° L. 12, read समादेशैः L. 13, read संसारस°· L. 14, read तरलतरैव·

* Line 2, read शक°· L. 3, read शतेषु· L. 4, read शुद्ध·° संजाते· L. 5, read °कामुकाय· L. 8, read शौण्डाय; पाराशर°· L. 10, read वैश्वदेव° L. 12, possibly चोडणिभट्ट°· L. 15, read °प्रवेश्यं; अनादेश्यं उदकातिसर्गेण·

*Plate III.*

(1) त्तया प्रतिपादितं । तदस्य सान्वयवधोरपि भुंजतो भोजयतो वा कृषतः कर्षयतो वा†
(2) न केनापि परिपन्थना करणीया ॥ यत उक्तमेव महामुनिभिः बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भु-
(3) क्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ॥ यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ दत्वा भूमिं भाविनः
(4) पार्त्थिवेंद्रान्भूयोभूयो याचते रामभद्रः ! सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां कालेकाले पालनी-
(5) यो भवद्भिः ॥ इति महर्षिवच्चनान्यवधार्य सर्व्वैरपि समागामिभिर्भूपाले पालनध-
(6) र्म्मफललोभ एव कलनीयः । न पुनस्तल्लोपनपापकलंकाग्रेसरेण केनापि भवितव्यं ॥
(7) यस्त्वेवमभ्यात्थितोपि लोभादज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिंद्यादाच्छिद्यमानमनु-
(8) मोदेत वा स पञ्चभिरपि पातकैरुपपातकैश्च लिप्तौ रौरवमहारौरवांधतामिस्रा-
(9) दिनरकांश्चिरमनुभविष्यति । तथा चोक्तं व्यासेन ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हेरत वसुं-
(10) धरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा कृमिभिःसह पच्यते ॥ यथा चैतदेवं तथा शासनदाता
(11) लेखकहस्तेन स्वमतमारोपयति । यथा मतं मम **महामण्डलेश्वरश्रीच्छित्तराजदेवस्य म-**
(12) **हामण्डलेश्वरश्रीमद्वज्जडदेवराजसूनोर्यदत्र** शासने लिखितं ॥ लिखितं चैतन्मया
(13) श्रीमद्राजानुज्ञया भाण्डागारसेनजोगपैयेन भाण्डागारसेनमहाकविश्रीनाग-
(14) लैयभ्रातृसुनेन यदत्रोनाक्षरमधिकाक्षरम्वा तत्सर्व्वं प्रमाणमिति ॥ श्रीर्भवतु

*Translation.*

1. May that Leader of the Gaṇas protect you from misfortune who destroys obstacles, and who by means of worship receives consideration in all undertakings.‡

2. May that Śiva protect you on whose head Gangâ glitters, resembling the brilliant crescent of the new moon when it rises over Sumeru's crest.§

3. The ever-compassionate son of Jîmûtaketu, Jîmûtavâhana, is famed in the three worlds, who, valuing his own body not more than a straw for another's sake, saved, indeed, Śankhachûḍa from Garuḍa.||

4. Among his descendants arose Kapardî, an ornament of the Śilâra race, who destroyed the pride of his enemies; and from him sprang a son, called Pulasakti, whose blazing splendour equalled that of the sun.¶

5. Then a son was born to him, that Laghu Kapardî out of fear of whom all his enemies offered libations of water for the welfare of their kingdoms.**

6. His son was the illustrious Ghayuvanta, (called also) Bhuvanaikavîra, a hero on the battle-field. His famous son was the illustrious Jhañjha; next his brother the beautiful Goggi became king.††

7. From him sprang a son famed for his astounding and enchanting deeds, the illustrious prince Vajjaḍadeva, a chief of kings. Royal Fortune, suddenly approaching him of her own accord on the battle-field, took delight (*in resting*) on the bosom of that (*prince*), whose only force was his strong arm, as (*if he were*) Murâri.‡‡

8. As Jayanta sprang from (*Indra*) Vṛitra's foe, and six-faced (*Kumâra*) from (*Śiva*) the foe of Pura, so an illustrious, virtuous son, (*named*) Aparâjita, was born to him,

† Line 1, read सान्वयबंधोरे. L. 5, read भूपालैः. L. 7, read भ्यर्त्थितो°. L. 8, read लिप्तो.

‡ The verse contains a *yamaka*, which obscures its meaning. The syllables *gaṇanâyakaḥ* at the end of the first half-verse must be dissolved into *gaṇanâḥ* and *yakaḥ*. The latter is the relative pronoun *yaḥ* with infix *ak*, which may be inserted before the terminations of all pronouns. Metre *anushṭubh*.

§ Metre *anushṭubh*.

|| The story of Jimûtavâhana, who saved the Nâga Śankhachûḍa from Garuḍa by allowing himself to be torn in the victim's place, forms the subject of the *Nâgânandanâṭaka*, which see. *Vide Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 147. Metre *vasantatilaka*.

¶ Metre *vasantatilaka*.

** Metre *svâgatâ*. 'Laghu Kapardî' means 'Kapardî junior.'

†† Metre *vasantatilaka*. Regarding the correct form of the name Ghayuvanta see above. Bhuvanaikavîra *may* be taken also as a simple epithet, and be translated by 'the only hero in the world.'

‡‡ V. 7. Metre *śârdûlavikrîḍita*. Lakshmî (Fortune) is the wife of Vishṇu (Murâri).

9. Who in liberality resembled Karṇa, in truthfulness Yudhishṭhira, who, a brilliant sun in valour, (*destroyed*) like Yama's staff his enemies.§

10. From him sprang one who was called Vajjaḍadeva, and then (*followed*) the (*latter's*) elder brother, the illustrious Kesideva.||

11. Next his nephew, the illustrious Chhittarâja, the son of Vajjaḍadeva, became king. When an infant, that great (*prince*) already raised the Śîlâra race to its highest elevation.¶

Therefore, while the great provincial ruler, the illustrious Chhittarâjadeva, who in reward of his own spiritual merit has obtained all the five great titles, who is the great lord of the Sâmantas, and the ruler of the town of Tagara,* who is born in (*the race of*) the Śilâhâra kings, the descendants of Jîmûtavâhana,—who carries on his banner a golden Garuḍa,† whose liberality, natural to (*him as to*) a Vidhyâdhara, surpasses the world,‡ who is chief among the provincial chiefs, who protects suppliants like an adamant cage, and so forth, and who is made illustrious by the whole succession of kings,—rules over the whole Koṅkaṇa country, containing 1,400 villages, chief of which is Purî, as well as over various provinces conquered by his own arm,—while the chief five officers of the state, the prime minister, the illustrious Nâgaṇaiya; the minister for peace and war, the illustrious Sîhapaiya; the minister of peace and war (in) Kâṇarâ, the illustrious Kapardî; the (chief) secretary,§§ and others who bore the weight of the cares of that kingdom|||| were in existence;—at this time the great provincial chief, the illustrious Chittarâjadeva addresses with salutations, worship, and respect *all* the assembled men of royal caste, ministers, Purohitas, councillors, chief and minor officials, whether connected with himself or strangers, as well as the lords of *râshṭras* (zillâs), the lords of *vishayas* (tâlûkâs), the lords of towns, the lords of villages, officials and non-official persons, servants of the king, and *rayats*, likewise the citizens of the town of Haṁyamana, belonging to the three (twice-born) castes and others, as follows:—

"Be it known to you that knowing prosperity to be uncertain, youth to last for a short time only, life to be lying in the jaws of death, the body to be subject to decay and death that are natural in this world, and health, to be exceedingly unstable like the water-drop that hangs on a wind-moved lotus-leaf, having considered the sayings of ancient munis which are beautiful through their distinguishing between merit and demerit and which affirm the meritoriousness of gifts, such as the text of the divine Vyâsa, "Gold is the firstborn of Fire, from Vishṇu sprang the Earth, cows are the children of the Sun; he who gives gold, a cow, and land has given the three worlds," being desirous (*to promote*) my own and my parents' welfare,—having bathed at an excellent *tîrtha* on a Sunday, the 15th day of the bright half of Kârtika of the Kshaya year (*of the Bṛihaspati cycle*), after nine hundred and forty-eight years of the Śaka king had passed, in figures Saṁvat 948, Kârtika Śuddha 15, on the day of an eclipse of the sun,—having offered an *arghya*¶¶ commendable on account of various flowers to the divine Savitṛi the only ruler of the sky and the lover of the day-lotuses, and having worshipped Śiva the *guru* of the Suras and Asuras, the divine husband of Umâ, I have given, in the attitude of a worshipper with the greatest devotion,—confirming the gift

§ 8, 9. Metre *anushṭubh.* I feel somewhat doubtful about the name of this king, which alone among so many Deśî forms is pure Sanskrit. But it seems to me impossible to refer the two verses to Vajjaḍadeva II. mentioned in verse 10, and Aparâjita is the only word which can be taken for a name. Perhaps it is a *Biruda.*

|| Metre *upajâti.* The verse consists of two *pâdas* only, and the second *pâda* is deficient in one syllable and otherwise wrong.

¶ 11. Metre *upajâti.*

* I agree with Mr. Wathen in taking *Tagarapuraparameśvara* merely for a title.

† Accordingly the seal of our *śâsana* bears a representation of Garuḍa.

‡ The meaning attributed here to the root *jhamp* is unsupported by analogous passages. The *Pet. Dict.* gives for *jhampa* the meaning 'a swoop, a jump,' and for *jhampin* 'a monkey,' *i.e.* 'the jumper.' The verb *jhamp* meant, therefore, 'to jump.' In favour of my rendering, 'to surpass,' it may be urged that other Sanskrit verbs meaning 'to jump,' *e.g.* '*langh*,' have the same secondary signification.

§§ The *Petersburg Dictionary* gives for *śrîkaraṇa* the meaning 'a pen.' In a great many inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries, *e.g.* the Girnâr and Âbû inscriptions of Vastupâla, it is used to denote an office or officer. Etymologically it means either 'making or writing the word *śrî*, or 'a person who makes or writes the word *śrî*.' श्री: is the usual heading of native letters.

|||| The construction is here, as elsewhere, not strictly grammatical.

¶¶ An offering of perfumed water into which flowers have been thrown.

with a libation of water,—to the great Brahman Â m a d e v a i y a, the son of Vipranoḍamaiya, who is constantly engaged in the six (lawful) occupations (*of a Brahman, viz.*) sacrificing for his own sake, sacrificing for others, studying and teaching (*the Vedas*), and so forth; who is versed in the section (*of the Vedas treating*) of the performance of k r a t u s, who belongs to the P â r â ś a r a g o t r a and to the C h h a n d o g a-ś â k h â, for the performance of the six (*lawful*) works, viz. sacrificing for his own sake, sacrificing for others, studying and teaching, and so forth; and for the daily and occasional entertainment of guests who have arrived in or out of season, and for defraying the expenses of *bali, charu, vaiśvadeva, agnihotra, kratu,* and other sacrifices, and for the maintenance of his family, the field of Voḍaṇibhaṭṭha up to the limits of its boundaries, and together with all its produce, which is situated in the village of N o u r a, included in the tâlukâ of S h a ṭ s h a s h ṭ h î included in Ś r î S t h â n a k a, the boundaries of which are on the east the frontier of Gomvani, on the south the frontier of G o r a p a v a l i, on the west the king's highroad, on the north-east the frontier of Gomvani, (*the same field*) being not to be entered by irregular or regular soldiers, nor to be assigned (*to others*), nor to be attached.

"Therefore nobody is to cause any hindrance when he, his descendants and relations enjoy it, cause it to be enjoyed, cultivate it, or cause it to be cultivated.* . . . . . . . . .

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

and as this is, accordingly the giver of the grant makes known his mind. What has been written in this grant, that agrees with my intention, (*viz. that*) of the great provincial ruler the illustrious C h h i t t a r â j a d e v a, the son of the great provincial ruler the illustrious V a j j a ḍ a d e v a r â j a. And this has been written by order of the king, by me Bhâṇḍâgârasena† Jogapaiya, the nephew of Bhâṇḍâgârasena Mahâkavi Śrî Nâgalaiya. Whatever words may be deficient in syllables, or may have syllables in excess, all have authority. May prosperity attend (all)!"

* The portion left untranslated contains the usual admonition addressed to future kings, and the comminatory verses against resumption from the *Mahâbhârata*.

† *Bhâṇḍâgârasena* appears to mean 'treasurer.'

## BOOK NOTICE.

THE INDIAN TRAVELS OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA, and the Indian Embassies to Rome from the reign of Augustus to the death of Justinian. By OSMOND DE BEAUVOIR PRIAULX. (London: Quaritch.)

This book (which has been long in reaching us) is a reprint, with important additions and corrections, of several papers that appeared more than fourteen years ago in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Sixty-two pages, or about a fourth of the book, is devoted to Apollonius of Tyana, a Pythagorean pretender to magical powers, who flourished in the first century of the Christian era, but whose life, as it has come down to us, is founded on a journal said to have been kept by his companion Damis, an Assyrian, which was, upwards of a century after his death, presented by one of his family to the Empress Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, who worshipped Christ with Orpheus and Apollonius among his *penates*. The Empress gave this journal "to Philostratus, a sophist and a rhetorician, with instructions to re-write and edit it; and so re-written and edited he at length published it, but not till after the death of his patroness, the Empress," in 217 A.D. This history of the life of Apollonius, then, makes it suspicious whether the journal of Damis, if ever it existed, gives any authority to Philostratus's work, which must be judged of by its contents. Mr. O. de Beauvoir Priaulx examines the statements it contains regarding India, and shows that they are full of the most glaring discrepancies, and mostly, if not all, exaggerations of the most absurd stories previously told by Ktesias, Arrian, Megasthenes, &c. Reviewing the whole, he considers "that Apollonius either pretended or was believed to have travelled through and made some stay in India, but that very possibly he did not visit it; and that if he did visit it Damis never accompanied him, but fabricated the journal Philostratus speaks of: for it contains some facts from books written upon India, and tales current about India which he easily collected at the great mart for Indian commodities, and resort for Indian merchants—Alexandria."

The first Indian embassy is that to Augustus, the account of which is thus given by Strabo:—**"Nikolaus Damaskenus states that at Antioch Epidaphne he met with ambassadors from the Indians, who were sent to Augustus Cæsar. It appeared from the letter that several persons were mentioned in it, but three only survived, whom he says he saw. The rest had died, chiefly in consequence of the length of the journey. The letter was written in Greek upon parchment (διφθέρα); the import of

** *Geog.* lib. XV. c. i. § 73.

it was that Porus† was the writer; that although he was the sovereign of six hundred kings, yet that he highly esteemed the friendship of Cæsar; that he was willing to allow him a pass through his country, in whatever part he pleased, and to assist him in any undertaking that was just.

"Eight naked slaves, with girdles round their waists, and fragrant with perfumes, presented the gifts which were brought. The presents were a youth, a sort of Hermes, born without arms, whom I have seen; large snakes; a serpent ten cubits in length; a river tortoise of three cubits' length; and a partridge (?) somewhat larger than a vulture. They were accompanied by the person, it is said, who burnt himself to death at Athens. This is the practice with persons in distress, who seek escape from existing calamities, and with others in prosperous circumstances, as was the case with this man. For, as everything hitherto had succeeded with him, he thought it necessary to depart, lest some unexpected calamity should happen to him by continuing to live: with a smile, therefore, naked and perfumed, he leaped into the burning pile. On his tomb was his inscription,—'*Zarmanochêgas, an Indian of Bargosa, who, according to the ancestral custom of the Indians, gave himself immortality, lies here.*'"‡

This embassy is also noticed by other writers,§ though there are considerable discrepancies in the various accounts; and the author concludes from the presents, the Greek letter and its commercial tone, that it was planned and organized by Greek traders of Alexandria, and more for Greek than Hindu interests, and was probably sent by some petty râja on the west coast at their instigation.

The second embassy is that mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* VI. 24) as arriving about A.D. 44 from Ceylon, and which consisted of Rachias and three others sent by the king of the island to Claudius, in company with Annius Plocamus, who had been driven by a gale of wind across the Arabian Sea to Taprobane. This our author, we think with scarcely sufficient reason, is inclined to regard as sent by a Tamiḷ prince rather than by the Sinhalese king.

The remaining four embassies are barely noticed by historians. The first was to Trajan,|| A.D. 107; the second to Antoninus Pius,¶ A.D. 138-161; the third, to Julian, reached him, according to Ammianus Marcellinus,* before it was expected, A.D. 361; and the fourth, to Justinian,†† reached Constantinople in A.D. 530. The discussion of these, and of the notices of India in Greek and Roman authors during this period, occupies the second half of the volume. Much varied reading has been brought to bear on the subject, and the examination of the statements of the various authors is of the most searching character, often tending to throw doubt on the originality of their information: even of Cosmas Indicopleustes the author doubts that he ever was in India.

"On a review of these notices of India," he remarks that "it seems: 1*st*, That for a century after the fall of Palmyra no important mention of India was made by any Greek or Latin writer whatever. 2*ndly*, That the accounts of India which then and afterwards appeared, whether in travels, geographies, histories, or poems, those in the *Topographia Christiana* excepted, were all in the main made up of extracts from the writings of previous ages, and added nothing to our knowledge of India. 3*rdly*, That of such writings these compilers in general preferred, not those which recorded authenticated facts,‡‡ but those which worked most upon the imagination; and they indeed heightened their effect by new matter of the same character. 4*thly*, That these writings gradually took rank with, and even displaced, the more critical studies of Strabo, Arrian, Ptolemy, &c. Thus the *Periegesis* of Dionysius,§§ on which Eustatius wrote a commentary, and the Geography of the anonymous writer who, so far as I know, first gave locality to Eden,|||| were honoured by Latin translations, and, judging from the currency their fictions obtained, became the text-books of after-ages. Thus, too, the *Bassarika* of Dionysius for Indian countries and towns is more frequently referred to than either Strabo or Arrian by Stephanos Byzantius; and thus the *Apollonius* of Philostratus becomes an authority for Suidas and Cedrenus, who borrow from him their accounts of the Brâhmaṇs, to which Cedrenus adds some particulars drawn, partly from the anonymous Geography probably, partly from the Pseudo-Callisthenes, and partly from some other writer whom I am unable to identify. 5*thly*, That of Eastern travellers in the fourth and fifth centuries many were priests, as we may surmise from the number of Christian churches in India,

† Elsewhere Strabo (lib. XV. c. i. §4) calls him "Pandion, or according to others Porus."

‡. *Σαρμανοχηγας*, Ινδος *απο* Βαργοσης, *κατα τα πατρια* Ινδων, *εθη, εαυτον απαθανατισας κειται.*—Bargosa is doubtless Barugaza or Bharuch.

§ Horace, *Carmen Seculare*, vv. 55, 56; *Odes*, lib. I. 12, lib. IV. 14; Florus, *Hist. Rom.* lib. IV. c. 12; Suetonius, *Vit. August.* c. 21; Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* ix. 58; Georg. Syncellus, *Byzant. Hist.* Niebuhr, 588-9; Orosius, *Hist.* VI. 12.

|| Dio Cassius, vol. I. pp. 68, 156, vol. II. p. 313, ed. Bekker.

¶ Aurelian Victor, *Epit.* xvi.

* Amm. Marcell. xxii. 7.

†† Malalas, p. 477.

‡‡ "The description of India in Ammianus Marcellinus must be excepted from this censure."

§§ Bernhardyus places Dionysius at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century, the latest date assigned to him.

|||| Junioris Philosophi *Descriptio totius Orbis*, § 21, in *Geog. Græc. Min.* vol. II. p. 516.

which were all subject to the Persian metropolitan,¶ and which all received their ecclesiastical ministers from Persia, or sent them there for education and ordination; and as we gather from the frequent mention of priests in the travels of those ages. Thus the author of the Tract inscribed to Palladius, and the Theban Scholasticus, visit India in company, the one of the Bishop of Adule, and the other of a priest. And Cosmas travels on one occasion with Thomas of Edessa, afterwards metropolitan of Persia, and with Patricius of the Abrahamitic order; and in his latter years he becomes a monk, as does also Monas, who assisted him in copying the inscription on the throne of Ptolemy. 6*thly*, That notwithstanding the religious spirit which evidently animated the travel-writers of these times, their accounts of other and far countries are, contrary to what one might have expected, singularly silent on the subject of the religions of the people they visited."

## MISCELLANEA.

### CHRISTIAN LASSEN.

Christian Lassen, the eminent Professor of Sanskṛit, died at Bonn on the 8th of May, in his 76th year, having been born at Bergen, in Norway, on the 22nd of October 1800. He studied philology at Christiania, at Heidelberg, and at Bonn, and at the latter, through Schlegel, he was won over to the study of Sanskṛit. From the year 1824 to 1826 he took up his residence in London and Paris, in part at the request of Schlegel, to make collations for his edition of the *Râmâyaṇa*, and partly also to gather materials for his own future labours. In Paris, more particularly, he occupied himself with the drama, and systems of philosophy, publishing jointly with Burnouf in 1826 the *Essai sur le Pali*. In 1827 he graduated at Bonn on the 30th of June, producing his *Pentapotamia Indica*. After this for a few years he became a joint-worker with Schlegel, in whose house he had his home. Their joint production was the *Hitopadeśa*, published in 1829-31, the first model of a truly critical edition of a Sanskṛit text. In 1830, in Schlegel's *Indische Bibliothek*, in an article on Bopp's grammatical system, he pointed out how necessary are Indian original grammars for obtaining a more thorough knowledge of the language studied. He showed the weak points of any grammatical attempt without such previous study. It was in the same year that he was appointed a professor extraordinary, with a stipend of 300 thalers, about £45 per annum, and though he soon attained a wide European reputation, he obtained no more lucrative preferment till 1840. In that year, however, he was appointed Professor of the University, and his stipend raised to 700 thalers, some hundred guineas. As his books, from their nature and probable limited circulation, were necessarily printed at his own cost, notwithstanding their great merit, his *Gymnosophista* (1832) and his *Mâlatîmâdhava*, owing to want of means, were dropped with the publication of the first part of each. It was about this period that he devoted much earnest and careful labour to the Zend—then first opened by Burnouf to the world of scholars,—and also, owing to an accidental circumstance, to the Persepolitan Cuneiform Inscriptions, the decipherment of which he published in 1836 simultaneously with Burnouf, and republished in a corrected and enlarged form in 1845 in the 6th volume of the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. The circumstance alluded to was the following. A pupil of Lassen's, who by chance had come across Klaproth's *Aperçu* and St. Martin's explanation of the Cuneiform Inscriptions contained in it, had deciphered two letters more correctly (in conformity with Mr. Rask, although at the time he was not aware of it himself). He took the book with his corrections to Lassen, in order to obtain his opinion about it. Two days afterwards Lassen returned it to him with an almost complete decipherment.

About the same time M. König, a young and enterprising publisher, made an arrangement with Lassen to issue several of his works, which had long been prepared for press, without any risk to the latter. Amongst these were the *Gîtagovinda* in 1836, of which he had as early as 1824 drawn out the plan of publication in London; the *Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ* in 1837; the *Anthologia Sanskrita* in 1838; the *Geschichte der Griechischen und Indo-Skythischen Könige*, also in 1838; and the second edition of Schlegel's *Bhagavadgîtâ*, which he completed in 1845. Besides he contributed many papers and essays to the pages of the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* during 1837-50, such as *Ueber das Mahâbhârata*, *Ueber die Sprachen der Beluchen und Brahui*, &c., and his dissertation *De Taprobane Insula*, 1842, all preliminary essays leading up to the great work of his life *Die Indische Alterthumskunde*, of which vols. I.-IV. appeared in 1847-1861. Failing health caused the work to be discontinued, though he issued revised and greatly enlarged editions of the first two volumes in 1867 and 1874.

His lectures were alternately on Sanskṛit Grammar, on the elucidation of Indian writers, on Zend (since 1833, and for which purpose he had the first five chapters of the *Vendidâd* printed in

¶ Assemann, *Bib. Orient.* vol. III. p. 313.

1852) and Modern Persian, on Indian Archæology (since 1828, and adding since 1839 Iranian antiquity, dividing, however, the subject into two divisions since 1851), and on comparative grammar of the languages connected with Sanskrit. From his announcements in his earlier connexion with the University, he would also appear to have lectured on Old Persian and the Cuneiform Language, also on Ancient Geography, and the history of languages. From 1840 to 1852, as he had spoken the language from childhood, he had to give lessons in English, a pursuit not quite worthy his position as a University Lecturer: in these he took Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, and others as his leading subjects. His hearers could always rely upon his unwearied endeavours to promote their studies, whilst his courtesy and kindness went far in rendering their difficult study profitable and agreeable. Free from all pedantry, he was a most untiring scholar, pursuing science for its own sake with unceasing perseverance. The niggard acknowledgment of his merits by Prussia were more than counterbalanced by the high estimation in which he was held by the learned in foreign countries. He was honorary or corresponding fellow of 26 academies and learned societies. He was, in 1841, urgently invited to transfer his services to the University of Copenhagen; but, though the Prussian ministry left this great scholar at his post without prospect of increased emolument, he remained true to his colours and would not forsake Bonn.

In early life Lassen possessed a sound and most healthy constitution, and was a great pedestrian. But in early manhood already he suffered from a serious ophthalmic affection, ascribed to the unwearied collation of the Parisian Telinga MSS. of the *Râmâyaṇa* written on palm-leaves.

After 1840 the disease, probably owing to physical predisposition, became serious, and he consulted the most distinguished oculists and eye infirmaries in vain. The malady increased to such a degree that latterly he retained but a faint glimmer of light. For many years he might have been seen taking his daily walk on well-known roads, groping his way with a stick. Indigestion and other bodily complaints supervened, till at length the natural organs almost ceased to perform their functions. It became necessary to wheel him about in a chair, but the greater part of the day he passed lying on the sofa. However, in the summer he regularly visited some watering place, from which he always derived benefit. His speech gradually became indistinct, and this circumstance, as well as the necessity, caused by his failing sight, of committing his lecture to memory, led him, since 1860, to reduce or suspend his lectures, till in 1864 he was absolved of that painful duty. Want of sufficient means prevented him from entering the married state till late in life, which took place in 1849, and his wife, who survives him, was Miss Wiggers, from Holstein, who, though not enjoying good health herself, was to his death a most kind and affectionate nurse, and for the last 26 years of his life they were never separated for a single day. It was indeed due to this lady's untiring care and attention that he reached the ripe age of 76. Under his constant sufferings the serenity of his mind never forsook him, and he was always of a cheerful disposition, which made him in earlier days a welcome companion, though of late, being compelled to pass a retired life, he was only visited by a few friends. He took an interest in his studies to the very last, and retained his memory with all its freshness. By one of his colleagues he was regularly made aware of every new publication relating to Indian literature or general Oriental subjects, and for some hours every day he had works read to him on Oriental subjects in German, English, and French. He was no longer able to write; his former clear and distinct handwriting having become all but illegible, but he dictated his thoughts and opinions to an amanuensis. To pursue his especial studies, and to continue his literary pursuits, had long been beyond his reach; but, when a second edition of the first two volumes of the *Indische Alterthümer* was called for, he succeeded in preparing the first one with the aid of his wife, and in the second part he was assisted by a young student, who read to him the notes previously made, together with other new books on the subject, and by Lassen's dictation the proofs were thoroughly revised and corrected. As early as 1870 he had disposed of his library, giving liberally most of the books to the University of Christiania and to his native town of Bergen, for which he retained his love to the last, whilst the others he presented to the University Library at Bonn, keeping only a few for reference.

His long-expected dissolution took place after a week's illness. He conversed for a quarter of an hour, two days previous to his death, with the colleague who made him conversant with current Indian topics; and, though the expression of his countenance showed the approach of death, he got quite animated in his reminiscences of olden times, though the same evening and the two following days he passed almost in a state of unconsciousness, and on the evening of the 8th of May he quietly fell asleep. His funeral was the last mark of respect paid to him by the University he had so faithfully served.—*Trübner's Record*.

## METRICAL TRANSLATION OF THE VAIRÂGYA ŚATAKAM.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

(*Continued from page* 67.)

If song resound thy steps before,
And Dekhan lyres behind,
And nymphs with jingling bracelets pour
The *chowri's* perfumed wind,
Scorn not this world's broad easy ways,
And drink of pleasure's bowl;
If not—then fix thy steadfast gaze
On that undying Soul.

---

Kind Fortune, seek some other love, I long not for thy dower;
And what to those whose lusts are dead avails thy golden shower?
Leave me to beg from day to day my dole of barley-meal,
The fig's broad leaf supplies a dish that none would care to steal.

---

Once I was thou, and thou wast I,
In perfect union blent;
Say, what hath severed friendship's tie,
And souls asunder rent?

---

Why sidelong cast thy languid eyne?
Vain is thy hope to tangle mine,
My nature's changed, no more a child
With every wanton toy beguiled,
To cloistered cell I'd fain withdraw;
This world's bright nets I count but straw.

---

'Tis sweet in palaces to dwell,
Where music's strains voluptuous swell;
'Tis sweet to hear the loved one's voice;
But wise men, of deliberate choice,
Have run from these to forest glades,
Assured all earthly pleasure fades,
Swift as the moth in heedless game
Puffs out the taper's feeble flame..

---

Are roots extinct in mountain caves? have streams forgot to flow?
Do vests of bark and woodland fruits on trees no longer grow?
Else why endure the haughty mien and eye-brows arched in scorn
Of men who've scraped together wealth to which they were not born?
Say, whither are those slabs of stone
All moist with Gangâ's dew,
And Dryad-haunted thickets flown,
That men can bear to sue
For alms and insults at the door of some proud *parvenu?*

---

Mount Meru's golden mass shall melt at that last awful day,
The monster-peopled seas dry up, the earth dissolve away;
What hope for feeble human frames, whose breath doth come and go,
As swiftly as the elephant flaps his ear to and fro?

---

When, when, O Śiva, shall I be
Lonely and calm, from passion free;
My only robe the liberal air,
My hand the dish that holds my fare;
But able Action to uproot,
The tree that bears Life's bitter fruit.

---

Suppose thy fortunes boundless as the main,
Suppose thy years a world's great age complete,
Suppose thy foes all placed beneath thy feet,
And friends rewarded richly: where's thy gain?

---

The hermit's tattered patchwork robe, or courtier's silken weeds,
One wife to tend thy home, or troops of elephants and steeds,
One simple meal at close of day, or many a gorgeous feast,
It matters not, be but thy soul from earthly cares released.

---

My faith in Śiva wavereth not, I shrink from future birth,
I care not for my friends or kin, I scorn the joys of earth,
I love the lonely forest-glades, from worldly turmoil free,
No greater bliss can fall to man than falleth unto me.

Think upon that self-developed, everlasting
One Supreme,
Fling aside all vain delusions, all the worldling's baseless dream,
Pity those dull slaves of custom who are caught
with empty toys,
Kingly crowns, and thrones imperial, and a
round of sensual joys.

---

You mount to heaven, again you sink to hell,
You roam the world around with anxious
breast,
And yet not e'en by chance your thought doth
dwell
On Him who only gives the spirit rest.

---

Night follows night, and day succeedeth day,
And thoughtless men hurry to work and play,
But sages ought to blush when treading found,
Year after year, the same dull weary round.

---

Stretched out at ease upon the ground, and
pillowed on his arm,
The houseless hermit sleeps in peace, secure
from nightly harm,
The breeze his fan, his lamp the moon, his
canopy the sky,—
What royal palace of this earth can such delights supply?

---

Feasts, flatteries, and idle hours
Make up a prince's day,
Let not the saint employ his powers
To compass kingly sway:
But quaff the ever-brimming stream
Of pure and holy mirth;
Who that hath tasted bliss supreme
Can sink to joys of earth?

---

What profit are the Vedas,
Or books of legal lore,
Or those long-winded legends,
Repeated o'er and o'er?
What gain we by our merits?
A dwelling in the skies—
A miserable mansion,
That men of sense despise.
All these are huckstering methods,—
Give me that perfect way
Of self-contained fruition,
Where pain is done away.

---

Our life is like th' unstable wave,
our bloom of youth decays,
Our joys are brief as lightning-flash
in summer's cloudy days,
Our riches fleet as swift as thought.
Faith in the One Supreme
Alone will bear us o'er the gulfs
of Being's stormy stream.

---

Can all this earth encloses
Flutter the sage's breast?
Say, can the darting minnow
Trouble the ocean's rest?

---

I love the moon's soft beams, I love the grassy
wood,
I love to talk of verse among the wise and
good,
I love the fair one's face gleaming with angry
tears,
I think how fleeting all, and pleasure disappears.

---

Lonely among his kind,
Breaking on alms his fast,
Free as th' unfettered wind,
The hermit wanders past,
Of tattered rags his dress,
He knows no care nor pride,
He longs for quietness,
And has no want beside.

---

My mother Earth,
My kinsman Fire,
Water my friend,
And Wind my sire,
My brother Heaven,
A long adieu!
By merit gained
When linked to you
I've purchased grace
To break my chains,
And merge in that
Which all sustains.

# THE ŚANKARAVIJAYA OF ÂNANDAGIRI.

BY KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A., LL.B.; Advocate, High Court, Bombay.

The great Vedântist philosopher Śankarâchârya has for centuries exercised such a powerful influence on Hindu society that a satisfactory account of his life and writings would undoubtedly be of the highest use and interest.* Unluckily, however, the materials for such an account are not available. The work of Mâdhavâchârya on "Śankara's victories," even if it could be regarded as otherwise unexceptionable, is still the work of one who lived too long after the events he describes to permit us to look on it as of much historical value.† If the earlier works to which Mâdhava refers‡ could be laid hold of, we might possibly obtain something that might be more safely treated as historical. But these earlier works are not specified by Mâdhava, and a vague mention of them is all that we can find in his *Śankaravijaya.*

There is, however, at least one work which claims to be a biography of Śankarâchârya written by one of his own immediate pupils. We allude to the *Śankaravijaya* of Ânandagiri. Manuscripts of it do not appear to be very numerous, and it is accordingly not much to be wondered at, however much we may regret it, that the only edition of the work which has been printed, namely, the edition published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, is one which we cannot help characterizing as unsatisfactory.§ Still we think that, making ample allowance for the condition in which the work appears before us, there is enough in it to enable one to judge with some confidence of the validity of the claims which it puts forward.

In his *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, Professor Wilson, after mentioning this work as the *Śankara Digvijaya*‖ of Ânandagiri, "a reputed disciple of Śankara himself," proceeds to remark on it as follows:—"There is but little reason to attach any doubt to the former [*i.e.* Ânandagiri's work]. Some of the marvels it records of Śankara, which the author professes to have seen, may be thought to affect its credibility, if not its authenticity, and Ânandagiri must be an unblushing liar, or the book is not his own: it is, however, of little consequence, as even if the work be not that of Ânandagiri himself, it bears internal and indisputable evidence of being the composition of a period not far removed from that at which he may be supposed to have flourished, and we may therefore follow it as a very safe guide in our inquiries into the actual state of the Hindu religion about eight or nine centuries ago."¶ It is clear from this that Professor Wilson was in effect satisfied with the credentials of this work as to a certain extent historical, but he leaves open the question as to whether it was really a work of Ânandagiri himself. We propose in the present paper to draw attention to a few facts which have a bearing upon both these questions.

In the first place, then, there can be no doubt that the work claims for its author Ânandagiri or Anantânandagiri, one of the pupils of Śankarâchârya himself. This appears not merely from tradition and the colophons to be found in the MSS. of the work, but also from the body of the work itself. For immediately after the invocation, we have the following bold opening:—"I, Anantânandagiri, a pupil of the venerable person whose commands are unobstructed, will describe the purpose of the advent of my preceptor into this world."** And similarly, in the closing section of the work, we read again, "Those who accept this excellent account, composed by Anantânandagiri, of the victories of his *Guru*, will be finally emancipated, there is no doubt."†† Now it is first to be noted, of these two passages, that the author

* See Preface to Dr. Burnell's *Vaṁśabrâhmaṇa*, pp. xii. ff.—ED.

† "In Southern India the *Sankaravijaya* is attributed to Vidiyaranyasvâmin or Sâyaṇa, but it certainly is not worthy of him:" Burnell, *ut cit.* p. xx.—ED.

‡ Vide *Sankaravijaya*, I. 1 and 4. There is more on this point at the close of the article.

§ Prof. Aufrecht in his *Catalogus* (p. 252*b*) speaks of the Oxford copy as '*negligentissime exarata.*' And see the '*Vijnâpanam*' to the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition.

‖ There is no trace of this title in the printed edition, or in Prof. Aufrecht's extracts from the Oxford copies. The printed copy, indeed, has in the beginning ओम् ॥ आचार्यजयो लिख्यते; at the close of the earlier chapters and at the end of the book the word विजय is used instead of जय.

¶ Prof. Wilson's *Works*, vol. I. p. 14.

** अनन्तानन्दगिरिरहमप्रतिहताज्ञस्य भगवतः शिष्यः स्वगुरोरवतारप्रयोजनं वर्णयामि (p. 1). The readings given in Aufrecht's *Catalogus* (p. 247*b*) are corrupt.

†† अनन्तानन्दगिरिणा गुरोर्विजयमुत्तमम् ॥ रचितं ये तु गृह्णन्ति ते मुक्ताः स्युर्न संशयः (p. 281).

calls himself in both places A n a n t â n a n d a g i r i, not simply Â n a n d a g i r i. And in connexion with this it may also be remarked, that when Â n a n d a g i r i is mentioned, as he is once, in the course of the work, he is simply mentioned in the third person—as Ânandagiri.‡ These circumstances combined might, perhaps, suggest a slight suspicion that Anantânandagiri and Ânandagiri were two distinct persons. But the facts that no other pupil of Śankara's bearing the former name is anywhere mentioned, that the work is by tradition ascribed to Ânandagiri,§ and that the names are in substance identical,|| must, I think, be held to negative such a suspicion.

Moreover this Ânandagiri is, in all probability, a different person from the Ânandagiri who is known by his commentaries on the principal *Bhâshyas* of Śankarâchârya—namely, the *Bhâshya* on the *Brahmasûtras*, that on the chief *Upanishads*, and that on the *Bhagavadgîtâ*.¶ Professor Aufrecht leaves this question of identity undecided, saying "Utrum igitur Anantânandagiri noster idem sit cum Ânandajnânagiri, qui Sureśvaræ, Śankaræ discipuli, *Bṛihadâraṇyakæ* interpretatione se usum esse profitetur, an nomen illud a seræ ætatis homine usurpatum sit, in præsentia quidem in medio relinquo."* But if we are right in identifying Ânandagiri with Anantânandagiri, M â d h a v a may perhaps be cited against us. For in his *Śankaravijaya*, XIII. 20, we have the following words in the speech addressed to Śankara by his pupils:—"Or let this Ânandagiri (write a *Vṛitti* on your commentary on the *Brahmasûtras*), since the wife of Brahmâ, pleased with his fierce austerities, gave him as a boon the ability to explain your writings according to their true intent." Historically interpreted, this may be probably taken to signify that, according to Mâdhava, Â n a n d a g i r i the pupil of Śankarâchârya was identical with Ânandagiri the commentator on Śankara's *Bhâshyas*. I think, however, that the fact is not so. The commentator on Śankara's *Bhâshyas* is described in the colophons to his writings as pupil of Ś u d d h â n a n d a, and *not* as pupil of Śankarâchârya, which should have been the description if Mâdhava's statement, as we interpret it, had been correct. To this it may also be added that this Â n a n d a g i r i, the disciple of Śuddhânanda, has written a commentary on the *Vârttika* of S u r e ś v a r â c h â r y a to the *Bhâshyas* of Śankara on the *Bṛihadâraṇyakopanishad*.† And in view of the events narrated by Mâdhava himself in his *Śankaravijaya*, in the 13th chapter,‡‡ it does not seem very likely that any work of Sureśvara's should have been commented upon by any other of Śankara's pupils. Some other works by this Ânandagiri—who in the colophons to several of his works is called Ânandajnâna, and by Prof. Aufrecht also Ânandajnânagiri§§—are noticed in Dr. FitzEdward Hall's *Contributions to a Bibliography of Indian Philosophical Systems* and in Prof. Aufrecht's *Catalogus*. But the literary activity of the author of the *Śankaravijaya*—if he is to be distinguished from the Ânandagiri just mentioned—appears, as far as I am aware, to be confined to that work.

But to return to the *Śankaravijaya*. It results from what has been pointed out above that the claim which this work sets up for itself amounts to this:—that it contains a narrative written contemporaneously with, or soon after, the occurrence of the events narrated, and that the narrative is composed by one who had the best opportunity of observing what he describes.|||| Upon

‡ *Vide* p. 244. But Anantânandagiri is similarly mentioned twice (see pp. 19 and 257), so that this circumstance is quite immaterial.

§ The first thirty-two sections of the work close with इत्यनन्तानन्दगिरिकृतौ, &c. Subsequently the form changes to इत्यानन्दगिरिकृतौ, &c. For the reading of the Oxford copies, which seems to be in the latter form throughout, see Aufrecht's *Catalogus*, pp. 247*b* and 252*b*.

|| Ânandagiri is probably a mere abbreviation for Anantânandagiri. Compare, for such abbreviations, Śankara's *Bhâshya* on *Brahmasûtra* III. 39, and Patanjali's *Mahâbhâshya* on Paṇini I. 1. 7 (p. 115).

¶ Ânandagiri's comment on the *Brahmasûtra Bhâshya* has not been printed, except the part on the fourth *pâda* of the third chapter in the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition. The comments on the other two *Bhâshyas* have been long in print.

* Prof. Aufrecht's *Catalogus*, p. 252*b*.

† See the extract from Prof. Aufrecht's *Catalogus* given above in the text, and also *Catalogus*, p. 390*b*.

‡‡ Relating to the abandonment by Śankara of his intention to get Sureśvara to write a *Vârttika* on his *Brahmasûtra Bhâshya at the instance of his other pupils, of course including Ânandagiri.*

§§ Compare the extract above given and the Index of "*auctorum nomina*," where some other names are also given, though the authority for saying that they are all names of one person is not stated. And as to Â n a n d a T î r t h a there is certainly a mistake. For that is a name not of Ânandagiri, but of Mâdhavâchârya. See the *Sarvadarśanasangraha Pûrṇaprajna Darśana*, and compare Dr. Hall's *Contributions* (Index of authors' names), and Wilson's *Works*, vol. I. pp. 139, 149.

|||| He was one of the four pupils in whose charge Śankara left his body on an important occasion (see *Śankaravijaya*, p. 244).

a perusal of the work itself, however, it appears to me that we have therein internal evidence militating powerfully against any such claim. In the first place, let us compare the style of controversy followed by Śankara as it is exhibited in the *Śankaravijaya* and as we may gather it from Śankara's extant writings. The comparison, I think, may be fairly made. The controversies of Śankara constitute the principal, if not the sole, subject of Ânandagiri's work. And, on the other hand, the Sanskṛit philosophical style, even in written treatises, is so eminently controversial, that an argument in an ordinary work on philosophy reads much like the report of an oral discussion. Now, if we are to put faith in the report we have in the *Śankaravijaya*, Śankara must have indulged with only too much frequency in abuse of his opponents. The occasions are by no means few on which we find him commencing his reply to an opponent, as reported in the *Śankaravijaya*, with मूढ ('O fool!')¶ or some other similarly offensive epithet. On the other hand, if any inference is to be drawn from the character of Śankara's writings, no portrait of Śankara can be more utterly incorrect than that which the *Śankaravijaya* thus exhibits to us. I do not remember more than two instances* of what could by any possibility be called even strong language in the whole of Śankara's greatest work, namely, his Commentary on the *Brahmasûtras*. And in one of these instances certainly—perhaps I may say in both of them—the language is almost innocent as compared with that which the *Śankaravijaya* puts into Śankara's mouth. It is difficult to believe that there can be—at all events in such a case as the present—so much difference between the character of a man as seen in his writings, and his character as seen in his actions in practical life. But, furthermore, there is one point where this contrast comes out in a particularly striking manner. On one occasion, the *Śankaravijaya* tells us, no less a person than Vyâsa came to see Śankarâchârya in the guise of an old Brâhmaṇ, and, after some conversation which is not here relevant, asked Śankara to state his explanation of the first sûtra of the third chapter of the *Vedânta Sûtras*. Śankara, accordingly, did state his explanation in nearly the same terms as those employed by him in his *Bhâshya*, and Vyâsa thereupon raised a difficulty—again in much the same language as the *Pûrvapaksha* (or the statement of the objector's view) of the *Bhâshya*. What, now, is the sequel? Why, the very view which Śankara puts forward as in the *Pûrvapaksha*†—all the while in the best of tempers, as far as we are permitted to judge from the language of the *Bhâshya*—at once, if we are to believe the *Śankaravijaya*, makes him forget common decency when stated by the old Brâhmaṇ, and stated too, be it remembered, in much the same words as he himself had employed. According to the *Śankaravijaya*, as soon as the old man raises the difficulty in question, Śankara at once turns upon him with वृद्धमूढतर ('O you extremely foolish old man!'), &c. &c. The old man, however, keeps his temper in spite of this outburst, and the discussion proceeds—again in exactly the same manner, and in much the same language as in the *Bhâshya*. But whereas in that work Śankara writes calmly, like a philosopher, without using even a single objectionable expression, the end of his discussion with Vyâsa, according to the *Śankaravijaya*, is a slap in the face to the poor old Brâhmaṇ, and a direction to Padmapâda to turn him out from the place where the discussion was held,—a direction not carried out, because the old Brâhmaṇ retired gracefully before it could be carried out.‡ It appears to me that the two portraits of Śankara we thus obtain are so extremely different that the portrait given in the *Śankaravijaya* must be unfaithful.§

Now it can be said that strong language

¶ *Vide, inter alia*, pp. 52, 54, 60, 191, 192, 193, and sundry other places.

* The first occurs at p. 570 (*Bibl. Ind.* ed.), where Śankara says to the imaginary opponent बाढं ब्रवीषि निरङ्कुशत्वात्ते तुण्डस्य न तु युक्त्युपेतं ब्रवीषि (*Anglicè*, "Yes, you have said so, your tongue being unrestrained, but you have not spoken logically"). The second is at p. 1128, where we have यत्तु कैश्चिज्जल्प्यते ("As to what some people *talk*"). There are, of course, hits at opponents here and there, but these are immaterial here, and scarcely objectionable. What I say is that we have no Billingsgate in Śankara's works, as we have in the *Śankaravijaya*. And see, too, Mâdhava's *Śankaravijaya*, VII. 47.

† As to the latitude of error allowed to a Pûrvapakshî, see the verse cited from Kumârila Svâmî in Goldstücker's *Pâṇini*, p. 66, note.

‡ See the *Śankaravijaya*. pp. 228-31. Mâdhava's account of the same occurrence may be seen at *Śankaravijaya*, ch. VII. We have nothing so outrageous there as in Ânandagiri.

§ Compare also *Śankaravijaya*, p. 155, with Śankara's *Bhâshya* on *Brahmasûtra* III. 1. 25; also *Śankaravijaya*, p. 55, with *Bhâshya* on II. 2. 42-45.

may well be uttered in the heat of oral controversy by one who, if he wrote in cold blood and without having before him a living opponent to vanquish, might preserve a thoroughly judicial calmness; and that there is, therefore, no necessary incompatibility between the account of the *Śankaravijaya* and what may be fairly inferred from Śankara's works. But this, though correct as far as it goes, does not seem to me to afford an adequate explanation. According to the *Śankaravijaya*, the objectionable language of which we have given specimens was all but habitual with Śankara. And it must be remembered also that where one feels earnestly, and more especially when one writes in the style in which our philosophical works are written, the imaginary opponent is not much less provoking than the real living one.

From all this it seems to me to follow that the portrait of Śankara presented to our view in the *Śankaravijaya* cannot have been drawn by one who knew well the author of the *Bhâshya* on the *Brahmasûtras*. The work, therefore, cannot have been composed by a pupil of Śankara, consequently not by Ânandagiri. It may, perhaps, be urged against this, that the portrait may have been drawn by a pupil unable to rise to his master's level, and incapable of understanding the master's true spirit. But such a misunderstanding does not, to my mind, furnish a sufficient explanation of all the facts. It seems to me, rather, that we should attribute the portrait to a writer living some considerable time after Śankara—about that time, probably, when his true personality having been in part forgotten, and fictions and legends having gathered round his name, such a thing as the persecution of the Buddhists, for instance, came to be ascribed to him.||

We may now proceed to apply to this work another and, to some extent, more satisfactory test. Let us examine some of the quotations we find in the *Śankaravijaya*. Now, in the first place, we have here quotations from the *Skanda Purâṇa*, the *Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa*, the *Brihannâradîya Purâṇa*, the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, and the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*,¶ besides some stanzas which are introduced with general expressions like "It is said in the *Purâṇas*," &c.* On Professor Wilson's view about the dates of the *Purâṇas* in general, and of the above-mentioned *Purâṇas* in particular, it clearly follows that his position as regards the *Śankaravijaya* is quite untenable. For we find that the dates which he assigns to these *Purâṇas* range between the ninth and seventeenth centuries.† From this it necessarily follows that the work which quotes from those *Purâṇas* cannot be placed earlier than the seventeenth century,—cannot, therefore, be "the composition of a period not far removed from that at which" Ânandagiri the pupil of Śankarâchârya "may be supposed to have flourished," and cannot be "a safe guide in our inquiries into the actual state of the Hindu religion about eight or nine centuries ago." These conclusions, however, depend, of course, on the correctness of Professor Wilson's view about the dates of the *Purâṇas* in question. From that view I have already ventured to express my dissent,‡ and I must take leave to do so again. I am not satisfied with the reasons assigned by Professor Wilson for his view, and I have pointed out some facts which appear to me to militate against it.§ Although, therefore,

|| Compare on this point Professor Wilson's *Essays on Sanskrit Literature*, vol. I. p. 24 and vol. III. p. 19. I am very strongly inclined to agree with Prof. Wilson and Râja Râmmohan Râi in disbelieving the story of Śankara's persecution of the Buddhists. I have personally very little doubt that a great deal has been in these days fathered upon Śankara for which he really is not answerable.

¶ See pp. 39, 41, 46, 71, 112, 182, 254.

* p. 58. And see also pp. 73, 158, 218.

† See Preface to *Vishṇu Purâṇa, passim*. The *Mârkaṇḍeya*, according to the Professor, belongs probably to the ninth, and the *Brihannâradîya* to the seventeenth century. Prof. Aufrecht (*Catalogus* 252*b*) says, "Atque eos libros omnes, quos Śankara laudans fingitur, tunc jam scriptos esse nobis persuadebimus, ne *Bhâgavata* quidem, quo Vishṇubhaktæ celebrantur, Śivagitâ, Rudrayâmala exceptis?" But the dates of these works I take to be still unsettled, and I do not think, therefore, that any such argument can be based upon the mention of them as Professor Aufrecht imagines. I have, consequently, not noticed them in the text. For a similar reason I have not referred to the quotations from the *Sûryasiddhânta* (see pp. 216-7, 132) which we can trace in the current recension of that work. As to the date of the *Siddhânta* see *As. Researches*, vol. VI. p. 572; vol. VIII. p. 206; Colebrooke's *Essays* (1st ed.). vol. II. pp. 327, 349, 383, 388. Colebrooke's remarks on the subject are, as usual, sober and cautious. I may state, as to the quotations above referred to from the *Purâṇas*, that I have not cared to look them up in the works to which they are attributed, as it is unnecessary for my present purpose to do so. With regard to the quotation from the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* which is not mentioned by Professor Aufrecht, see a subsequent note.

‡ See *Introduction to Bhartrihari's Śatakas* (*Bombay Sansk. Class.*), pp. vii., viii., and also Introductory Essay to my translation of the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, p. 30 and note. And compare also Bâbu Râjendralâl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS., passim*, especially No. IX.

§ Prof. Wilson's argument is based, to some extent, on a notion prevalent among European scholars, namely, that many of the principal dogmas of the present religion of the Hindus are of very late growth, such, for instance, as the

the above argument may be available as an *argumentum ad hominem* against Professor Wilson and those who think with him, I do not consider it to be an argument which can be taken as conclusive of he question before us.||

Let us therefore turn to the examination of some of the other quotations contained in the *Sankaravijaya*. And, first, there is a very curious one in the nineteenth section of the work, on the confutation of the Sâkta sect, which runs as follows:—श्रुतिश्च ·। अजामेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां बह्वीः प्रजाः सृजमानां नमाम :. Now this I believe is a misquotation. The passage, as here reproduced and quoted as a Sruti text, is not such at all. The real Sruti text is to be found in full on the very next page, in the answer supposed to be given by Sankarâchârya to his Sâkta opponent. But the words, precisely as we have them here, form the first two lines of the first invocation stanza of Vâchaspati Miśra's commentary on the *Sânkhya Kârikâs*, entitled *Sânkhyatattvakaumudî*. From this I think we are safe in concluding that the author of the *Śankaravijaya* quoted the passage merely from memory; that in doing so he probably confounded the Sruti text with the lines of Vâchaspati Miśra based upon that text and very similar to it; and that, therefore, he is in all probability a later writer than Vâchaspati Miśra. Now the date of Vâchaspati Miśra, it hardly needs to be stated, is not yet settled. But thus much is, I think, clear, that he is not sufficiently old to have been known to an immediate pupil of Śankarâchârya. As, however, there is other material to help us in our investigation, we shall not now go into an inquiry touching the age of Vâchaspati Miśra.¶

In the eleventh section, the confutation of the Hiraṇyagarbha sect, we have the following stanzas in the speech of Śankara:—

अविचार्यं विचार्यं वा ब्रह्माध्यास*निरूपणात् ॥
असंदेहफलत्वाभ्यां न विचारं तदर्हति ॥
अध्यासोहं ब्रह्मशब्दोसाङ्गब्रह्म श्रुतीरितम् ॥
संदेहान्मुक्तिभावाच्च विचार्यं ब्रह्म वै ततः ॥ †

These stanzas are to be found in the *Vyâsâdhikaraṇamâlâ*, an edition of which very useful work is appended to the edition of Śankara's *Brahmasûtra Bhâshya* in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. This work is there ascribed to Bhâratî Tîrtha. And though there is nothing in the work as printed to indicate Bhâratî Tîrtha to be the author, and no colophon is reproduced, still in a MS. of the work which I have seen the colophon attributes it to Bhâratî Tîrtha, and there is no sufficiently strong reason to distrust this statement.‡ Now Bhâratî Tîrtha is a personage not altogether unknown. To him Dr. Aufrecht ascribes that well-known Vedântic treatise *Panchadaśî*. § He is probably identical with the Bhâratî Tîrtha who is mentioned as one of the successors of Śankarâchârya as head of the *maṭha* of Śṛingerî. |||| And he is doubtless the Bhâratî Tîrtha who is referred to by Mâdhavâchârya in some of his writings.¶¶ He was probably either the direct preceptor of Mâdhavâchârya, or the preceptor of his preceptor.** At all events we may be sure

belief in incarnations, the worship of Râma, Krishna, Śiva, Vishnu, and so forth. In my *Tractate on the Râmâyana* and *Introductory Essay to the Gitâ* I have, in effect, dissented from this notion. And see now, in support of my view, *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 300.

|| It may, perhaps, be said that the particular passages quoted belong to the genuine *Purâṇas*, which Prof. Wilson considers to be older than the *Purâṇas* now current. But then the dates he gives would be, strictly speaking, the dates of the interpolations, not of the *Purâṇas*. Besides, even on this view, the quotations from the *Purâṇas* do not help us here.

¶ About Vâchaspati's age consult Prof. Cowell's Preface to the *Nyâyakusumânjali*, Dr. Hall's *Contributions*, &c. p. 87, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 298-9.

* For स the *Bibl. Ind.* edition reads सा; for ह in the next line हा; in the third line after ह it has बुद्धिसिद्धोसङ्ग; and in the last line for वैततः, वेदतः all which is confirmed by the MS. referred to in the text.

† *Sankaravijaya*, p. 86.

‡ No doubt the first three stanzas are, with one slight exception, *verbatim* with the opening stanzas of Mâdhava's *Jaiminîyanyâyamâlâvistara*. And Dr. Hall (*Contributions*, &c. p. 98) mentions a work by Vidyâraṇya, a disciple of Bhâratî Tîrtha, bearing the name—substantially identical with *Vyâsâdhikaraṇamâlâ*—namely, *Vedântâdhikaraṇamâlâ*. But Dr. Hall's description of the latter work does not suit the former as printed, and Mâdhava may have borrowed from his preceptor, or preceptor's preceptor, the stanzas referred to as common to him and Bhâratî Tîrtha. Compare Bühler's *Catalogue*, vol. IV. p. 98.

§ See *Catalogus*. pp. 22*a* and 223*a*. But see Hall's *Contributions*, &c. p. 98; Bühler's *Catalogue*, vol. IV. p. 64; *Catalogue of MSS. in Central Provinces*, p. 122; and the colophons in the Bombay editions (one with the Sanskrit commentary, and the other with a translation); compare also the closing sentence of the *Sarvadarśanasangraha*, though, perhaps, it refers to the work mentioned in the last note. Dr. Aufrecht's suggestion as to this: *Catalogus* 246*b* is not probable.

|||| *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. X. p. 373.

¶¶ See the last note but two, and Aufrecht's *Catalogus* (263*b* and 272*a*), and also *Jaiminîyanyâyamâlâvistara*, stanza 7 (Goldstücker's ed.).

** According to the list of Âchâryas preserved at Śṛingeri, "Mâdhavâchârya became Jagadguru in succession to Śrî Bhâratî-tîrtha, 7th śuklapaksha of Kârttika of the year called Prajotpatti Ś. Ś. 1253 (1331 A.D.)"—Burnell's *Vaṃśabrâhmaṇa*, pref. p. xiv.; and conf. Wilson's *Works*, vol. I. p. 201n.—ED.

that he did not flourish more than two generations before Mâdhavâchârya. And it therefore follows that the author of the *Śankaravijaya* cannot have lived long, if at all, before the fourteenth century after Christ, and cannot, therefore, be identical with the Ânandagiri who was one of the pupils of Śankarâchârya.

In the 47th section of the *Śankaravijaya*, containing the refutation of the *Pitrimata*, we have the following lines, quoted as from the *Adhikaraṇaratnamâlâ* :—

पारिप्लवार्थमाख्यानं किंवा विद्यास्तुतिस्तुतेः ॥ ज्यायोऽनुष्ठानशेषत्वं तेन पारिप्लवार्थकः ॥†

Now the *Adhikaraṇaratnamâlâ*‡ is traditionally known as only another name of a celebrated Mimâmsâ treatise of Mâdhavâchârya—the *Jaiminîyanyâyamâlâvistara*, of which a beautiful edition was commenced by the late Professor Goldstücker under the auspices of the Oriental Text Society, but unfortunately not completed, in consequence of the death of that lamented scholar. The above-mentioned stanza, however, does not occur in that work—either in the portion printed, or in the remaining portion, which I have examined in MS. It is to be found in the work from which the quotation last discussed is taken, namely, the *Vyâsâdhikaraṇamâlâ*. It forms part of the stanzas summarizing *Brahmasûtras* III. 4, 23, 24; so that although this passage does not carry us any further than the last, it still strengthens the conclusion based on it—namely, that the *Śankaravijaya* cannot have been composed before the fourteenth century A.C.

But now it becomes desirable to inquire about the indisputable evidence upon which Professor Wilson assigned this work to a time not far removed from that of Ânandagiri. For myself, I have failed to find any such evidence. One argument, however, on which Professor Wilson would probably have relied is contained in the following passage in his *Essay on Hindu Sects* :—"The great divisions," he says, "of R â m â n u j a and R â m â n a n d a, the former of which originated, we know, in the course of the 11th century, are unnoticed, and it is also worth while to observe that neither in this nor in any other portion of the *Śankaravijaya* is any allusion made to the separate worship of Krishṇa, either in his own person or that of the infantine forms in which he is now so preëminently venerated in many parts of India, nor are the names of Râma and Sîtâ, of Lakshmaṇa or Hanumân, once particularized, as enjoying any portion of distinct and specific adoration."§ The implication here seems to be that the *Śankaravijaya* must be earlier than the 11th century. But is it necessary to suppose that the *Śankaravijaya* was written before Râmânuja flourished, merely because Râmânuja is not mentioned in it? Not to mention other possible explanations, it seems to me more likely that our author had before him as his authority some other work, in which no reference was made to the sect of Râmânuja. Upon the whole, therefore, I think that the circumstance here noted does not affect the conclusions which we have already drawn, namely, that the *Śankaravijaya* is in all probability a work of the 14th century, and that consequently it cannot be a work of Ânandagiri the pupil of Śankarâchârya.

If this is so, it follows that Professor Aufrecht is not correct in saying that Mâdhavâchârya, in compiling his *Śankaravijaya*, made use of Ânandagiri's work, omitting some things, transposing others, abridging here and amplifying there.|| It is true that in the commentary on the fifteenth chapter of Mâdhava's *Śankaravijaya* we meet with passages, cited as from the "ancient" work to which Mâdhava refers, corresponding with passages in our *Śankaravijaya*. But, in the first place, the author of that commentary—D h a n a p a t i—lived only at the beginning of this century,¶ and his authority on such a point as the present, though not to be slighted, is not conclusive. And, what is of more importance, the passages, though coinciding in some portions, do not coincide altogether. Thus the comment on Mâdhava XVI. 1, expatiating on the word 'pupils' in that stanza, repeats the list to be found in our *Śankaravijaya* (p. 19). And then, commenting on the text which says "he first set out for the S e t u (*the Bridge*)," the author writes, "This, in conformity with the old work, should be explained as

† p. 221.

‡ In the *Catalogue of MSS. in the Central Provinces* (p. 108), *Jaiminîyanyâyamâlavistara* and *Adhikaraṇaratnamâlâ* are mentioned as two distinct Mimâmsâ treatises. Dr. Bhâu Dâjî (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. p. 226) speaks of two works, *Jaiminîyanyâyaratnâdhikaraṇamâlâ* and *Vedântadhikaraṇaratnamâlâ*. And see Dr. Hall's *Contributions*, &c. p. 186.

§ Wilson's *Works*, vol. I. p. 17.

|| p. 260*a*, and compare also p. 256*a*, note.

¶ See Aufrecht's *Catalogus*, p. 260*a*.

follows :—' Having reached M a d h y â r j u n a, he, desirous of conquering all the quarters, set out for the S e t u.' " Then he quotes with some variants the passage in our *Śankaravijaya* commencing at p. 19 and ending on p. 20 at the words महदद्भुतमासीत्. Then follow two stanzas in our *Śankaravijaya*, which Dhanapati's authority apparently did not contain. In the second stanza of the text Mâdhava says that Śankara had a controversy with the Ś â k t a s, and his commentator sets out the arguments on both sides *in verse*. According to our author, however, the controversy here was with the Śaivas, and his report of it is in prose. The extract in the commentary on this stanza will be found to answer to Secs. 19 to 22 of our *Śankaravijaya*, and many coincidences between the two accounts are obvious. But although these coincidences are of some interest, it would take us too far afield to discuss them.* I will content myself with saying that it is just possible that our *Śankaravijaya* is itself based on the work which Dhanapati quotes; and that in all probability neither was used exclusively, if used at all, by Mâdhavâchârya.† A work on Śankara's victories is ascribed to another of Śankara's pupils—C h i d v i l â s a‡—who, I take it, is identical with C h i t s u k h a. Not having access to the work, I am unable to say whether it was really written by a pupil of Śankara's, or whether the author was one of the "ancient poets" to whom Mâdhava refers. Nevertheless, the fact that it is attributed to C h i t s u k h a induces me to express the hope that somebody may undertake to edit and publish it.

One or two other points may be noted concerning the *Śankaravijaya*, although they have, I think, little bearing on the main question here discussed. At p. 171 we find the verses अर्थमनर्थं भावय, &c. put into Śankara's mouth and described as आचार्योक्ति. Now these verses form part of the little poem named *Mohamudgara*, which is attributed to Śankarâchârya himself If this tradition is correct—and there seems little reason to distrust it—we have here at least a very noteworthy mode of referring to and describing the verses in question. A similar instance occurs at p. 195, where the reference is to Śankara's *Bhâshya* on the *Brahmasûtras*. We may remark that in the passage from the ancient poet cited by the commentator on Mâdhava's *Śankaravijaya* the verses अर्थमनर्थम् may be likewise found cited, though not as आचार्योक्ति; while the reference to the *Śankara Bhâshya* is introduced there, as here, with the words, "The Âchârya has said."§

Furthermore, it is not entirely unworthy of note that the language of the *Śankaravijaya* is not by any means correct in point of grammar. We have forms in abundance like आचरित्वा and संनिवेशयित्वा; || शृणुध्वम् ¶ occurs with not a little frequency, and the same remark applies to the word आस.** In one place we have तिष्ठध्वम्;†† in another सेवन्ति; ‡‡ in a third we have a sentence beginning with the word मे.§§ It is difficult to ascribe all these deviations from grammatical rules to the corruptions of the MSS. And if they are not to be so ascribed, some explanation is necessary as to how they came to find their way into the work. After much consideration I am bound to say that I cannot find any satisfactory explanation.

---

# ŚILPA ŚÂSTRA.

TRANSLATED BY REV. J. F. KEARNS, TANJORE.

(*Continued from p. 287.*)

*Trees.*

"Fell trees according to the foregoing rule, but observe whether much water, or water-like milk, oozes from the incisions: for if there be much the trees are unsuitable. Again, if the tree, when falling, makes a noise like the voice

---

* I may mention that some of the quotations in our *Śankaravijaya* are to be found in the extracts given by Dhanapati. That from the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, however, is not to be found there. And it is noteworthy that the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* is not mentioned in Aufrecht's list of the works quoted in our *Śankaravijaya*.

† Mâdhava's work is larger than our *Śankaravijaya*, and cannot, therefore, have been summarised from the latter. It also contains narratives of occurrences and reports of discussions for which no materials are furnished by our author.

‡ See Mackenzie's *Collection*, vol. I. p. 99, Dr. Hall's *Contributions*, &c. p. 168. See also Aufrecht's *Catalogus*, p. 260*b*. C h i t s u k h a is mentioned as a pupil of Śankara's in *Śankaravijaya*, p. 19, and Mâdhava, III. 6.

§ See the *Commentary* on Mâdhava, Canto XV. p. 15, stanza 50, and p. 17, stanza 58.

|| p. 289. ¶ pp. 16, 103, 251.

** pp. 180, p. 185. †† p. 162.

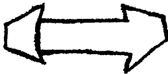
‡‡ p. 8. §§ p. 287.

of a tiger or elephant, it is an omen of good. If the noise resembles crying or laughing, it is an ill omen; if the tree falls with its head to the north or east, it is a good omen. The *Artocarpus integrifolia*, the Punnei (*Rottlera tinctoria ?*), the Mango, the *Bassia longifolia*, the *Eugenia Jambolana*, the *Mimusops Elengi*, the *Michelia Champaca*, the *Calatropis gigantea*, the Phansi (?), the *Ficus religiosa*, the *Ficus indica*, the *Ficus racemosa*, the *Punica granatum*, and the *Trophis aspera*—these are milk-giving trees, and their timber is soft; the timber of all other trees is called hard timber."

*On Joining.*

"Find the breadth of the beam; let this be the length of the connecting tie. Next ascertain the depth of the beam; one-ninth part of this should be the thickness of the connecting tie: this tie is called *kuḍumî*."*

He gave me a *kuḍumi*, and the following is a sketch of it:—



"The nails used to secure a joint should be driven through the centre when the work is for a temple; when the work is intended for dwelling-houses, &c. &c., to the right of the centre is the rule to be observed. If the nails are driven to the left of the centre, the enemies of the householder will increase, and the house will be consumed by fire.

"A joint should not fall in a line with the centre of the door; for loss of life and property is the consequence of such an arrangement. The proper place, if there must be a joint, is half-distance from the centre of the door.

"Hard timbers should be joined with hard timbers, and soft timbers with soft. When joining, the greater length should be to the right hand, and the lesser to the left of the joiner. The carpenter should be on the outside, and the *śilpan* on the inner side.

"In joining beams, if the head of one tree is joined to the head of another tree, a terrible illness will occur in the house; but if the head of a tree and the foot of a tree are joined to form the beam, wealth and happiness will dwell in that house."

*Concerning Doors.*

"The timber of the *Nâval* tree is proper for doors of temples, the *Nîm*† for doors of Brâhmaṇs' houses, the Teak for Kshatriyas, the *Illappa* for Vaiśyas, Cocoanut timber for Vellâlârs.

"A door should be constructed entirely of one sort of timber. It is improper to construct it of different kinds; and the door should be hinged to the left door-post, *i.e.* the left looking from the outside.

"Before fixing the door-frame in its place, find the length of the house, then mark the exact centre. If the door is for a dwelling-house, it should be set up to the left of the aforesaid centre, but if for a temple the centre is the proper place."

Another rule:—"Find the length of the house-wall, divide the sum into nine parts, set off three parts to the left hand, and five parts to the right hand: the door should stand in the remaining part of the wall of the house."

*Concerning Door-posts.*

"Stone door-posts are proper for temples. Door-posts of *Margosa* are proper for Brâhmaṇs, of Ebony or Teak for Kshatriyas, *Illappa* for Vaiśyas, Cocoanut and Acacia for Vellâlârs.

"Door-posts should not be placed in the centre of the wall. According to the rule of the ancients, find the thickness of the wall by measure; divide this into six parts. The centre of the sixth or outer part is the proper place for the door."

*Concerning setting up Doors.*

"If Leo is ascending, set up the south door; if Taurus, set up the west door; if Kuvera, set up the north door; if the Moon is passing the meridian, the east door. When Leo is ascending is the proper time for placing a door in a temple of Vishṇu. When Taurus is ascending is the proper time for placing a door in a temple of Mahâdeva. When Kuvera is ascending is the proper time for setting a door in Gaṇeśa's temple. When the Moon is passing the meridian, a door may be set up for any one.

"If one determines to build a house, let him be careful to attend to the rules of the Divine

* This verse is slightly obscure, and I found it necessary to get a *śilpan* in Tanjore to explain it. According to him, natives when joining beams that are to rest on pillars or walls do not *mortise* them, as we do. They square both ends as clean as possible, and the *kuḍumi* mentioned above is let into them.

† *Margosa* of the Portuguese, *Melia Azadirachta* of botanists.—ED.

Śilpan, Myen Âchâri, for measuring length, breadth, and thickness. Also let him enter upon residence on a propitious day, and the blessing of Lakshmî, health, long life, and happiness shall attend him.".

*Concerning taking up residence.*

"Sunday and Tuesday are unlucky days to take up residence; Saturday, Thursday, Wednesday, and Monday are propitious days. The stars Ashvinî, Chitrâ, Punarvasu, Anurâdha, Vîśâkhâ, Uttarashâḍha, Uttarâ Phâlgunî, and Revatî are propitious. The constellations Kambum (Aquarius) and Virusikam (Scorpio) are unlucky. The fourth, ninth, and fourteenth days of the Moon are also unlucky. Attending to these rules, take up your residence in the house.

"The ninth and the fourteenth days of the Moon, Saturdays, Fridays, the months Punguni, Auni, Purattasi, and Margali, are unlucky; if you take up residence you will be bitten by a poisonous animal. If the planet Venus is rising or setting, or if the Trident of Śiva is opposite, do not enter upon residence on those days; if you do, you will suffer great loss."

There is a good deal of this kind of matter, with which we need not trouble our readers. The author next treats of the *Mûkûrthan* of the *Garbha;* but first we shall give his rule for ascertaining the character of the *Garbha,* and the individuals for whom it is fit.

"Let the *yajamana* construct a measuring rule in length equal to four of his own hand-spans. With this measure let him measure the house from east to west, and from south to north. Square the sums and divide the product by eight. If the remainder is 5, the *Garbha* is named *Suba-garbha:* success in all things will be secured to the *yajamana.* Should the remainder be 6, it is called *Kaka-garbha:* it is of a middle character, fit for outcastes to live in. Should the remainder be 1, it is called *Garuḍa-garbha,* and is fit for the four castes. Should the remainder be 3, it is called *Simba-garbha:* this is excellent. Should the remainder be 7, it is called *Geja-garbha:* great advantages befall the dweller. Should the remainder be 2, it is called *Pura-garbha:* this is fair, and is fit for hunters. Should the remainder be 4, it is called *Swân-garbha:* this is fair, but fit for Lambâḍîs and Koravârs. Should the remainder be 8, it is called *Kaluthai-garbha:* this too is fair, but the house will never be completed, and even should it, it will perish; it is a dwelling fit only for very low castes, wild beasts, peacocks, and antelopes.

*Garbha Mûkûrthan.*

"Reject Fridays, Thursdays, Saturdays, Mondays, and Wednesdays. Also reject the eighth of the following constellations:—Uttara Phâlgunî, Uttarashâḍha, Mâghâm (Capricornus), Punarvasu, Shetatâraka, Mṛiga, Rohinî, Anurâdhâ, and Revatî. Reject also the full and the new moon, also the fourth, ninth, and fourteenth days of each half-moon; all other times are propitious for *Garbha Mûkûrthan.*

"If you perform *Garbha Mûkûrthan* when Pisces is declining, it will be fortunate; if when Aries and Taurus are declining, sickness will ensue: if when Gemini is declining, sorrow will be the result; if when Cancer is declining, wealth and progress will be the result; if when Virgo is declining, everything you take in hand will prosper; if when Scorpio and Sagittarius are declining, your wife will flourish, deriving excellence from numerous sons."

The author gives a rule for ascertaining certain matters connected with buildings. He uses two expressions, *Ayam* and *Selavu,* which, in the connexion he uses them, I cannot translate better than by 'Profit' and 'Loss.'

*The Rule.*

"Ascertain the length of the house, square it, multiply the sum by 8, and divide the product by 12: the remainder is the *Ayam,* or profit. Again, take the square number and multiply it by 9, divide the product by 10, the remainder is the *Selavu,* or loss. Again, take the square number and multiply it by 27, and divide the product by 100, the remainder is the age or durability of the house. Again, take the square number, multiply it by 8, and divide the product by 27, the remainder is the star. Again, multiply the square number by 3, and divide the product by 8, the remainder is the *Yonî.* Multiply the square number by 9, and divide the product by 7, the remainder is the day. Multiply the square number by 9, and divide the product by 4, the remainder is the caste. Multiply the square number by 4, and divide the product by 9, the remainder is the *Amśam.* Multiply the square number by 9, and divide the product by 30, the remainder is the *Tithi.*

If this falls within 15, it belongs to the crescent moon, but if above 15 to the decrescent moon. Again, multiply the square number by 4, and divide the product by 12, the remainder is the constellation. Multiply the square number by 8, and divide the product by 5, the remainder gives the *Sûtra*. The following are the *Yonis*:—Garuḍa, Punî, Siṁha, Noy, Pâmbu, Eli, Ani, Mûsl: of these Punî (cat), Elî (rat), and Musl (hare) are bad. The following are the *Amsams*:—Arsam, Soram, Putthi, Satthi, Thanium, Râsium, Kalibam, Varuttham, Rokam, and Subâm. The following are the *Sûtras*:—Pâlan, Kumâru, Râjan, Kilavan, Maranan. We now give an example or two that may serve to illustrate the foregoing:—

"Given the length of the house 11 cubits, and the width 5 cubits, to find the age,—that is to say, how many years such a house will stand. By the rule $11 \times 5 = 55$, and $55 \times 27 = 1485$, $1485 \div 100 = 14$, the remainder being 85,—which remainder indicates the number of years the house will stand.

"Given the length of the house 15 cubits, and the width 7 cubits, to find the caste for whom it is suitable. $15 \times 7 = 105$, $105 \times 9 = 945$, and $945 \div 4 = 236$, remainder 1. The remainder 1 indicates the first caste, *i.e.* Brâhmaṇs.

"Given the length of the house 17 cubits, and the width 7, to ascertain the caste for whom it is suitable. $17 \times 7 = 119$, $119 \times 9 = 1071$, and $1071 \div 4 = 267$, remainder 3. The remainder 3 denotes the third or Vaiśya caste."

The next example exhibits the entire series.

"Given the length of the house 9 cubits, width 3 cubits, to find the *Ayam* and *Selavu*, &c. &c. By the rule $9 \times 3 = 27$, $27 \times 8 = 216$, and $216 \div 12 = 18$,—12 = *Ayam*.‡ $27 \times 9 = 243$, and $243 \div 10 = 24$, remainder 3,—which is the *Selavu* or loss, and so on according to the rule. The *Yonî* is Garuḍa, the star Revatî, the part of the lunar month the third day, the day of the week Thursday, the constellation Pisces, and the caste Vaiśyâ."

Strange as all this appears to us Europeans, natives regard these things as matters of great importance, and I have been informed by a well-educated native gentleman that many of these rules are adhered to even now.

The *Ayams* and *Selavus* are also used for the purpose of ascertaining whether good or evil will happen to the householder; thus:—

"If the *Ayam* be 0 or 2, it denotes that great pleasure and happiness awaits the householder; if 3 or 4, fame and happiness are indicated; if 5 or 6, increase of wealth; if 7 or 8, beneficence and true wisdom are indicated.

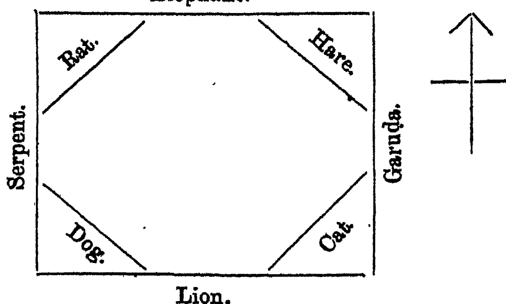
"Multiply the *Ayam* by 9 and divide it by 10 to find the *Selavu* or loss. If the remainder is 1, it denotes that great poverty is in store for the householder. If 2 remain, the house will be consumed by fire. If the remainder is 8, Lakshmî will dwell in that house. If 9 remain, the destruction of sons will ensue. If the remainder is 10, it is most excellent."

We have already given the rule for finding the eight *Yonis*, and as these exert a very considerable influence upon uneducated Hindus, we shall give the instructions concerning them as contained in this book.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The Yonî | Garuḍa (hawk) | is in the | east. |
| ,, | Lion | ,, | south. |
| ,, | Serpent | ,, | west. |
| ,, | Elephant | ,, | north. |
| ,, | Cat | ,, | south-east. |
| ,, | Dog | ,, | south-west. |
| ,, | Rat | ,, | north-west. |
| ,, | Hare | ,, | north-east. |

This, illustrated by a diagram, will explain what is to follow.

The eight Yonîs.




The reader will observe that the animals are placed antagonistically, *e.g.* the dog is the natural enemy of the hare, the cat of the rat, &c. &c. The rule accordingly is:—A person dwelling in Garuḍa's position should not undertake anything that would oblige him to journey toward the position of the Serpent, and *vice*

‡ When there is no remainder the divisor becomes the *Ayam*, as in this instance.

*versâ*, because Garuḍa will come forth in search of food, and meeting the Serpent on the same errand mischief is likely to befall the person journeying between them; and so of the other *Yonîs*. It is dangerous for a person living in a *Yonî* to travel in the direction of its opponent. Accordingly the author advises his readers to consult an almanac before setting out on a journey.

The width of the house appears to be a matter of very considerable importance in the *śilpan's* art. Our author in 26 *ślokas* sings of the width of houses. He gives forty-four examples, and of these seventeen are fraught with mischief to the householder: we give a few as examples:—

"If the width of the house is six feet, the blessing of Lakshmî and all happiness will be here.

"If the width of the house is ten feet, sheep and oxen will increase, imperishable wealth and flourishing fields will be the possession of the householder. If the width of the house is twenty feet, the wife will flourish, sons will increase, and wealth of all kinds will ensue to the householder. If the width of the house is nineteen feet, the servants will die, business will fail, terrible mischief will befall the housekeeper, and his wife will be kept by another man.

"If the width of the house is twenty-eight feet, sickness and the death of sons, the loss of wealth, and untold poverty will ensue. Therefore a man should flee from such a house."

These are sufficient to serve as examples, but it is observable that there is no distinct rule in the book, beyond what may be found in these examples, for defining the proper width of a house.

*Concerning Days.*

"Sunday is a good day for transacting business, Monday for sowing grain, Tuesday for fighting, Wednesday for commencing studies, Thursday for getting married, Friday for getting shaved, and Saturday for performing penance."

*Tank-digging.*

"If one digs a tank in the point of Agni, besides losing his wife by death, he himself will meet with an accident, and his wealth will vanish. If one digs it in Yama's point, it will be a useless tank, besides which the man who dug it will become a beggar. If, however, one digs a tank in Isani's point (north-east), he will obtain wealth."

*Concerning Wells.*

"If one digs a well in the north-east or west points of the house, auspicious events will ensue. If one digs a well in the north-west, the death of sons will follow. If one digs a well in the south-west, sickness will be the result. If one digs a well in the south, death will follow. If one digs a well in the south-east, he will be childless. And if one digs a well in the centre of his house, his wealth will perish.

"If one digs a well in Varuṇa's point (west), the blessing of the Supreme One, and all happiness, will be the result.

"If one digs a well centre to south-east, south, south-west, and north-west, his relations and his sons will die of sickness, he shall lose all his wealth, and will afterwards live by begging."

---

## NOTES ON THE SOUTH-INDIAN OR DRÂVIḌIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

By the Rev. G. U. POPE, D.D., M.R.A.S., Member of the Leipzig Oriental Society, and Fellow of the Madras University.

(*Continued from p.* 158.)

### *No. II.—On the "Harmonic Sequence of Vowels."*

On the subject of this paper Mr. Whitney, in his work entitled *The Life and Growth of Language*, p. 234, says: "In the phonetic structure of the Scythian languages the most striking trait is the so-called 'harmonic sequence of vowels.' There are, namely, two classes of vowels, light and heavy, or palatal (*e, i, ü, ö*) and other (*a, o, u*); and it is the general law that the vowels of the various endings shall be of the class of that in the root, or in its last syllable—thus marking the appurtenance and dependency of the endings in their relation to the root in a manner which, though undoubtedly at first euphonic only (like the German *umlaut*), has lent itself usefully to the purposes of formal distinction. Every suffix, then, has two forms, a light and a heavy: we have *al-mak*, but *sev-mek*; *ev-ler*, but *agha-lar*, and so on."

Mr. Whitney goes on (in p. 245) to say that "the Drâvidian languages show no trace of this harmonic sequence of vowels." And this conclusion I came to many years ago. Some reasons for this I purpose to give here.

In regard to the affiliation of these languages in general I may quote Mr. Whitney's words, which I had not seen when I began these Notes, but which exactly express my views on the whole subject:—"*The Drâvidian languages are not in their structure so different from the Scythian that they might not belong to one family with them, if only sufficient correspondences of material were found between the two groups. And some have been ready, though on grounds not to be accepted as sufficient, to declare them related.*"

The most complete exposition of the whole subject of Harmonic sequence of vowels is given in the *Revue de Philologie et d'Ethnographie*, edited by Ch. E. de Ujfalvy (Jan.–March 1875).

This is the summary:—

"1°. Les voyelles dans les langues Ougro-finnoises se subdivisent en trois classes, en dures, douces et neutres;

"2°. Jamais les voyelles des deux premières classes ne peuvent se rencontrer dans un radical, les radicals sont donc durs et doux;

"3°. Les voyelles des suffixes s'assimilent à celles des radicaux; c'est-à-dire les suffixes à voyelles dures s'accolent aux radicaux doux;

"4°. Cette loi découle du génie organique de ces langues mêmes, elle s'est développée et rétablie plus ou moins dans tous les idiomes du groupe Ougro-finnois (à l'exception du Vêpse, du Livonien, de l'Esthonien et du Tchérémisse), et c'est l'influence des langues Âryennes qui seule a pu altérer son application;

"5°. Cette loi se manifeste même dans les mots que ces langues ont empruntés aux idiomes limitrophes."

We may inquire, then—

I. Is there in the Drâvidian languages any division, actual or possible, into the three classes of *hard, soft,* and *neutral?* The answer must be a decided negative.

The hard in the Ougro-Finnish dialects are *a, o, u;* the soft are more or less the same as the German *ä, ö, ü;* the middle (which do not admit of *umlaut*) *e, i.*

In the Drâvidian languages there are only four recognized cases where the vowel changes its sound:—*i* before a *lingual* is pronounced nearly as *ü*; *a* in a final syllable becomes occasionally *e*; final *u*, in certain cases, is sounded much as a French *u*; and the diphthong *ai* is pronounced variously, according to its position in a word.

The Drâvidian vowels in the *grundsprache* were *a, â; i, î; e, ê; u, û; o, ô;* with the diphthongs *âi* and *âu.*

Those correspond exactly to those of the Sanskrit. The marks by which a long vowel is distinguished from a short one are probably all of them of comparatively recent origin.

These vowels have no effect upon the pronunciation of the consonants.

Nor have the Drâvidian languages any trace of the numerous diphthongs which exist in the Ougro-Finnish.

II. Is any division of Drâvidian radicals into hard and soft possible? Are the vowels in each radical of one kind or class? Most evidently not.

In Finnish *kala* = fish, and its ablative is *kalabta; isë* = father, and its ablative is *isëltë.* Here the harmonic sequence is seen.

"Jamais un radical Finnois ne peut contenir des voyelles dures et douces à la fois," says De Ujfalvy.

In Tamil (of which I chiefly speak) every variation is possible:—*kaḍal*, kâḍu, kiḍai, kîrôr, kŭḍal, kûṭṭam, keḍuδi, kêḷvi, kômân, vîṭṭôram.

No trace of any such limitation—of any law—is to be discovered in any Drâvidian dialect.

Euphonic changes, such as are traceable in Latin,—in *similis* compared with *simultas;* in *exsilium* (*exul*); *bene* (*bone*); *socordia* (*secordia*),—are rare in Drâvidian languages.

*Çâ* = 'die,' makes *çe-tt.*

*Keḍu* = 'perish,' makes *kêḍu*, 'destruction.'

If any stress is to be laid upon this in the affiliation of languages, the very wide application of the principle, under the name of 'umlaut,' would tend to exclude German from the family of Âryan languages.

III. I proceed to the question, Do the vowels of the suffixes in the Drâvidian languages assimilate themselves to those of the stem to which they are appended?

Of this there is no real trace.

In Latin we find *tubicên* making *tubicin-is*, *cano* makes *ce-ci-ni;* but here the stem is rather affected by the suffix, than the suffix by the stem. Neighbouring sounds affect one another.

In the Drâvidian languages I can see nothing more than this:—

In Tamil̤ we have—

*Kodukkirr-* { = *ên*, 'I give.'
= *ân*, 'he gives.'
= *ôm*, 'we give.'
= *îr*, 'ye give.'

And the same pronominal endings, *ên*, *ân*, *ôm*, and *îr*, are added to every verbal stem, whatever its vowels may be, without any change.

In the Telugu and in Kanarese, and in colloquial Tamil̤, *u* and *i* are occasionally interchanged, or, more strictly, *u* is fined down to *ü*, and even to *i*. The inflectional particle used for the fourth or 'dative' case in the Drâviḍian languages is *k*; to this is added a vowel which hovers between *u*, *ü*, and *i*. This reminds me of Homer's "οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι."

In certain cases where a connecting vowel is used, that vowel is determined by the vowel of the suffix.

But I deny that in any Drâviḍian dialect there is a systematic change of the vowel of a suffix, or inflectional increment, in order to adapt it to the vowels of the stem to which it is appended.

IV. I make the final inquiry, Do the Drâviḍian languages alter the vowels of foreign words which they adopt according to any supposed law of harmonic sequence?

Most elaborate rules are given by the Jain grammarians for the spelling of Sanskṛit words received into Tamil̤ and Kanarese; but these affect the consonants almost entirely. I know of no case where the vowels are changed in obedience to any principle.

In Tamil̤ a Sanskṛit word which ended in *â* will end in *ai*. The Sanskṛit *âu* often becomes optionally *av*.

So Persian, Arabic, and English words suffer as to consonants, but vowels remain nearly intact.

I conclude, then, that the law of "harmonic sequence" has not been shown to hold good in the Drâviḍian languages, and that their euphonic changes are rather in harmony with those which take place in the Âryan family.

But this latter subject would require another paper. These changes will, I think, show the Drâviḍian languages more in harmony with Schleicher's "Ârio-graeco-italo-keltisch" subdivision of the Indo-Germanic family of languages, than with the Ougro-Finnish dialects of M. de Ujfalvy.—*(To be continued.)*

---

## NOTES ON A TIBET TEAPOT AND ON THE TEA USED THEREIN.

BY CHARLES HORNE, LATE B.C.S.; F.R.A.S., F.L.S., &c.

This grand old teapot was in family use in a Tibetan household near L a h o u l, and was given, as a most valuable parting present, by the old lady who owned it, to Captain Hay, then in political employ in the Kûlû country, in the Himâlaya. It is said to have been made about a hundred years since in China, and its ornamentation is decidedly Chinese. The body represents a lotus-flower with five petals curved in at the summit. On each petal are engraved mountains, trees, and clouds. The grateful steam ascends from the mountains, nourishes trees, and then forms clouds, which descending within provides the cheering beverage. The cover, which is handsomely ornamented and finished off with a pine-apple knob, is fastened to a dragon's neck by a brass chain. The said dragon, which is horned and of the true Chinese type, forms the handle. He has handsome scroll epaulettes and a most singular tail. He has his open mouth placed on the rim of the opening, in the hopes of getting a little of the overflow, should there be any. The condensed steam is discharged by the spout, which represents the trunk and head of a small-eared elephant, and is attached at the upper part to the teapot by a small dragon's head.

Perhaps this is allegorical, and may represent the Ganges flowing from its source in the mountains. But whether or no, the whole affair is in excellent keeping, and may fairly be rendered as I have put it.

The metal of which it is composed seems to be a mixture of brass with some harder metal. The colour is somewhat duller than brass, and, although it has been made so long, it bears no trace of copperas or rust of any kind.

Its height is eight and a half inches, and across from the exterior of the handle to that of the spout it measures nearly nine inches. The design is quite worthy of imitation by our artists, in silver or other metal, and this has been beautifully rendered by the artist; although from its colour it was very difficult to photograph.

In the country from whence it was derived almost every house has a teapot as hereinafter described, but not in general so handsome as that now under notice. Tea is drunk more and more, and our Himâlayan tea-planters, if they can manufacture it to meet the taste of these people, have an unlimited field for their enterprise. The brick-tea, of which more anon, appears to me very coarse and bad, besides being very dear; but it takes a long time to induce a people to change their habits. Attempts are, however, being made to manufacture brick-tea, and this will doubtless be very successful, as we are daily learning more of the details of the manufacture.

But my readers will like to know how the tea was made which was served in this remarkable teapot. Here is the recipe, for any one to try:—Take a very small quantity of tea, brick-tea,—say two ounces for ten people,—and put it into a large iron or mica-schist pot and boil with a little water for an hour. Next, mix in about an equal quantity of soda. This soda is an efflorescence found upon the surface of the ground at Kyân, beyond the Panging Lake. Then add a little salt and some half-rancid butter. This butter has salt put in when made, so that often additional salt can be dispensed with. Lastly, add a little of the broken bark of the yew (*Taxus baccata*), called by the natives *Buriné*, which imparts great astringency, and gives the mixture a reddish colour. About ten pints of water are added, and the whole is churned up with a churning-stick until it acquires the colour and consistence of thick rich cocoa or chocolate. When ready it is poured into the teapot, called by the natives *chibril*, the only straining commonly in use being by the placing of a spoon before it when running, to stop the coarser particles.

In Lahoul coarse china cups are used without handles or saucers or covers. These come from Yarkand. Turned cups of serpentine are also much esteemed, as they stand heat very well, and tea can be kept hot in them by the fire. They are made near Lê.

The mica-schist pots are hollowed out with a tool at Zanzibar. They are sometimes two feet in diameter, without any covers, and are cut from the solid. They are shaped like an Indian *loṭâ*, or a round saucepan with a lip all round.

The tea thus made is pressed upon the visitor, who is expected, like themselves, to drink from five to ten cups, if they can make him.

Moorcroft, in his *Travels* (vol. I. pp. 231-2), thus describes his visit to the Râja of Ladakh, when tea was served:—"A moderately large teapot of gilt copper, and of beautiful workmanship, was brought in, and salted and buttered tea without milk handed to the company. The Râja took out of a breast-pocket or pouch his own tea-cup, of yellow china. The Khaga Tanzin also produced his, of chestnut wood mounted with silver. We had come provided with our own cups. The tea was not very strong, and tasted like weak broth."

The use of tea in Lahoul appears to be restricted to the higher classes, the poorer using substitutes for it, such as the leaves of a dwarf kind of willow, &c., but the practice of tea-drinking is daily becoming more general.

The following extract from Moorcroft (vol. I., pp. 229, 230) will show how general its use had become some forty years since:—

"The diet of the Ladakhîs, and of the Tibetans generally, is nutritious and wholesome, and is remarkable for the prominent share which is taken in it by tea. All classes of Tibetans eat three meals a day. The first consists of tea; the second of tea—or of meal porridge if that cannot be afforded; the third of meat, rice, vegetables, and bread by the upper, and soup, porridge, and bread by the lower classes. For a breakfast of ten persons this would be the preparation:—About an ounce of black tea, called here '*zangcha* (or *zangja*), black brick-tea (from *zang*, black, and *cha*, *chha*, or *ja*, tea of Major Hay?), and a like quantity of soda are boiled in a quart of water for an hour, or until the leaves of the tea are sufficiently steeped. It is then strained and mixed with ten quarts of boiling water in which an ounce and a half of fossil salt has been previously dissolved. The whole is then put into a narrow cylindrical churn, along with some butter, and well churned with a churning-stick till it becomes a smooth, oily, and brown liquid of the colour and consistence of chocolate, in which form it is transferred to a teapot of silver or silvered copper or brass, for the richer classes ornamented with flowers and foliage, and grotesque figures of leopards, crocodiles, dragons,



W. Griggs lith.

or heads of elephants, and the like, in embossed or filagree work. The poorer people have plain brass or tinned copper teapots. Each man has his own cup, either of china, porcelain, or, what is more common, made out of the knot of the horse chestnut, edged or lined with silver, or plain. About five thousand of these, in the rough, are annually exported from Bisahir to Gartokh, and sold at the rate of six for a rupee (1*s*. 10*d*.).

"They are finished and ornamented in China. The latter kind of cup contains about one-third of a pint, the china cup something less. Each person drinks from five to ten cups of tea, and when the last is half finished he mixes with the remainder as much barley meal as makes a paste with it, which he eats. . . . . . . . . . The poorer people, instead of tea, boil two parts of barley flour with one of water or meat broth seasoned with salt, until it becomes of the thickness of porridge."

Major Hay tells me that in 1849 there were three kinds of brick-tea sold in Lahoul, which came from China viâ Ladakh,—(1) *kopinzi*, a green tea; (2) *chung-ching*, a black tea; and (3) *zang-ja*, also black. The last named sold for about 3*s*. 6*d*. per lb., being the cheapest. Moorcroft in 1820 names 3*s*. per lb. for green brick-tea, and 2*s*. for black brick-tea, which he says, come viâ Lhassa or Yarkand.

It will thus be seen that it must be quite an article of luxury. Enormous quantities of spurious tea of kinds used to be manufactured from the leaves of various shrubs in Bisahir, and exported thence to Ladakh; but this trade of late seems to have fallen off, and when there I heard but little of it.

Jacquemont, who travelled some thirty years since in Ladakh and adjacent countries, writes from the frontier the following quaint account (vol. II. pp. 141-142):—"Tea comes to Kâśmîr by caravans across Chinese Tartary and Tibet. I know not why this caravan tea has any reputation with us: it is absolutely destitute of fragrance, and is prepared for drinking with milk, butter, salt, and an alkaline salt of a bitter taste. All these produce a turbid reddish liquor of extraordinary flavour, execrable according to some, and decidedly agreeable according to others. I am of the latter opinion.

"In Kunawar* it is made in another way:—after the tea has been boiled for an hour or two, the water is thrown away, and the leaves are dressed with rancid butter, flour, and minced goat's-flesh. This makes a detestable ragoût, they call it tea."

But I have quoted sufficient to show what kind of brews of tea used to flow through the trunk of our teapot.

* He here refers to spurious tea.

## THE BHADRÁCHALLAM AND RÊKAPÁLLI TÂLUKÂS, GODÂVARÎ DISTRICT, SOUTH INDIA.

BY THE REV. JOHN CAIN, DUMAGUDEM.

The Bhadrâchallam and Rêkapalli tâlukâs, Godâvarî district, South India, were handed over to the British Government by the Nizâm in 1860, and transferred from the Central Provinces to the Madras Presidency in 1874. For many years previous these two tâlukâs were the scene of plunder and petty fighting among the many petty zamindârs in the Nizâm's dominions and those in the neighbouring territory, and resembled in many respects the 'debatable land' of England and Scotland. These quarrels evidently depopulated the country to a large extent, so that no old temples remain to remind one of the various events in Râma and Sîtâ's exile near the village of Parnasala. There are, it is true, remains of a few old temples in other parts of the tâlukâs, but these have to be examined before any satisfactory decision can be arrived at respecting their age. Near Dumagûdem a large number of roughly carved idols have been dug up at different times, but they give no evidence as to the date of their first being set up.

In this paper I will give the principal legends connected with these tâlukâs, and in future papers the castes,—with special reference to the Koîs.

**Parnasala**, on the banks of the Godâvarî, is said to have been the scene of Sîtâ's abduction. As Râma, Sîtâ, and Lakshmaṇa were living there, Râvaṇa drew away Râma in pursuit of a phantom antelope, which cleverly eluded him and led him far away from his wife and brother. After a time Sîtâ persuaded

Lakshmaṇa to go in search of Râma, and Râvaṇa appeared before her and cunningly tempted her to prepare to follow him, by asserting that her husband had caught the antelope and was on his way back with his brother. Stooping down, Râvaṇa, with his trident (*shulam*), lifted up Sîtâ and the ground on which she was standing, and placing both her and the mass of the earth on his chariot began to fly away. At that time in the little village of Etapaka, a few miles beyond Bhadrâchallam, lived the famous bird Jetayuḍu. On hearing Sîtâ's cries of distress he immediately hastened to the rescue, and met the chariot on the site of the present Dumagûdem. A terrible battle ensued, and in the conflict so much dust arose that the place was ever afterwards called Dummugudem:—*dummu* (Telugu) = dust, *gûdem* = a village or hamlet. In the struggle Râvaṇa's chariot-wheels grazed the top of the hill on the opposite side of the river, and the hill has ever since been called Radhapu-Gutta:—*radhapu*, the adjective formed from *radham*, a 'chariot,' and '*gutta*,' a hill. This scarped hill attracts the attention of all visitors to Dumagûdem, and presents an exceedingly pretty sight when the rays of the rising sun in the rainy season fall on the summit.

Râvaṇa, despairing of victory by fair means, asked wherein the secret of the bird's immense strength lay, promising faithfully to reveal wherein his own lay. Becoming possessed of the required information and declining to act up to his promise, he soon conquered Jetayuḍu, and the latter fell down mortally wounded. The bird's two wings fell down in the village now called Rêkapalli, which is said to be a modification of the word *Rekkapalli*, according to a well-known rule in Telugu grammar whereby the cutting off a consonant necessitates the lengthening of the preceding vowel: *rêka* (from *rekka*) = a wing, *palli* = a village. The village where Jetayuḍu lived is called Yetapaka or Etapaka, *i.e.* 'Jetaya's *paka*':—*paka* = a hut. Before long, Râma returned, and, not finding Sîtâ, followed up the tracks of Lakshmaṇa, coming at last upon the dead body of his faithful bird. Intensely grieved, he piled up a heap of sticks in the palm of his left hand, and placing the corpse of Jetayuḍu thereon he burned it. Hence the left hand is called the *kâṭi bhûmi*,—*kâṭi* the inflected form of *kâḍu*, a funeral pile, a burning-ground; *bhûmi* = the earth, ground. As one result of this, the placing of the left hand on the heart at night will cause the slumberer to dream most horrible dreams. Râma then came and dwelt at the present Bhadrâchallam, building a temple there (which is not supposed to be in existence now), and calling the temple Bhadrâḍu, and the village Bhadrâpuram. After a time he met with Anjanuyuḍu and Sugrivaḍu, and learning that Râvaṇa was living on a certain well-known hill in the gorge some distance below Rêkapalli, he proceeded there and rescued his wife.

At Parnasala they profess to show to visitors in a certain *vâgu* (nallâ) a stone upon which Sîtâ sat. Certain marks on a rock resemble footprints, and are therefore called 'Sîtâ's footprints;' and on one rock especially there are yellow stains, attributed to the yellow dye of Sîtâ's clothes, laid out there to dry after she had washed them. A small hollow in the village is said to be the spot where she was standing when Râvaṇa lifted her up.

On the opposite side of the river, close to the foot of the Radhapu Gutta, is a small hill called Nalugu Gutta, which is supposed to have been formed by the accumulation of *nalugu* (*i.e.* a kind of soap paste) left by Sîtâ after her daily baths.

Some years after this, the people of the district, having learned that Râma had lived for some time at Bhadrâchallam, began to regard that town as sacred, and a certain *bairâgi* took up his abode there and built a small temple, carving a stone, and having placed it in the temple worshipped it as the image of Râma.

Thus far the legendary history.

About 150 years ago Râma Dâs, an official of the Nizâm's government, was sent to collect the revenue of this tâlukâ, but instead of transmitting the money he spent it in building a temple and *gôpuram*. His superiors at last objected to this, and sent a number of Rohillâs and carried him to Haidarâbâd, where he died after an imprisonment of twelve years.

A certain Tirumalakshmi Narasiṁha Rau then came, and, being much wiser than his predecessor, annually despatched part of the tribute, and devoted the rest to finishing the work commenced by Râma Dâs and beginning another temple. Whilst he was thus engaged, a wealthy man of Madras, named Varadarâmadâsu, with

his mother and his wife, brought two lâkhs of rupees to Bhadrâchallam and agreed to help Narasiṁha Rau to complete his work. Before this could be done, the Nizâm's government, dissatisfied with the small amount of revenue received, sent a number of sawârs to take Narasiṁha Rau to Haidarâbâd. He immediately gave these sawârs a large sum of money, and promised to follow them in a few days to Haidarâbâd. Before many days had elapsed, the Madras man died, and Narasiṁha Rau, taking the corpse, the widow, the deceased man's mother, and his own mother, with a large number of servants, embarked on a number of *sangadîs* (rafts) to cross the Godâvari. When about halfway across the river, he threw the corpse into the stream and jumped in himself, followed by the widow, her mother-in-law, and most of the followers. His own wife and two servants were rescued, and one of the servants died in Bhadrâchallam not many years ago.

These tâlukâs formed part of the Hasanâbâd Sankâgiri Zamindârî held by the Ashwa Rau family, under a grant from the representative of the Emperor of Dihli to one Anâpâ Ashwa Rau in the beginning of the 14th century. All that is known of the political history of this district is to be found in the *Central Provinces Gazetteer* and Captain Glasfurd's *Revenue Settlement Report*.

Until the tâlukâs were handed over to British rule the Bhadrâchallam Zamindâr always kept up a troop of Rohillâs, who received very little pay for their services, and lived chiefly by looting the country around. In attendance upon them were one hundred Kois and one hundred Mâdigas (Chaklars). Twenty-five Koî villages form a *samutû*, and in the Bhadrâchallam tâlukâ there are ten *samutûs;* in the territory on the opposite side of the river, which also belonged to the Ashwa Rau family, there were ten *samutûs*. Each *samutû* was bound in turn to furnish for a month a hundred Kois to carry burdens, fetch supplies, &c. for the above-mentioned Rohillâs, and a hundred Mâdigas to act as horsekeepers. During the month they were thus employed they had to provide their own *batta*.

The petty zamindârs of Albaka, Cherla, Nagar, Bejji, and Chintalanada likewise had their forces of Nâyaks and Koîs, and were continually robbing and plundering. All was 'grist' which came to their 'mill,' even the clothes of the poor Koî women, who were frequently stripped and then regarded as objects of ridicule. The Koîs have frequently told me that they could never lie down to rest at night without feeling that before morning their slumbers might be rudely disturbed, their houses burnt, and their property all carried off. As a rule, they hid their grain in caves and holes of large trees.

The Cherla Râja (who is still alive) had a great antipathy to supposed wizards and sorcerers, and it was an easy method of revenge for one enemy to accuse another to this petty zamindâr of being an adept in the black art. The accused was immediately seized and hanged.

The last great plundering took place in 1859, not far from Parnasala. Since the talukâs have been under British rule, the Bastar petty zamindârs have found it prudent to avoid open violence, as much as the petty zamindârs in British territory.

## CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

*To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.*

Sir,—I shall be much obliged if you, or any of your correspondents, will kindly give me the Sanskrit text from the first *adhyâya* of the *Shatapatha Brâhmaṇa*, translated as below in the footnote to p. 57 of *India Three Thousand Years Ago*, by Dr. John Wilson, (late) of Bombay. The translation is :—"If the sacrificer be a Brâhmaṇ, it is said, *Ehi*, Come ! if he is a Vaiśya, then it is *Agahi*, Come hither ! with a Rajabandhu it is *Adrava*, Run hither ! with a Śudra it is *Adrava*, Run hither !"

W. J. Richards.

*Cottayam, Travancore,*
*June 14th*, 1876.

### LINES BY WARREN HASTINGS.

Lord Macaulay, in the celebrated *Essay* on Warren Hastings, says of the great Governor-General, "He had always loved books. Though not a poet in any high sense of the word, he wrote neat and polished lines with great facility, and was fond of exercising this talent." Indian readers may not be displeased to have a specimen laid before them. The following spirited lines seem to have been written in India, and were printed in a Calcutta newspaper of the year 1810. They are, of course, imitated from Horace's "*Otium divos*," &c., and, as a relic of a great Indian worthy of days that now seem very distant, may not be out of place in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*.—M. J. W.

For ease the harass'd *Foujdar* prays
When crowded Courts and sultry days
Exhale the noxious fume,
While poring o'er the case he hears
The lengthened lie, and doubts and fears
The culprit's final doom.

For ease, for ease, he constant sighs,
Invokes the moon and starry skies
T' afford their friendly light,
That no dacoit his peace invade,
Nor burglar ply his *boring* trade
Secured by gloomy night.

But all his care and toils can ne'er
Fulfil his hopes, his wishes dear;
For ever and anon
The daring crime, th' affray, the theft,
The wail of those of all bereft,
Keep pouring ceaseless on.

Yet, all the numerous ills among
That foil his plans, his purpose strong
Remains unshaken still;
The consciousness of faith and zeal,
And labour for the public weal,
A solace sweet instil.

Then why uneasy should he be,
Or hope e'er perfect peace to see
Unmixed with vice or crime?
For evil passions shall prevail,
And with their train Man's race assail,
Till Heaven's eternal time.

## PAHLAVI.

Mr. E. W. West, of the I.C.S., the well-known Pahlavi scholar, is about to return to Europe with fresh materials for the study of Pahlavi literature, of which he gives the following account in a letter to Prof. Max Müller:—"I have obtained complete copies of the *Dînkard, Nîrangistân, Vajarkard-i Dînî*, and many shorter works hardly known by name in Europe, and hope to finish the *Dâdistân-i Dînî*. . . . I have also collated Spiegel's Pahlavi text of the *Yasna* and *Vendidâd* with some very old MSS., and am sorry to say I find the printed text lamentably defective. The *Dînkard* is the longest Pahlavi work in existence, and originally contained nine books, of which the first two are missing; a MS. of the remaining seven books was brought from Persia about ninety years ago, and this MS. traces its own descent from an old MS. copied by a writer about 877 years ago; all existing copies in India are derived from this MS. brought from Persia, but before they were made about one-sixth of the folios of the original MS. had been abstracted by various individuals, and still remain in other hands. I have been able to collate all these scattered folios excepting five, which are still missing; but excepting myself I believe Dastur Peshotan is the only person who has a copy of the whole. The eighth and ninth books contain a long account of the *Nasks*, or twenty-one books of the Zoroastrian literature, which seems likely to be of considerable interest. Inquiries have been made in Persia for some other copy of this work, but hitherto without success. The *Nîrangistân* is probably the third largest work in Pahlavi (if it be longer than the Pahlavi *Vendidâd*); it consists of minute directions with regard to ceremonies very difficult to understand fully, and seems to contain many quotations from the *Avesta* not found elsewhere, and likely to be important additions to the *Zend Dictionary* . . . . The *Dâdistân-i Dînî* is the second longest Pahlavi work, and contains a great variety of religious information, more interesting and less technical than that in the *Nîrangistân*. It consists of three parts, of which the first and last are said to have been additions to the middle part, which latter is all that has reached Europe, and is about one-half of the whole work. The *Vajarkard-i Dînî* is a somewhat similar but shorter work. The copy I have had given me was printed in Bombay in 1848. Several minor works I have copied from a MS 554 years old, said to be unique. . . . Another volume of this MS. is said to be at Teheran, in a library which was purchased in Bombay some twenty years ago. With regard to *Avesta* texts, I have not learned that any MSS. exist which can be traced to other sources than those used by Westergaard, so it is doubtful if his edition can be improved upon materially. But the Pahlavi text of Spiegel's edition is simply untrustworthy,—owing, probably, to his following the Paris MS. of the *Vendidâd* in preference to its prototypes at London and Copenhagen."—*Academy*.

## THE UNWILLING GUEST.

*By Behâ ed-dîn Zoheir.*

Ye are all alike and base;
God diminish such a brood!
Why, good Lord! in all the race
There is not a man that's good.

Back your suitors bootless go;
Nay, what should they hope to find?
Goodness?—gracious goodness! no.
Kindness?—nothing of the kind.

Would I had been spared the shock
When your faces met my eye!
Or that there had been a block
On the road I travelled by.

Oh! to leave your town, at last!—
When may I such bliss expect?—
On a pony sleek and fast,
Or a camel limber-necked.

*Prof. E. H. Palmer's Transl.*

# METRICAL TRANSLATION OF BHARTṚIHARI'S VAIRÂGYA ŚATAKAM.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

(*Concluded from page* 286.)

WHILE the Soul's temple still stands firm, and Eld still bides afar,
While sense is keen, and Life with Death still wages equal war,
The wise to gain the spirit's peace should strive with strong desire.
What boots to dig a well when all the house is wrapped in fire?

---

I have not learnt the wrangler's art, or less pretentious lore,
Nor cleft in fight the war-beasts' skulls on Fame's broad wings to soar,
Nor sipped the fair one's honeyed lip while soft the moonbeam falls;—
My youth is wasted like a lamp in vast unpeopled halls.

---

Knowledge abates the wise man's pride,
But kindles it in all beside;
That loneliness which shields the saint
Lets sinners sin without restraint.

---

The youthful freshness of my heart is worn with old decay,
The beauty of my limbs hath passed unrecognized away,
Grim Fate brings nigh with giant strides the unrelenting hour,
What hope but in the feet of him* who smote Love's wanton power?

---

If parching thirst dries up the throat,
How sweet the brimming stream;
If hunger pinches, rice and herbs
Imperial dainties seem.
We hug this fond belief,—that we
A solid pleasure gain,
When all we've done is to remove
The momentary pain.

---

When shall I bathe in Gangâ's stream and please Thee, Lord, with fruits and flowers,
Thinking of that one worthy theme, on beds of stone through midnight hours
Honouring my Father in the faith, striving to lift my heart above?
When shall I fling my woes aside? Help me, thou enemy of Love.†

---

The man whose bed is made of rock, whose mansion's but a cave,
Who's clothed in bark and fed on fruits, who drinks the crystal wave,
Whose friends are deer, alone can boast of splendour on this earth;
For he alone ne'er bows the head to power, or wealth, or birth.

---

While flows the triple stream from Śiva's head,
While the boon earth yields garments, food, and bed,
Who'd face the porter at the rich man's gate
If not through pity for his children's fate?

---

Out of Banâras who can live that boasts the sage's name,
Where rags are counted splendid clothes, and begging held no blame,
Where gardens yield to all who need their bounteous supplies,
Where saints subdue the flesh, where Death's the gate of Paradise?

---

Leave those proud doors where surly slaves growl out "Our lord's asleep,
"We cannot wake him; if we do, his wrath no bounds will keep;"
But haunt the temple of that god who rules this mighty whole,
Whose gate no ill-bred porter keeps, who fills with bliss the soul.

---

Our mind is but a lump of clay
Which Fate, grim potter, holds
On Sorrow's wheel that rolls alway,
And, as he pleases, moulds.

---

Śiva controls earth, heav'n, and hell,
Vishnu pervades each part,
Their rank in being who can tell?
But Śiva has my heart.

---

Why, Cupid, wound thy hand with twanging still the bow?
Why, cuckoo, sound for nought thy soft love-moving strain?
Why, bashful maiden, still thy sidelong glances throw?
My soul the nectarous wine of Śiva's love doth drain.

---

* *i.e.* Śiva.

† Śiva.

What though the hermit's cloak be torn with many a rent,
What though he sleep in tombs or under forest trees,
Heeding not friend or foe, on self-communion bent,
From pride and anger free, his mind is still at ease.

---

Enjoyments quickly lose their zest; of them our life is made;
Then why extend the hand to grasp these flowers that bloom to fade?
If for my words you care at all, then fix your constant soul
On that eternal Fount of light ‡ whose beams can Love control.

---

Happy who dwell in mountain-caves, praising the One Supreme,
Upon whose breasts sleep fearless birds that drink their tears of joy,
While we are sporting in the groves, and wandering by the stream
Of some aërial pleasure-ground, our wayward fancy's toy.

---

Death swallows Birth, and Youth's brief flash the jaws of Age devour,
Desire of wealth cuts up Content, and Love the peaceful hour,
Fell Envy's tooth gnaws Virtue's bud, and snakes infest the wood,
Kings' courts are overrun with knaves: thus bad things feed on good.

---

Hundreds of various pains and griefs uproot the health of man,
Where Fortune takes up her abode mishaps soon crowd the gate,
Nothing is born which Death makes not a subject of his state,
How full of faults is Destiny! how ill-conceived her plan!

---

Hard is our lot within th' imprisoning womb,
Our youth beset with separation's doom,
Loathsome our age, the theme of woman's mirth;
Say then, ye men, what joy ye find on earth?

---

A hundred years complete our span, half that is passed in night:
Childhood and age devour the half of what belongs to light:
The rest is torn with parting pangs, of ceaseless toil the slave;
What profit in our human life, unstable as the wave?

---

Those who distinguish that which is from fleeting outward shows,
Do well to give up wealth and joys to gain secure repose;
What therefore must be said of us who cannot bear to part
From that which never can be ours, on which we've set our heart?

---

Eld like a tiger threats our careless bliss,
Diseases wound our frame like angry foes,
As water from a broken pitcher, flows
Our life away; and yet men do amiss.

---

Once in a way Dame Nature makes
A perfect crystal free from stain,
And then, like careless workman, breaks
The piece which cost her so much pain.

---

The limbs contract, the gait's infirm, the teeth drop from the gums,
The eyesight dims, the hearing fails, and senile drivelling comes;
No more relations heed our words, our wife e'en disobeys,
Our son becomes a foe: alas! what ills in length of days!

---

Man is an actor who plays various parts:—
First comes a boy, then out a lover starts,
His garb is changed for, lo! the beggar's rags!
Then he's a merchant with full money-bags;
Anon an aged sire, wrinkled and lean;
At last Death drops his curtain on the scene.

---

Night, day, friend, foe, dross, gems, are all the same to me,
'Twixt stones and rose-strewn beds no difference I see;
In some lone hermitage I let the hours glide by,
And loud on Śiva call with thrice-repeated cry.

‡ *i.e.* Śiva.

*Miscellaneous Stanzas.*

The man of firm and constant soul,
Who, nought possessing, nought desires,
Nor burns with passion's raging fires,
Finds happiness from pole to pole.

---

Time passes never to recede,
But careless mortals take no heed;
The woes that in past years we bore
Leave us no wiser than before;
What folly do we lay aside?
Though sorely by our errors tried,
We learn not prudence, but begin
Once more a fresh career of sin.

---

The belly clamours for its rights, and will not be denied,
Its keen-set longings cut the purse that holds our human pride,
It withers virtue as the moon the lotus of the day,§
The mantling vine of modesty it lops and shreds away.

---

Let's live on offerings, sleeping on the ground,
Clothed with the air, and not in courts be found.

---

" Rise up and bear one second's space
" Grim penury's awful load;
" Let me o'erwearied take thy place
" In Pluto's dark abode."
A poor man thus a corpse bespake;
The corpse, preferring death
To want, would not its silence break
For all his waste of breath.

---

Śiva is chief of those who fleshly lusts despise,
Though linked to Umâ's form by everlasting ties;
We, racked with venom-pangs which Cupid's arrow brings,
Can neither leave nor yet enjoy these worldly things.

---

They smile and weep to gain their end,
Cajole, but never trust, a friend,
So wise men keep from women far,
Shunning them like the funeral jar.||

Here sounds the tuneful lyre, and there loud shrieks appal,
Here is a sage discourse, and there a drunken brawl,
Here maids in prime of youth, there wrinkled forms you meet;
Of what consists our life, of bitter or of sweet?

---

With gestures forced, cracked voice, and smiling face,
Your part is now to sue for rich men's grace,
Half fool, half knave; but when your hair is grey
What part in life's great force remains to play?

---

Breath, fortune, life, and youth are swiftly ebbing tides,
In this unstable world virtue alone abides.

---

Śiva's a guiding lamp, that burns in hermits' hearts,
Dispels delusion's gloom and light and heat imparts,
He shrivelled like a moth the frivolous god of Love,
His flame's the moon's white streak that gleams his crest above.

---

My soul, for Fortune sigh no more, that blind capricious fair,
That dwells in princes' nods and frowns, unstable as the air;
Rags are the wise man's " coat of proof,"¶ in these from door to door
We beg through wide Banâras' streets, and one hand holds our store.

---

That tortoise really lives its life which bears the world on high,
We bless the pole-star's birth, round which revolves the starry sky,
But all those buzzing summer flies, that serve not others' gain,
Dead to all useful purposes e'en from their birth remain.

---

"My house is high, my sons renowned, my wealth beyond compare,"
"My wife is lovely, young my age"—thus thoughtless men declare,

§ The moon patronizes the *kumuda*, but is an enemy to the lotus which comes out in the day.

|| Used in cemeteries, and therefore impure.
¶ *Henry VI.*, Pt. II. Act IV. Sc. 2.

Thinking this world will last for aye, they don delusion's chains ;
The sage knows all will pass away, and straight this world disdains.

---

Revile, revilers! I, 'tis true,
Cannot return your scorn :
We give but what we know, for who
E'er gave a rabbit's horn?

---

Alms are not difficult to gain, great Râma showed the way ;
The earth yields roots, the deerskin keeps the winter's cold away ;
Whether we joy or grieve, we're still of destiny the slaves ;
Why should I leave the three-eyed god, to court blind purse-proud knaves ?

---

Why wander without end ? find rest at last, my soul :
What will be must be ; none can Fate's decree control,
Leave thinking of the past and let the future be,
Reap joys which come by chance and unexpected flee.

---

Their hand their only dish,
Begging their wants supplies,
They sleep where Fate may wish,
The world as straw they prize,
Such is the hermit's life :
For souls, by Śiva's might,
Can win though toil and strife
To that supreme delight.

---

Bali you've not released from hell nor Death the monster slain,
Nor cleansed from spots the moon's fair disk, nor put an end to pain,
Nor bearing up the earth awhile eased Śesha from the load,
Do you not blush to wear the wreath to matchless heroes owed ?

---

What folly 'tis o'er musty texts to brood,
Or charm with plays and songs the idle mood !
All fancies vain my soul hath flung aside,
Resolved in Śiva only to confide.

The forest trees yield fruit which men may pluck at will,
The wave runs pure and cold in many a holy rill,
Soft is the bed of leaves which wind-swept creepers pour,
And yet mean spirits court scorn at the rich man's door.

---

Begging supplies my wants,
My rags keep out the cold,
My faith in Śiva's firm,—
What need have I of gold ?

---

The chief of saints declare no joy can vie with theirs
Who fling on Śiva's breast the burden of their cares,
Taking no thought for wealth, by daily bounty fed,
Blessed and pure, exempt from envy, pain, and dread.

---

Our joys are like the wave in foam-flakes hurled,
Youth, life, and love like lightning come and go.
Learn this, ye wise, and teach the people so,
That all may know how hollow is this world.

---

Say, hast thou gained this bliss by long ascetic pain
Deer, that thou flatter'st not the rich nor feel'st their scorn,
Nor runnest here and there some trifling boon to gain,
But feed'st on tender grass, and sleep'st from eve till morn ?

---

When maidens see a tinge of white
Streak a man's hair, they shun his sight,—
'Tis like the white bone* on the brink
Of wells whence only outcasts drink.

---

Thou fool, how oft thy schemes have missed their aim !
And yet this gold-mirage thy soul allures ;
That still thou hop'st, and still thy heart endures,
Shows it is wrought of adamantine frame.

* The bit of bone suspended over a well belonging to *Chânḍâlas*.—K. T. T.

They bewilder, enchant, and deceive,
Plunge in anger, delight, and despair;
Woe to those who in pity receive
To their credulous bosoms the fair!

---

A hermit's forest cell, and fellowship with deer,
A harmless meal of fruit, stone beds beside the stream,
Are helps to those who long for Śiva's guidance here;
But be the mind devout our homes will forests seem.

---

Sweeter than honey are the nectar'd strains
The goddess Speech sends forth to cheer our souls;
Content with these and charitable doles,
We will not purchase wealth with slavish pains.

## NOTES ON SOME CAVES IN THE KARJAT TALUKA OF THE THÂNÂ COLLECTORATE.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C.S.

In the late Dr. Wilson's paper upon the *Ancient Remains of Western India** he inserts a description by his native correspondent Vishṇu Śâstri of some caves at Mouje Kondâne, Tâlukâ Karjat, and adds that "Mr. Law (then Collector of Ṭhâṇâ) has lately been able to visit these excavations, and to procure illustrative drawings of their front and principal figures. They appear to be more modern than those of Salsette. The account above given of them by Vishṇu Śâstri has been found to be correct." I do not know what has become of Mr. Law's notes and drawings; but, from a visit recently paid to the caves, I am in a position to say that, so far from being later than those of Salsette, these caves are probably among the most ancient known.

They are situated at the base of the hill-fort of Rajmâchî (which forms the northern side of the valley known to travellers on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway as the "Bor Ghâṭ Ravine"), about seven miles by road from Karjat railway station. The approach is so easy that I rode a stout hack up to the very door of the caves, a folly for which I might have paid with the loss of my horse, as the cliff was tenanted by several swarms of rock-bees.

The following is a detailed description of the caves, from notes taken on the spot.

No. 1. A Chaitya hall opening to the north-west, twenty yards long by eight wide over all. There are remains of seven plain octagonal raking pillars on the north side, and six on the south of the nave, but it cannot be made out whether there ever were any round behind the *dahgoba*, which, as well as the pillars, is much injured. There does not seem ever to have been a stone screen or music-gallery, but part of the original wooden screen remains. It is of the same construction as that at Kârlî. There have been wooden horse-shoe rafters within it, but they are gone. The façade so closely resembles that of the *chaitya* hall at Bhâje, near Kârlî, that the best idea of it can be formed from the engraving of that cave given by Mr. Fergusson.† Two bold cornices, one on each side of the archway, have been supported by flying brackets of the Bhâje pattern, but those of the north side are broken.

At about fifteen feet from the ground, upon a sort of string course, there are small reliefs in compartments, four to the north of the archway and three to the south, the fourth here having perished. Five represent each a man and woman, the other two single figures, apparently male. There is nothing very characteristic about them except a sort of cowl worn by the men, and a decent sufficiency of vesture not always observable in Eastern sculpture. North of the archway, close to the ground, there has been a group of sculptures in high relief, of which nothing remains but part of the head of a single figure, twice life-size. The face is almost all gone; but there remains the head-dress, which was either a great roll of hair, or a turban in very fine strands: a fleur-de-lis aigrette in front rises no higher than the crown of the head-dress. I am inclined

* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. pt. II. (Jan. 1850) p. 46.

† *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture,* fig. 46, p. 111.

to think that this is the head of a female, but it is impossible to be sure. It is certainly not that of a Buddha. Over the place of the left shoulder is an inscription of fourteen letters of which I made a copy, and which Dr. H. Kern of Leiden reads:—

*Kaṇhasa amtevâsinâ Balakena kata(ṁ).*

'Made by Balaka the pupil of Kaṇha (*Skr.* Krishṇa).'

Cave No. 2 is a *vihâra* in one story, immediately north of No. 1. It has a verandah twenty-one feet long and eight deep, in a niche at the south end of which is a *dahgoba* in relief of half its diameter, three feet high. The ceiling has been painted with circles within squares. The wall behind is ruined, but was apparently pierced by three doors 6½ feet high by 5½ wide.

These led to a hall ten yards deep and nine wide, surrounded by eighteen cells, six on a side. All except the four next to the two inner corners have the *chaitya* arch over the door. There have been six slender pillars down each side, and three at the back of the cave, standing 3½ feet from the walls. They are octagonal, with plain square head (hardly to be called a capital), and support false architraves of stone eleven inches deep by eight thick, above which are false rafters one inch deep by five wide.

No. 3 is a plain *vihâra* six yards square, with nine cells. The front is ruined, but shows traces of three doors.

No. 4 is a row of nine cells with an unsupported verandah or eave of the natural rock. These cells are indeed a mere improvement of a natural hollow under the cliff; of a kind common in the trap formation—an unusual style of art among Buddhist excavators. There are a few mortice-holes here for woodwork.

No. 5 is a tank constructed on similar principles, now filled up with mud.

No. 6—two cells, with a deep verandah of the same arrangement; and the seventh cave is a small cistern.

Considering the great resemblance of these caves to those at Bhâje,—the raking pillars, the archway closed only by a wooden screen, the wooden-looking brackets of the façade and pillars of the chief *vihâra*, and the absence of any figure of Buddha—I think I am justified in assuming that these are among the very oldest caves known; and that the remaining fragment of the screen not only turns that at Kârlî out of its post of honour as "a sole survivor," but considerably exceeds it in age, and is in fact the oldest piece of carpentry in India except the few rafters remaining at Bhâje.

In a scarp over the village of Hal Khurd, eight miles south of Karjat, there is a small and very plain vihâra consisting of a hall twelve feet by eleven, surrounded—as well as I remember—by six cells, two of them double-bedded. One on the left of the entrance has been converted into a shrine for Bhairava, for whose further convenience, or that of his worshippers, the front wall of the vihâra has been demolished within living memory. It is said to have borne an inscription, for which I sought in vain among the *débris*, and the cave is so plain that I cannot even conjecture its date. I visited also this year some caves at Gaur Kamât, four miles east of Karjat, which turned out to be the water-cisterns of a small hill-fort. They were ancient enough, however: for the masonry of the fort was 'Hemâdpanti,' and so were the ruins of an old temple below. I heard also of a cave upon the spur which the Bor Ghâṭ Incline ascends, in the village of Jambrug. It is now sacred to Gambhirnâth, and the description suggested the idea of a cave of the Lomas Ṛishi type; but it may be only a Hindu hole in the rock. It is said to be accessible to a horseman from Kondâne. A small rock-hewn shrine was also reported as existing in Mûta Ḍongar (Landcrab Mountain), a high hill which terminates the spur of Matherân known as Garbat Point. It is occupied by Sonda Deva, the tutelar and eponymous *grâm devata* of the village of Sondevâḍî, in the limits of which it is. There are also excavations, as yet unvisited by any competent explorer, in the fort of Kothalgaḍh or Poṭh, in the north of this tâlukâ. I have a plan of them by a native surveyor, but it is too small to form any idea from, except that they are important from their size. A cave at Ambivli, near the last-named, was known to Dr. Wilson as the cave of Jambrug.‡ I have not seen it, but it is certainly, from the description given, a large vihâra.

‡ There are two Jambrugs. The one mentioned above is distinguished as "Mouje Jambrug, Peta Khâlâpur."

## KṚISHṆA'S OPINION OF UNFAIR FIGHTING.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D., EDINBURGH.

In a paper which I contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. III. pp. 237ff.) I have quoted (in p. 239) a passage from the *Râjadharma* of the *Mahâbhârata* in which fair fighting is enjoined upon warriors. In the *Salya Parvan*, however, it is related that Bhîmasena shattered the thighs of Duryodhana with his club (v. 3292). This was regarded as contrary to the laws of war; and in verses 3346ff. we are told that Balarâma, the brother of Kṛishṇa, expressed his indignation at the conduct of Bhîmasena in these terms:—"Shame that Vṛikadara (another name of Bhîma) should have smitten his antagonist below the navel in a lawful conflict! He has done what has never been witnessed in a fight with clubs. It is a rule of the Śâstra that a blow should not be struck below the navel." The speaker then rushed at Bhîma, but was held back by Kṛishṇa (v. 3350), who goes on to say that the Pâṇḍavas were their friends, and that Bhîma was only very properly fulfilling a threat which he had made that he would break Duryodhana's thighs with his club, and that this fate had been foretold to the latter by the sage Maitreya: Bhîma therefore, Kṛishṇa concludes, was not in fault (vv. 3355ff.). In vv. 3366f. Balarâma repeats his condemnation of Bhîma's act:—"Having unrighteously smitten the righteous king Suyodhana (Duryodhana) the Pâṇḍava (Bhîma) will be reputed in the world as an unfair fighter (*jihmayodhî*), while the righteous king Duryodhana, son of Dhritarâshṭra, a fair fighter, being slain, will attain to eternal felicity. . . . . . ." Having said this, Balarâma departed to Dvârakâ. Further on (vv. 3442ff.) we are informed that in honour of Duryodhana a shower of fragrant flowers fell from the sky, accompanied by music from the Gandharvas, songs from the Apsarases, and acclamations from the Siddhas, &c. The narrative then proceeds (v. 4445):—"Perceiving these wonders, and the honour paid to Duryodhana, Vâsudeva (Kṛishṇa) and the rest became ashamed (*vrîḍâm upâgaman*) and sorrowful, hearing that Bhîshma, Droṇa, Karṇa, and Bhûriśravas had been unfairly killed. But seeing the Pâṇḍavas anxious and downcast, Kṛishṇa said to them, in a voice like a drum of the clouds, 'This man, rapid in handling his weapons, and all these valorous warriors, could not be slain by you through fair fighting. This prince could never be slain by righteous means. These great bowmen and charioteers, Bhishma and the rest, have all on different occasions been slain by me in battle by many devices, and the application of guile (or illusion, *mâyâ*), from a desire to benefit you. If I did not practise this sort of guile (*jihma*) in battle, how could you any longer conquer, or obtain dominion and wealth? None of these four great warriors could be slain by fair means, even by the gods who guard the different regions themselves. So, too, this wielder of a club, the energetic son of Dhritarâshṭra (Duryodhana), could not have been slain even by Death (*Kâla*) himself, the wielder of the rod (*daṇḍa*). Nor should you (sadly) reflect that this enemy has been slain, (for) in the same way many more enemies must be killed by false devices. (This) path has been trodden by the former gods, the slayers of the Asuras; and the path which has been trodden by the good is followed by all.'"

## MAXIMS AND SENTIMENTS FROM THE MAHÂBHÂRATA.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D., EDINBURGH.

(*Continued from p. 154.*)

22. *The path of salvation.* Mahâbh. i. 3176.

That man with Brahmâ union wins—
The highest good by sages sought—
Who ne'er in deed, or word, or thought
'Gainst any living creature sins.

23. *What makes a man a Brâhmaṇ.* iii. 17392.

A spirit (Yaksha) asks:

What is it makes a Brâhmaṇ? birth,
Deep study, sacred lore, or worth?

King Yudhishṭhira answers:

Nor study, sacred lore, nor birth
The Brâhmaṇ makes; 'tis only worth.

All men—a Brâhmaṇ most of all—
Should virtue guard with care and pains:
Who virtue rescues, all retains;
But all is gone with virtue's fall.*

The men in books who take delight,
Frequenters all of learning's schools,

* Compare No. 7, p. 153.

Are nothing more than zealous fools;
The learn'd are those who act aright.

More vile than one of Śudra race
That Brâhmaṇ deem, whose learned store
Embraces all the Vedic lore,
If evil deeds his life disgrace.

That man deserves the Brâhmaṇ's name
Who offerings throws on Agni's flame,
And knows his senses how to tame.

24. *The true Brâhmaṇ.* iii. 14075.

No better than a Śudra deem
The Brâhmaṇ wise in sin, the slave
Of low degrading vice, the knave
Who fain a holy man would seem.

But rank with men of priestly birth,
The Śudra truthful, self-restrained,
By constant acts in virtue trained:—
A twice-born man is he by worth.

25. *The value of rites depends on the inward purity of the performer.* Vâyu Purâna, viii. 190.

No sacred lore, howe'er profound,
Nor all the long and varied round
Of sacred rites, can bliss procure
For worthless men, in heart impure.
Although a man with zeal and skill
Should all external rites fulfil,
He reaps no fruit of all his toil,
If sin his inner man should soil.
Ev'n he his all in alms who spends
With heart defiled, secures no meed:
The disposition, not the deed,
Has value,—all on it depends.

26. *Virtue of more value than high birth.* Mahâbhârata, v. 1492.

The man of high or humble birth,
Whose life with virtue's laws accords,—
The righteous, modest man, is worth
A hundred merely high-born lords.

27. *The real ascetics.* iii. 13448 ff.

The high-souled men who never sin
In thought, or word, or action—they,
They are the true ascetics: pray,
What virtue's in a shrivelled skin?

28. *The recluse less meritorious than virtuous men who live in the world.* xii. 12126.

From every vicious taint though pure,
A hermit's virtue cannot vie
With theirs who ne'er from trials fly,
But face and conquer every lure.

29. *Generous impartiality.* xii. 8752.

With equal eye the truly wise
View learned Brâhmaṇs, nobly born,
Cows, dogs, and outcast men forlorn,
Whom thoughtless fools as vile despise.
For both in objects fixed, and things
Which inward motive force impels,—
In all,—the one great Spirit dwells,
From whom this frame of nature springs.

30. *Final beatitude; and the self-evidencing power of the doctrine regarding it.* xii. 8959 ff.

Let men all worldly longings quell,
And sunk in contemplation dwell
On th' inmost, deepest truth of things,
From which the spirit's freedom springs.
Composed and calm, ascetics feel
No longer outward woe and weal:
Within themselves enclosed they rest,
And, self-sufficing, live most blest.
Their state resembles placid sleep,
'Mid men who troubled vigils keep.
'Tis as, when winds by night repose,
A lamp's clear flame unflickering glows.
And thus, as seasons onward roll,
The saint, with meagre fare content,
On deep self-contemplation bent,
Within himself beholds the Soul.
Now see in this most wholesome lore
The Vedas' deep esoteric core.
On no tradition old it rests:
Its truth at once itself attests.
Whatever precious gems you find
In sacred tales, are here combined.
Extracted here, you taste distilled
The nectar thousand verses yield.†

31. *Final beatitude attainable even by low caste men, and women.* xiv. 392.

Know this, the highest good, the final rest,
To gain with Brahmâ union;—this the goal:
Then freed from hard corporeal bonds, the soul
Enjoys immortal life supremely blest.

This end pursuing, e'en the lowest men,
With women, reach that blissful state; much more
Shall Brâhmaṇs, Kshatriyas, versed in sacred lore,
Who Brahmâ seek, this good transcendent gain.

† Although in subsequent verses (8967 f.), systems founded on reasoning, and ignorance of the Vedas, are condemned, we seem to have in the passage before us a recognition of the self-evidencing power of certain doctrines, independently of any revealed authority. In the piece following next but one (No. 32) strict orthodoxy is required.

32. *An Indian Free-thinker's Fate.* xii. 6736ff.

While yet a human form I bore,
I loved profane and useless lore;
Contemned the Scriptures, steeped in pride,
And took poor reason for my guide.
In halls where reverend scholars met
To talk, and questions deep debate,
I liked to argue, plied the rules
Of logic, called the Brâhmaṇs fools.
Oft battering hard with impious knocks
My grave opponents orthodox.
Untaught in sacred wisdom's school,
A doubter, unbeliever, fool,
In every point the truth I missed,
A vain, pretentious sciolist,
Who others viewed with scornful eyes,
And deemed myself most learn'd and wise.
Now see the retribution meet
Of this my doubt and self-conceit!
Behold me here a jackal born,
Who once the Vedas dared to scorn!
But now my hope is this; perhaps,
When many, many days elapse,
From this brute form I shall escape,
And gain once more my human shape.
Devoutly then, with right good-will,
Shall I religious rites fulfil,
With liberal gifts the priests delight,
And 'gainst my lawless senses fight,
Will real knowledge seek, and shun
Whate'er I ought to leave undone.*

33. *Means do not always lead to desired ends.*†
Mahâbh. v. 1430.

The clever do not always wealth command‡
Nor stupid fools from lack of fortune pine.
The wise the course of mundane things divine;
No other men the secret understand.

34. *Union is strength.* v. 1318.§

Long threads, if all alike they be,
And many, ev'n if thin, sustain,
Unbroken, many a heavy strain:
Of good men here an emblem see.

35. *A guide through the gloom.* xii. 12064.

The night approaches now; hold fast
The lamp of holy knowledge, bright
With ever slowly-kindled light,
To guide thee, till the gloom is passed.

36. *The cure for grief.* iii. 14079
(= xi. 76b, f.; xii. 12494).

With drugs the body's pains are healed;
But wisdom mental anguish quells;
Such wholesome power in knowledge dwells.
To grief, then, never weakly yield.

37. *Marks of a good man.* ii. 2439.

The good kind actions recollect,
But base, injurious deeds forget:
On doing good to others set,
They never recompense expect.

38. *The same.* i. 6254 and iii. 13252.

Kind deeds are never thrown away
On men of real goodness,—such,
As not content to give as much
As they have got, far more repay,
Nay, ev'n a hundredfold bestow;
For here the gods no measure know.

39. *The requiter not equal to the doer of good acts.* xii. 4493.

The man who manifold hath paid
A kindness on himself conferred
Does less than he who, only stirred
By generous impulse, lent him aid.

(*To be continued.*)

---

* It will be seen from the preceding verses that the requirements of Indian orthodoxy are no less stringent than those of some other religions. The words are part of an address of the god Indra, who had taken the form of a jackal, to the sage Kâśyapa, in which various topics, not all very closely connected with each other, are touched upon, and which concludes with a jackal giving the account of himself which I quote. At the end of the address the sage is struck with the wisdom of the speaker, and by supernatural intuition discovers that it is Indra who has been talking to him. According to the intention of the story, however, it is not the god, but a man, who has undergone the fate described. This introduction of Indra, therefore, makes no difference as to the lesson sought to be conveyed, which is meant as a warning to men. . . . .

I add a literal translation of the original lines, in which the slightly jocular turn which I have here and there given to them in the metrical version will not be found:—

"I was a would-be paṇḍit, a rationalist, a contemner of the Vedas, fond of logic, the useless science of reasoning, an utterer of reasoned propositions, a propounder of arguments in assemblies, a reviler and abuser of Brâhmaṇs in theological discussions, an unbeliever, a universal doubter, a fool, who plumed myself on being a paṇḍit (learned man). The recompense which I have earned by this career is that I have been born as a jackal. But perhaps it may yet happen that, hundreds of days and nights hence, I shall be born again as a man; and then, contented and alert, devoted to the practice of sacrifice, of liberality, and of self-restraint, I shall seek to know (only) what is to be known, and avoid all that is to be avoided."

† See also No. 14, p. 155.

‡ Compare *Ecclesiastes* ix. 11:—"I returned, and saw under the sun that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all."

§ See also No. 1, p. 152.

## MISCELLANEA.

### HASTAKAVAPRA—ASTAKAPRA.

Col. H. Yule writes to *the Academy* of 15th August as follows:—

"Astakapra is the name of a city in the region about modern Gujarât which appears both in Ptolemy's tables and in the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea,* and the identification of which is of some importance in the adjustment of the classical geography of India. In the preparation of the map of India for Dr. Smith's *Historical and Classical Atlas*, the present writer, after a good deal of consideration, placed it on the west coast of the Gulf of Cambay, not far below Bhaunagar, where a very ancient site, described by Mr. Burgess in his *Notes on Gujarât*, afforded a fair provisional identification. But I was unable to recover any trace of the Greek name. This is now afforded in a paper on Valabhî Inscriptions by Dr. G. Bühler, in the *Indian Antiquary* for July (vol. V. p. 204), which I have just seen.

"One of these inscriptions, a copper grant by Dhruvasena I. of Valabhî, confers a certain well and pasture 'in the village of Kukkaṭa, situated in the Hastakavapra Âharaṇî' (the last word supposed to be some territorial subdivision), on a Brâhmaṇ residing at Hastakavapra.

"Kukkaṭa is identified by Dr. Bühler with the modern Kûkaḍ in the Goghâ Tâlukâ, and Hastakavapra probably 'with Hâthab in the Bhaunagar territory, which is held in great esteem by the Bhaunagar Brâhmaṇs on account of its temple of Nîlkaṇṭha,' and which is a few miles from Kûkaḍ.* . . . .

"The identification of Hâthab with Hastakavapra may be accepted on Dr. Bühler's judgment: and that which I put forward of Hastakavapra with the Greek Astakapra will hardly be disputed, and I am glad to have made in the Atlas map so near an approximation to the true site."

Major J. W. Watson, the owner of the Dhruvasena plates, writes us as follows:—"I suggested to Dr. Bühler both Kukkaṭa being put for Kûkaḍ, and Hastakavapra for Hâthab, and so far agree with the identification. Col. Yule's identification also seems a good one, for the following reasons:—Hâthab is situated at the mouth of a small tidal creek, the embouchure of a small river which flows past Gundi-Koliâk. Gundi, formerly Gundigaḍh, was a town of some importance in ancient times, and was one of the resting-places of the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs (*vide Nagara Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purâṇa*) before they settled at Goghâ and Bhâvanagar. In the time of Akbar, Gundi-Koliâk was one of the ports of Saurâshṭrâ. In Gladwin's *very incorrect* translation of the *Aîn* he calls it (vol. II. p. 67) "Bandar Goondylucky." But the whole of this passage is incorrect: *vide* Blochmann's edition of the original text. This "Maabidcheen," which has puzzled so many, as referring to the temples on Girnâr, is simply a place of worship of the Jainas. The passage ought to run:—'And near this, on the summit of Mount Girnâr, there is a fortress abounding in flowing springs. It is a celebrated place of worship of the Jains, and Bandar Gundi-Koliâk is near it.' Though the geography is incorrect, Gundi-Koliâk being a long way from Mount Girnâr, it shows that in Akbar's time, *i.e.* from the middle of the 16th to the commencement of the 17th century, Gundi-Koliâk was a port.

"In the time of the author of the *Mirat-i-Âhmadi* (vol. III., not translated by Bird), Gundi is down among the *bardhs* or roadsteads; now (1876) Gundi-Koliâk is about two miles distant from the sea, and Hâthab (said to have been the port) is situated at the mouth of the creek, Gundi lying on the eastern bank, and Koliâk on the western. Hâthab is the only ancient port along the coast anywhere near Kukaḍ, where the Dhruvasena plate was found, and I should think Colonel Yule's guess is probably correct.

"And, since this creek and river have been silting up for the last three hundred years, Hâthab may, in still more ancient times, have been really an important port."

### LITERARY WORK IN JAVA.

During a recent visit to Java I was surprised to find how much has been done to elucidate the Hindu and Buddhist remains there, and as it appears to me that a study of the antiquities of that splendid island will do much to help Indianists, I shall venture to give you a brief account of what I observed.

The Batavian Society is by far the oldest in the East (it was founded some years before that at Calcutta), and the long series of its *Transactions* (*Verhandelingen*) contains, especially of late years, most valuable treatises on the archæology and philology of the islands which constitute Dutch India; the Society has also published some splendid separate works. The chief contributor is, unhappily, no more; on landing at Batavia I was grieved to hear of the recent death of Dr. Cohen-Stuart. This most amiable and distinguished Orientalist was born in Holland in 1825, and, as a

* Kûkad is in Lat. 21° 29½′ N., Long. 72° 13′ E., or twenty miles south of Bhaunagar and six north-east of Trâpaj. Hâthab is about eight miles south of Goghâ.—ED.

civil servant, arrived in Java in 1846. His remarkable aptitude for Oriental studies at once attracted the attention of the Government, and he was sent to Solo (Soeryakarta) to devote himself to those pursuits, which he did with the greatest singleness of mind and consequent success.

His chief works (among many of lasting value) are a critical edition and translation of the Javanese *Brata Jorda* (*i.e. Mahâbhârata*) composed after a Kawi poem of 1097 A.D., and his collection of Kawi (or Old Javanese) inscriptions. Both were published by the Batavian Society. The first is especially important, as it is the only critical edition and translation that we have of a great Indian epic in a language foreign to North India. The parallel versions in Tamil and Telugu have been neglected, or nearly so, for Mr. C. P. Brown's unfinished edition of the Telugu *Mahâbhârata* is all that India can show. The difficulty of such a work as this few can understand, but the value of it is evident. Such versions, in fact, enable us to partly control the matter of the uncertain Sanskrit recensions. His collection of Kawi inscriptions extends to two parts—a folio volume of facsimiles (to the accuracy of which I can testify, as I have compared parts with the originals), and an introduction and complete transcript in Roman letters. Most of the documents are of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., and are chiefly in Old Javanese, with a large admixture of Sanskrit. The author's untimely death has prevented an explanation of these most difficult texts, but he has left an invaluable aid in the shape of a complete index to the whole, which, with many other MSS., his widow has generously deposited in the library of the Batavian Society.

The Society has an admirable museum, rich in Hindu and Buddhist relics of an early period, of which we have hardly any remains in India. The excellent laws of Java have greatly contributed to this. In India ancient statues or inscriptions that may be discovered are invariably destroyed for the metal—they are usually of copper; so are coins. In Java it is penal to destroy such, but the finder is entitled to claim the full value. Thus I saw a gold image which, though very small, had been bought for about 20*l.*, and is one of the greatest treasures of the museum.

The preparation of a catalogue is in the hands of Mr. Groeneveldt, and it will be of the greatest value to Indian archæologists. The library of the Society is rich, for the East. The Catalogue of Arabic MSS. (chiefly on law), by Dr. van den Berg, is sufficient proof. A scientific Oriental Jurisprudence has long been recognized in Java, though not as yet in India.

Even in the country towns there is much scientific zeal. At Solo, Mr. Wilkens showed me his MS. Javanese Dictionary, in about thirty folio volumes. It comprises proverbs, traditions, customs, and everything of interest connected with the Javanese people. Dr. van der Tunk has resided for some years on Bali in order to study the remaining Polynesian Hindus. Dr. Kern, the very eminent Leyden Professor, has explained several Old Javanese texts; in his hands Kawi (or Old Javanese) studies are now left. I must omit particular mention of several important treatises on numismatics, &c. Dutch powers of work and the national sincerity of character have thus done far more for Oriental research in Java than has been done in any presidency of India, or even in the whole of India, in the same space of time.

During my stay in Java I was able—thanks to the unrivalled facilities for travelling—to visit the chief Hindu and Buddhist remains in the central provinces of the island. The chief Hindu temple is at Brambânan, or the 'place of Brâhmaṇs.' To give an intelligible account of this and of the Buddhist temples would need a volume; I must confine myself, therefore, to the chief facts I have noticed, especially as Mr. Fergusson's great work affords a ready means of finding plans and views to those to whom the Dutch works are inaccessible. The Śiva temple at Brambânan is of the (for India) unusual form termed *chaturmukha;* in one of the four faces the old Javanese custodian opened a make-shift wicker door, and I saw, to my surprise, an image of Durgâ, evidently worshipped still, just as it would be in a modern Indian village. There was a streak of red paint on the forehead, and around were offerings of messes of curry and rice, and the like. For more than four centuries Buddhism and Hinduism have been supplanted in Java by Muhammadanism, but bigotry and fanaticism seem to have found no place. The temples are in ruins, but from natural causes. Originally built of small blocks of stone without mortar, the upper courses have been thrown down to a great extent, but the lower are only partly dislocated. The cause is evident; the ruins are on the slopes or in the valleys around the stupendous volcanic cones of Merapi and Merbabu, and occasional earthquakes have done the mischief.

Brambâṇan is in the native state of Jocjo-Karta; but it is to be hoped that the Dutch Government will some time have a clearance made round the bases of the great and subordinate Hindu temples, for enough is left standing to enable one, by the rules of Indian architecture, to make a satisfactory restoration of the whole, and these ruins are of the highest archæological interest. The Śaivism of Java was evidently of the old school, and before Vedantic influences had begun to work. Śiva was then the supreme being

(in Java, Bhatâra Guru, who has been satisfactorily identified by Cohen-Stuart with Śiva), but Nârâyaṇa or Vishṇu (as an emanation of Śiva) was also an object of worship. In India very few temples of this period are left—perhaps not more than two or three near Madras, and of these one (at Seven Pagodas) is of much the same style. The museum at Batavia also possesses much to illustrate this system, which is that of the *Vâyu* and *Brahmâṇḍa* (or 'the real old') *purâṇas*. The architecture is evidently South-Indian in style, and Dr. Cohen-Stuart's palæographical researches point to South India as the source of the former Hindu civilization of Java. I have other evidence of this, but it would take too much space to give it here.

Mandoet is a very interesting Buddhist temple, with splendid statues of Buddha (in the middle) and of Sangha and Dharma (on either side).

Boro-Boedoer is the largest ruin by far, and though it does not cover nearly so much space as one of the great South-Indian temples, it is, as a whole, larger than any single shrine or *gopura* in any Indian temple. It was evidently a *dagoba*, and it being on a hill, there are terraces on the slopes instead of the usual enclosures. The bas-reliefs here and at Mandoet are very remarkable, and I was delighted to find that they illustrate the *Jâtakas*. I believe that this has not been as yet noticed. One example must suffice: on the left side of the steps at Mandoet there is a bas-relief with (at the upper part) two birds carrying a stick in their claws by the ends, the middle of which a tortoise has hold of by its mouth. In the left corner below, two men are looking up and pointing at it; in the right, the tortoise is on the ground, and the men have thrown themselves on it. This obviously is a representation of the *Jâtaka* published by Fausböll (*Five Jâtakas*, p. 6), and the story has found its way into the *Panchatantra*.

There was evidently a large emigration of Buddhists from North India to Java about the eleventh century A.D., and these took with them a Nâgarî alphabet, which is a great contrast to the Old Javanese character. It is worthy of notice that we find some inscriptions in the same character at Seven Pagodas (near Madras), which was once a great port. These emigrants took with them a highly developed form of the Northern Buddhism.

The care taken of Boro-Boedoer by the Dutch Government is beyond all praise. The magnificent volumes by Leemans and Van Kinsbergen will show that these ruins well deserve it, for the bas-reliefs there are infinitely more valuable than anything of the kind in India; the Old Javanese civilization is represented in them down to the most minute details.

The number of statues to be seen everywhere, the inscriptions and endless ruins, show that Central Java must once have been a wonderfully successful Indian colony. The richness of the soil may have helped, but it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Brâhmaṇs and Buddhists were more successful, in every way, with the Polynesian Javanese than they have been with the low-type Drâviḍians of Southern India. Where these last have benefited much, there has been a large admixture of North-Indian blood, and for a long period. Javanese art, once equal to Indian, has (as Mr. Groeneveldt pointed out to me) sunk again to the old Polynesian level, but there are yet undeniable traces of the great success of the old Indian missionaries. Their work was ended abruptly more than 400 years ago, but there is the more reason that it should not now be forgotten. They raised what was probably a cannibal population to a comparatively high and permanent civilization, and made Java what Marco Polo found it, " une ysle de mout grant richesse "—a character that it still has. A. BURNELL.

*Tanjore, July* 30, 1876.

—*The Academy, 2nd Sept.*

## THE LATE PROFESSOR ROBT. C. CHILDERS.

In the death of Professor R. C. Childers—in the prime of life, at Weymouth on the 25th July last—the study of Pâli has suffered an incalculable loss. Robt. C. Childers was the son of the Rev. Charles Childers, English Chaplain at Nice; he was appointed to the Ceylon Civil Service about the end of 1860, and for three years acted as Private Secretary to Sir C. MacCarthy, then Governor, and had become Assistant Government Agent in Kandy when, in 1864, he was forced by ill health to return to Europe. While in the island, however, he had studied the language, literature, and modes of thought of the people with the diligence of a thorough student, spending one of his vacations at the Bentoṭa Rest-house in the study of Pâli under Yâtrâmulle Unnânse, a Buddhist priest of great learning. After his return to England his health improved, and in the autumn of 1868 he was induced by Dr. R. Rost, of the India Office Library, to resume the study of Pâli. In Nov. 1869 he published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* the Pâli text of the *Khuddaka Pâṭha* with an English translation and notes. In 1870 he published his views on Nirvâṇa, first in *Trübner's Literary Record*, and afterwards in his *Notes on the Dhammapada* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, May 1871, which he further expanded in a long note at the close of vol. I. of his *Pâli Dictionary*, published in 1872. In the latter half of 1872 he was appointed Sub-Librarian

at the India Office, where his readiness to assist all engaged in Oriental research, and his pleasing manner, made his services invaluable. In 1873 he contributed a paper on Buddhist Metaphysics to Prof. Cowell's edition of Colebrooke's *Essays*, and began a series of papers in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* on the Siñhalese language, with the object of proving its Sanskṛitic, and not Drâviḍian, origin; in the same year he was appointed Professor of Pâli and Buddhist Literature in University College, London. In 1874 appeared the first, and in 1876 the second part of his edition of the *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta*,—that portion of the *Sutta Piṭaka* which relates the history of the closing scenes of Buddha's life. The great work of his life, however, was the *Pâli Dictionary*, of which the second volume appeared last year,—a monument of patient and honest work, but which came far short of its author's aim, and which would have been vastly extended and improved had he only lived until a second edition was called for: it is to be hoped the further collections he had made for it have been left in such a form as to be available for incorporation at no distant date. He was labouring to complete his long announced *Pâli Grammar* and other works when laid aside by illness. Among other things, he had on hand for this journal a translation of Kern's monograph on the date of Buddha's Nirvâṇa and the Aśoka inscriptions, when a cold contracted in the early part of the year developed into consumption, and carried him off in the thirty-eighth year of his age, shortly after the Institute of France had adjudged to him for his *Dictionary* the Volney prize of 1876, as the best philosophical work of the year.

---

## ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST SEVENTEEN SARGAS OF BILHANA'S VIKRAMÂNKAKÂVYA.

*(From Dr. Bühler's Introduction to the Vikramâṅkadevacharita.)*

In order to enable the reader to form an exact estimate of the work, I shall closely follow the text, and relegate to the notes all my own interpretations, and such additions to the poet's statements as can be supplied from the inscriptions of this dynasty which have been published by Sir W. Elliot, and from other sources.

Bilhaṇa's narrative is, unfortunately, very uneven. He first gives some notices regarding the origin of the Châlukya race and the earlier kings of the restored dynasty, which begins with Tailapa. But these are very fragmentary. Next he gives a little fuller account of the deeds of Vikramâditya's father, but does not attempt a connected narrative of his reign. After that, the events immediately preceding his hero's birth, and the history of the latter's youth are given in the style of a chronicler. When he comes to the wars fought by Vikrama before his accession to the throne, he relapses into the rhapsodic treatment of his subject. The following portion, which treats of Âhavamalla's death, Vikrama's exploits during the reign of his brother Someśvara II., of his accession to the throne, and of the two first years of his reign, is again a kind of chronicle, though it is unduly enlarged by the introduction of irrelevant poetical descriptions of the seasons and of court amusements. In the last and concluding part Bilhaṇa gives mere fragmentary notes on events that occurred in the later career of his hero.

Brahma, Bilhaṇa says, was once engaged in his Saṁdhyâ devotions, when Indra came to him to complain of the growing godlessness on earth, and begged him to put an end to it by creating a hero who would be a terror to the evil-doers. On hearing this request the Creator directed his looks towards his *chuluka*, or water-vessel, and from it sprang a handsome warrior fit to protect the three worlds.* From him descended the Châlukyas, a race of heroes, among whom Hârîta is reckoned as first progenitor, and Mânavya arose, who humbled the kings of the earth.† The original seat of the Châlukyas was Ayodhyâ. Some of them, desirous of victory, extended their conquests thence to the reign of the betel-palms in the south, "where the tusks of their elephants wrote the record of their victories on the sands of the ocean-shore that witnesses the secrets of the Cholas. Narrow was the realm of Vibhîshaṇa to them, and their horses roamed as far as the snowy mountains."‡

In course of time, Tailapa (973-997) became the ornament of the Châlukya race, a mighty warrior, who utterly destroyed 'those thorns of the earth,' the Râshtrakûṭas.§

After him ruled Satyâśraya (927-1008), who surpassed Bhârgava in the skilful use of his bow.|| He was succeeded by Jayasiṁha

* Sarga I. ver. 31-56; compare *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 8, extract from the Handarki inscription.

† I. 58; compare *Jour. R. As. Soc. loc. cit.*; the Mangaliśa plate, *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 305, and *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.) vol. I. p. 255.

‡ I. 63-67; compare *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. pp. 6, 12, where Sir W. Elliot states, according to his inscriptions, that fifty-nine princes of this dynasty reigned at Ayodhyâ and other places.

§ I. 69-73; compare *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 6; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* IV. 103. Bilhaṇa has left out this king's expedition against Mâlvâ, which is mentioned in his inscriptions and admitted in the *Bhojacharitra*. According to the latter, Munja was captured and killed by Tailapa, but avenged by his successor.

|| I. 74-78; compare *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 13; Lassen, *loc. cit.* He is also called Satyaśri.

(1018-1040), who, after a long career, glorious through numerous victories, "received a garland, culled from the *Pârijâta* tree, from Indra's own hands."¶

After him came his son Âhavamalladeva* (1040-69), called also Trailokyamalla, who in songs, tales, and dramas was celebrated as 'the second Râma.' He conquered the Cholas;† he stormed Dhârâ, the capital of the Pramâras in Mâlvâ, from which king Bhoja had to flee.‡ He caused countless sacrifices to be offered, and by his liberality he surpassed the *chintâmaṇi*, the wish-granting philosopher's stone. He utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa, king of Ḍâhala.§ He erected a pillar of victory on the shore of the ocean.|| He personally vanquished the king of Dravida, 'who had run to encounter him,' and stormed Kânchî, the capital of the Cholas, driving its ruler into the jungles.¶¶ He beautified Kalyâṇa so that it surpassed in splendour all other cities of the earth.**

But in the midst of his victories and his prosperity, Âhavamalla was tormented by a deep sorrow. For he had no heir. At last he formed the resolution to lay aside for a while all princely pomp, and to perform, together with his queen, severe penance in order to obtain a son through Siva's favour. He therefore made over the kingdom to the care of his ministers, and retired to a temple of Śiva. There the royal couple slept on the bare ground, and entirely gave themselves up to devotional practices and to the service of the temple. The king gathered flowers for the worship of his guardian deity with his own hands, and the queen swept the floor of the temple and smeared it with cowdung. After they had spent some time in this manner, the king, one morning when engaged in his prayers, heard a heavenly voice, which announced to him that Śiva, pleased with his faith and penance, was willing to grant him three sons, the second of whom would surpass in valour and virtues all the princes of the olden times. "Two sons, the voice added, will be born to thee by virtue of the merit acquired by thy works, but the second will come to thee by my favour alone." The king, highly rejoicing, acquainted his wife with this auspicious news, performed the ceremonies required to complete his vow, gave rich presents to the Brâhmaṇs, and resumed the government.†

In due time the queen bore a beautiful son, who "since he fed the eyes of the king, just as Soma, the moon, feeds the *chakoras*," received the name Soma (Someśvara).‡ The king was, however, not satisfied. Remembering the predictions of the heavenly voice, he anxiously longed for the birth of his second son. At last he saw the cheek of the queen again become pale. He testified his joy by showering gold on the Brâhmaṇs and by making other thank-offerings. During this second pregnancy the queen had wonderful cravings, which presaged the future greatness of the child she carried. Sometimes she desired to place her feet on the elephants that guard the points of the horizon; sometimes she called on the nymphs that are the guardian deities of the quarters of the universe to shampoo her feet, and at other times she eyed the swords as if desirous to drink 'the water of their steel.'

Great precautions were taken to ensure the safety of her precious burden. The lying-in chamber was secured by powerful spells and efficacious herbs, and carefully guarded by learned Brâhmaṇs. At last, in a most auspicious hour and under a most favourable conjunction of the planets, the eagerly desired son was born. Flowers fell from the sky, Indra's drum resounded, and as the gods rejoiced in heaven, so a festive tumult,

¶ I. 79-86, compare *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 13; Lassen, *loc.* IV. 104. The phrase that Jayasiṁha received a garland of *Pârijâta* flowers from Indra means probably that he was killed in battle. Usually the Apsarasas are said to choose the dying warriors as husbands, and to throw the *svayaṁvarmâlâ* on their necks. Between Satyâśraya and Jayasiṁha, the elder brother of the latter, Vikramâditya—who, according to the inscriptions reigned from 1008-1018—has been left out.

* I. 87. The real name of this king is Someśvara (I.). Bilhaṇa always uses in its stead the honorific titles or *Birudas* given above. His reason is probably that as Vikrama's hated brother and predecessor was also named Someśvara (II.), he did not like to call the father, to whom Vikrama was much attached, by the same name.

† I. 90.

‡ I. 91-96.

§ I. 102 and 103. The two verses contain a pun on the word *karṇa*, which means 'ear,' and is also a proper name.

|| I. 111.

¶¶ I. 114-117. From Bilhaṇa's statement it might seem that the Dravida and the Chola were two different persons. But all through the *Charita* the two names are treated as synonyms: compare, *e. g.* V. 28, 29, 43, 60, 61, 77, 79, 84, 85, 89; VI. 2, 4, 7, 9, 22. In the same way Kuntala and Karṇâta are used as synonyms to designate the kingdom of the Châlukyas. Regarding the wars of Âhavamalla compare *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 13, and Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* IV. 105. The inscriptions support Bilhaṇa's statement that Âhavamalla conquered the Chola king, who had made an inroad into Kuntala, but they assert that the latter was slain. From Bilhaṇa's statement it would appear that there was more than one Chola war. The defeat of Bhoja is also mentioned in the inscriptions. But Ḍâhala does not occur in the list of conquests, though it includes many countries of Central, Eastern, and Northern India.

** Sarga II. vv. 1-25. The word चकार, 'he made,' might be also taken to indicate that he founded Kalyâṇa. But this was not the case, as the town existed long before his time: compare, *e.g.*, *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 209.

† II. 25-58. The king's performing penance for the sake of a son is in harmony with Hindu customs, and in itself not in the least incredible. But in this and subsequent portions of Bilhaṇa's narrative there is an evident design of representing Vikrama as the special favourite of the gods, and as such entitled to oust his elder brother from the throne. This circumstance ought to be taken into account in considering the credibility of the facts related regarding the internal history of Âhavamalla's family.

‡ II. 57-58.

the recitations of the bards, and the songs of the dancers, filled Âhavamalla's palace.§

The child's marvellous lustre, which announced its future greatness, induced the king to call him Vikramâditya.|| He throve and grew up a handsome and strong boy, the favourite of his father. Early he showed in his plays that he was destined to be a mighty warrior and conqueror. He loved to chase the royal swans, the *râjahaṁsas*, and to tease the lion-whelps in their cages. Later he acquired the various *lipis*, or alphabets, and the art of using the bow. "Sarasvatî also, the giver of poetry and eloquence, kissed his lotus-mouth."¶ Not long after Vikrama, the third promised son was born. He received the name Jayasiṁha.*

After a while, when Âhavamalla saw that Vikramâditya, who had grown up to manhood, had acquired all 'sciences' and was anxious for the battle-feast, he conceived the plan of making him *yuvarâja*, and thus to designate him as his successor. But, as soon as he opened his mind to the prince, the latter respectfully but firmly refused the offered favour, alleging that the dignity of *yuvarâja* belonged by right to his elder brother. In this refusal he persisted, when his father represented to him that both Śiva's word and the decree of the stars pronounced him to be destined for the succession. Finding that Vikrama was not to be moved, the king raised Someśvara to the rank of *yuvarâja*. Royal fortune and the love of the father, however, clung to Vikrama alone. He bore also the burden of the duties of the king and of the *yuvarâja*, "just as the primeval tortoise carries the serpent Śesha and the earth."†

With the permission of Âhavamalla, Vikrama then set out on a series of warlike expeditions.‡ He repeatedly defeated the Cholas (S. III. 61, 63, 65, 66; IV. 22-28) and plundered Kânchî. He lent his assistance to the king of Mâlvâ, who came to him for protection to regain his kingdom (III. 67), and carried his arms as far north as Gauḍa and Kâmarûpa. He attacked also the king of Siṁhala or Ceylon, who fled before him to the hermitage of the husband of Lopamudrâ (III. 77, IV. 20). He destroyed the sandalwood forests of the Malaya hills, and slew the Lord of Kerala (IV. 1-18). He finally conquered Gângakuṇḍa (IV. 21), Vengi (IV. 29), and Chakrakoṭa (IV. 30).§§

After having accomplished these brilliant exploits Vikrama turned homewards. He had come as far as the Kṛishṇâ, when he suddenly was disquieted by the appearance of unfavourable omens which announced some great impending misfortune. He stopped his march and performed on the banks of the river *śântis*, or propitiatory ceremonies intended to avert the threatened evil. Whilst he was still engaged in these rites, he saw the chief messenger of his father coming from the capital, with a face that clearly announced him to be the bearer of bad news. The prince asked the *Halkâr* at once for news of Âhavamalla, since already on the appearance of the omens he had been anxious about the welfare of the latter. Reluctantly and with many tears the messenger told the dismal story of Âhavamalla's sudden illness and death.|| The king, he said, had been supremely happy on learning his son's success against the Chola, Pâṇḍya, and Siṁhala.¶ In the midst of his rejoicings he had been attacked by a malignant fever. Finding that all remedies were of no avail, he had resolved to finish his life in the Tungabhadrâ, the Gangâ of the south.* With the consent of his ministers he had travelled to the sacred stream, and had died in its waves, meditating on Śiva.†

On the receipt of these news Vikramâditya was deeply affected, and loudly manifested his grief. At first he refused to be consoled, and had to be disarmed lest he should attempt his own

§ II. 59-91.

|| Bilhaṇa uses the following vicarious forms for this name :—Vikramâṅka, Vikramâṅkadeva, and Vikramalâñchhana. Elsewhere the forms Vikramâdityadeva and Vikramârka occur. His *Birudas* are Tribhuvanamalla (Bilhaṇa, inscript.) Parmâḍi (Kalhaṇa, inscript. and *Kumârapâlach.*), Kalivikrama (inscript.).

¶ Sarga III. vv. 1-24.

* III. 25. The existence of the third son of Âhavamalla is not mentioned in the published inscriptions.

† III. 26-59. This part of the narrative of Vikrama's life also, which strongly puts forward his fitness for the throne and his generosity to the less able Someśvara, looks as if it had been touched up in order to whitewash V.'s character and to blacken that of his enemy.

‡ III. 60—IV. 30.

§§ Bilhaṇa's rhapsodic treatment of this portion of Vikrama's career makes it impossible to determine the chronological order of these wars. Only so much may be considered certain, that his last exploits were performed in the south, as he came on his homeward march to the Kṛishṇâ. The assertion that Vikrama defeated the kings of Gauḍa and Kâmarûpa sounds very strange. It is, however, possible that he made with his cavalry a raid into their territories. Vengi (not Chengi, as the text reads) is the coast country between the Godâvarî and the Kṛishṇâ, and belonged about this time to the Cholas (see below). Gângakuṇḍa, or Gâṇḍakuṇḍa as the MS. has *primâ manu*, must have been another Chola dependency: compare below, VI. 21.

|| S. IV. 31-43.

¶ It is to be noted that the expeditions to Central and Eastern India are not mentioned again, and that the order of the wars differs from that given above.

* The same epithet is applied to the Tungabhadrâ in the inscriptions.

† IV. 44-68. Verse 58 contains a regular confession of Âhavamalla's faith in Siva. Lassen's conjecture (*Ind. Alt.* IV. 105) that he became a Jaina appears without foundation. Indian princes will build temples for many strange gods, without forsaking their *kulâdevatâ* or *ishtadevatâ*. The *kuladevatâ* of the Châlukyas of Kalyâṇa appears to have been Vishṇu, as they use the boar as their emblem.

life. After a while he recovered, and performed the funeral ceremonies on the banks of the Krishṇâ.

After that he set out for Kalyâṇa in order to console his brother. Someśvara came out to meet him, and received him affectionately. The two brothers lived for some time after in concord and friendship. Vikrama, though superior to Someśvara by his talents, honoured the latter as the chief of his house and his king. He also presented him with the booty which he had made in his wars.‡ After a while, however, Someśvara fell into evil courses. Pride obscured his judgment, he became suspicious, cruel, and avaricious, so that he tarnished the glory of the Châlukya race, and all right-minded persons fell away from him. He even tried to do harm to his brother. When the latter saw that he was unable to restrain the king from evil, and had to fear for his life and good name, he left Kalyâna together with all his followers. He also took with him the youngest son of Âhavamalla, Jayasiṁha, as he did not think him safe whilst living near the king. Someśvara, on learning that his brothers had fled, sent an army in pursuit of them. Vikramâditya, unwilling to make war against his brother, avoided it for a time. But, when finally compelled to fight, he destroyed it 'like one mouthful.' Other forces which were despatched after him in succession suffered the same fat until these repeated losses forced Someśvara to desist from persecuting his more talented brother.§

Vikrama, on being left to himself, marched towards the Tungabhadrâ,|| on whose bank he rested his army for some time. Then he became anxious to fight the Chola, and spent some time in the province of Vanavâsa.¶

When he resumed his march, the trumpets of his army reminded the kings of Malayadeśa* of his former great deeds. Jayakeśî,† the king of the Konkaṇa, came to him and brought presents. The lord of Âlupa‡ made his submission, and received benefits in return. The wives of the king of Kerala wept when they thought of Vikrama's former deeds.§

The Chola king, finally, feeling that he was unable to withstand Vikrama's approaching army, sent an ambassador to meet the Châlukya prince and to ask for his friendship, to cement which he offered his daughter's hand, Vikrama agreed to stop his expedition, and to retire to the Tungabhadrâ, where the Chola king promised to meet him. The retreat to the river was arranged in order to save appearances, lest it should be said that the Chola had proffered his friendship through fear. Accordingly the king and the prince met; the former was humble, and the latter generous to his former foe. They were pleased with each other, and Vikrama's marriage with the Chola princess was duly celebrated. The king then departed.|| Shortly afterwards, while Vikrama was still tarrying on the Tungabhadrâ, the news reached him that his father-in-law was dead, and that the Chola kingdom was in a state of anarchy. He at once started for the south, in order to place his wife's brother on the throne. He entered Kânchî, and put the rebels there under his heel. Next he visited Gângakuṇḍa, destroyed the armies of the enemy, and finally secured the throne to the Chola prince. After a month's further stay in Kânchî he returned to the Tungabhadrâ.¶

But his expedition was not to have any lasting effects. A 'few days' after his return he learned that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion,* and that Râjiga, the lord of

‡ IV. 69-96. Bilhaṇa is again very careful to point out Vikrama's excellence and his generosity towards his brother, in order to show that his hero gave no cause for the subsequent disagreements.

§ IV. 97—V. 9. Compare *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 14.

|| The Tungabhadrâ apparently formed the southern frontier of the Châlukya kingdom, and beyond it lay the dominions of the Chola; compare also below, v. 56, where Vikrama is requested to recede to the Tungabhadrâ.

¶ Vanavâsa (Banavâsi), situated in the corner between the Ghâts, the Tungabhadrâ and Varadâ, appears at this time to have formed part of the Châlukya kingdom, and was held for them by a branch of the Kâdamba family: see *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 37. Vikrama's march must have been directed from Kalyâṇa to the south-west. He may possibly have passed a corner of the Chola territory in order to reach Vanavâsa. Thus the statement that he was anxious to fight the Chola may find its explanation.

* It would seem that, after leaving Vanavâsa, Vikrama descended into the country below the Ghâts, and first marched northwards, returning later to the south.

† This Jayakeśi was the second prince of the name, who, belonging to the Kâdamba race, ruled over Goa (Gopakapura). The friendship which he formed with Parmâdi or Vikramâditya-Tribhuvanamalla is mentioned in the Kâdamba inscriptions published by Mr. Fleet, as well as the fact that Jayakeśî II. married Vikrama's daughter Mailala: compare *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. pp. 231, 232, 273. His daughter Mainaladevî (Mailala?) became the wife of king Karṇa of Aṇhilvâḍ, and the mother of the famous Jayasiṁha Siddharâja: see *Kumârapâlacharita*, I. 66, and Forbes's *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 107.

‡ Apparently a town on the coast. Mr. Fleet's inscription No. II. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. pp. 278 and 282) states that Jayakeśî I. conquered Âlupa. At the time of Vikrama's visit it may have been in the possession of a side branch of the Kâdambas.

§ Bilhaṇa refers to the defeat of the Kerala king, mentioned IV. 18.

|| V. 28, VI. 3.

¶ VI. 6-25.

* I conclude this from the expression *'prakritivirodhahatasya cholasûnoḥ'* (v. 26), which I translate by 'of the Chola prince, who had been slain in consequence of a disagreement with his subjects.' It might be taken to mean 'of the Chola prince, who had been killed (by Râjiga) in consequence of an inveterate enmity.' But the statement made above, that after the death of the old Chola monarch a rebellion broke out, which had to be quelled by Vikrama, speaks in favour of the former interpretation.

Vengi, had taken possession of the throne of Kânchî.†

Vikrama at once prepared himself to march against the usurper; but the latter, in order to save his newly acquired throne, asked Somadeva of Kalyâṇa to make an alliance with him against their common enemy. Someśvara, thinking that a favourable opportunity to destroy his hated brother had been found, eagerly accepted Râjiga's offer, though the hereditary enmity between the Cholas and the Châlukyas ought—at least in Bilhaṇa's opinion—to have prevented such a step.‡ He watched Vikrama's movements, and followed him so closely on his march to the south, that when Râjiga's army had at last been reached by Vikrama, Someśvara's forces were encamped not far off in his rear. When Vikrama became aware of the hostile intentions of his brother, he was deeply distressed, being averse to a fratricidal war. He sent friendly messages to Someśvara and made attempts at a reconciliation. Someśvara apparently accepted his brother's advances; but in reality he meditated treachery, soiling the fair name of his race. He only temporized, in order to find a favourable moment for striking a deadly blow. Even when Vikrama became aware of this, he was still unwilling to encounter his brother on the battle-field. It was only at the express command of Śiva, who, appearing to him in a dream, ordered him to fulfil his destiny and to become a great ruler, that he consented to an appeal to arms. On the morning after the vision had appeared, a hard-contested battle was fought, in which the victory finally remained with Vikrama. Râjiga fled, and Someśvara was taken prisoner.

Immediately after the battle Vikrama returned to the Tungabhadrâ. He at first intended to restore his captive brother to liberty and to the throne. But Śiva interposed a second time, and angrily commanded him to assume the sovereignty. Then Vikrama obeyed the order of the god, and allowed himself to be proclaimed ruler of the Dekhan.§

To his youngest brother, Jayasiṁha, Vikrama gave the office of viceroy of Vanavâsa.|| Shortly afterwards he made further expeditions, by which he subdued everybody and everything in the four quarters of the universe, excepting only the elephants that guard the points of the horizon. Against whom these wars were waged is not stated. But 'when the multitude of the kings had been exhausted,' Vikrama once more had to 'extinguish' the Chola.¶ Then only he entered his capital of Kalyâṇa.*

The time of Vikrama's arrival in Kalyâṇa fell in spring, the season of pleasure and love. The king also was destined to undergo its influence, and to become a slave to the gentle passion. He learnt that the Śilahâra prince, ruling over Karahâṭa, possessed a daughter, Chandralekhâ or Chandaladevî by name, who, being endowed with marvellous beauty, was by the order of Pârvatî to hold a *svayaṁvara*. The minute inventory of the princess' charms, beginning with her toe-nails

† The mistake in the text (v. 26) चेङ्गि for वेङ्गि was caused by my consulting Prof. H. H. Wilson's *Cat. Mackenzie Col.* before my attention was drawn to Sir W. Elliot's second article on the Châlukyas in the *Jourl. Madras L. & Sc. Soc.* vol. VII. That paper not only shows that *Vengi* is the correct reading, but affords also the key to this portion of Bilhaṇa's narrative. Sir W. Elliot shows that a branch of the Cholas had established itself in Vengideśa, the eastern coast between the Krishṇâ and the Godâvari, and had extended its conquests thence to the frontiers of Katak (Cuttack). This kingdom passed by marriage to Râjendra Chola. "He was succeeded by his son Vikramadeva. Kulottunga Chola. On the death of his uncle Vijayâditya, who had been viceroy of Vengideśa, the king deputed his son Râjarâja to assume the office; but, after holding it, for one year, A.D. 1078 he resigned it in favour of his younger brother Viradeva Chola, who assumed the title of Kulottunga Chola. His grants are found in great numbers from A.D. 1070 up to the year 1135, when a partial restoration of the Châlukya line appears to have taken place." I think there can be no doubt that Bilhaṇa's Râjiga is the Râjarâja of the inscriptions, as the former name appears to be only a popular corruption of the latter, and as the time when they are said to have ruled over Vengi is nearly the same. If this identification is correct, it follows that the Chola king whose daughter Vikramâditya married was Vikramadeva-Kulottunga and that the Chola prince whom Vikramâditya established on the throne was a brother of Râjarâja-Râjiga. Probably the interference of the Châlukya prince was the cause of his *protégé's* losing his throne and his life.

‡ Bilhaṇa, in uttering this sentiment, forgets that a short time previous his hero had formed a matrimonial alliance with the same Chola race.

§ VI. 26-99.—According to the inscriptions (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 14) this battle was fought in 1076. The inscriptions contain also the same statements regarding Someśvara-Bhuvanaikamalla's character, though no mention is made of the circumstance that the latter was aided by the Chola king in the battle which cost him the throne. It is, however, doubtful if Vikrama, in acquiring the throne of Kalyâṇa, was merely a victim of destiny, as Bilhaṇa wishes to make out. It looks very suspicious that the poet finds himself obliged to bring in Śiva three times in order to vindicate the course of action taken by his hero. Vikrama's alliances with the Kâdamba Jayakeśî and the Chola seem also to indicate that he, on his side, was preparing himself for coming events, or had far-reaching designs. Lastly, what one sees and hears now of Rajput life makes one cautious in believing that one brother should have dethroned the other merely through the latter's fault. There are, no doubt, touching instances of strong family affection in Rajput families. But in general a great amount of jealousy and dissension prevails, caused partly by the system of polygamy, which among the Rajputs is *de rigueur* as a matter of etiquette, and partly by the uncurbed ambition of these races. Considering all these points, I am inclined to give the verdict against Vikrama and Bilhaṇa, and to assume that the former designedly used his superior talents to oust his weaker brother.

|| VI. 99; compare also XIV. 4.

¶ Possibly, by the "multitude of kings" (*naranâtha-chakra*) whom Vikrama subdued, rebellious *sâmantas* or feudal chiefs may have to be understood. The statement that he had again to fight the Chola detracts from the magnitude of his former victory.

* VII. 1-2.

and ending with her raven tresses, which was to be given to Vikrama, set his heart on fire. A spy was despatched to Karahâṭa in order to see what his chances might be. During the time of this person's absence Vikrama's passion grew to such an extent that his limbs wasted away, and pallor overspread his face. But his torment was quickly allayed when the messenger returned with excellent news. He reported that Chandralekhâ, on hearing of Vikrama, had fallen in love with him, that she wished to elect him for her husband, and that her father's wishes coincided with her own. He concluded his speech by exhorting Vikrama to set out at once for Karahâṭa, as the *svayaṁvara* was to take place immediately.

The king hastened on the wings of love to that 'capital of Cupid,' where many other princes had already assembled. The chief of Karahâṭa received him respectfully and affectionately. After the rites of hospitality had been performed, Vikrama entered the hall where the *svayaṁvara* was to be held, and sat down among his rivals. In due time the princess also arrived, attended by her maidens and an elderly matron of the harem. The latter pointed out and described the great qualities of the assembled chiefs. Chandralekhâ heard unmoved the praises of the lord of Ayodhyâ, a descendant of Râma, of the kings of Chedi and Kânyakubja, of the ruler of the country watered by the Charmaṇvatî (Chambal), of the princes of Kâlinjara, Gopâchala, Mâlvâ, Gurjara, Pâṇḍya, and Chola. One by one she rejected them, signifying her displeasure by various contemptuous gestures. Her eyes sought the Châlukya, and remained fixed on his face. When the other princes saw this, they lost all hope of success with the *Patiṁvarâ*, and plainly manifested their disappointment and anger. But the *pratihârarakshî*, the attending matron, loudly approved the choice of the princess, who had selected a husband so noble, handsome, rich and brave, the conqueror of the allied Cholas and Châlukyas. She exhorted her to throw the garland over his neck. Chandralekhâ obeyed, the acclamations of the assembled multitude approved her act, and the happy pair at once proceeded to the nuptial *maṇḍapa*.†

After the wedding had been celebrated, the rejected suitors departed. Many of them would have liked to give vent to their anger by deeds, but fear of the great Châlukya restrained them. Vikrama and his bride, happy in each other's company, enjoyed their newly found bliss and the pleasures of spring. In the morning they took walks in the garden. Vikrama pointed out to Chandralekhâ the beauties of the season. He seated her in a swing and swung her with his own hands. Later the whole harem was called out, and the women amused themselves and the king with gathering flowers from the trees and creepers. Then, covered with the pollen of the blossoms, they went to a tank to bathe and to sport in the water. Finally, in the evening, after enjoying the bright moonlight and after making a fresh toilet, the whole party sat down to a banquet at which *surâ* or *madhu*, a highly intoxicating liquor, flowed in streams. The women were soon flushed by this drink, and their odd behaviour and speeches served to amuse the king.‡

At the beginning of the hot season Vikrama proceeded to Kalyâṇa. His entry caused a great commotion, especially among the fair sex. The women, one and all, fell in love with their king and manifested their passion in various extravagant ways. Arrived at his palace, the prince held a darbâr and then retired to the inner apartments, where, anointed with sandal ointment, he sought, in the company of his wives, refuge from the heat in bathrooms cooled by flowing water.

† VII. 3—IX. 152.—By giving in the seventh *sarga* a lengthy description of the effects of spring on the passions, and of its amusements, and by introducing a detailed description of Chandralekhâ's charms in the eighth *sarga*, Bilhaṇa has managed to fill nearly three cantos with the narrative of Vikrama's marriage. He has also succeeded in giving the story a very unreal appearance by imitating the *Raghuvaṁśa* in the description of the *svayaṁvara*. Nevertheless the main facts related by him may be taken to be historical. For the name of Vikrama's wife, Chandaladevî, is preserved in the inscriptions, vide *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 13. From the inscriptions of the Śilahâras it is also certain that this family ruled in Karahâṭa, the modern Karhâd (Kurrar), see *ibid.* p. 282. Bilhaṇa does not employ the name Śilahâra, but he calls Chandralekhâ twice (VIII. 3 and IX. 27) a Vidyâdhara. The Śilahâras bore this appellation by virtue of their descent from Jîmutavâhana. Tod's *Annals of Râjasthân* and other works show that *svayaṁvaras* occurred among the Rajputs until a very late period. From the great length and minuteness of the descriptions of Chandaladevi's beauty, of her *svayaṁvara*, and of Vikrama's affection for her, it may be concluded that she was still the favourite when Bilhaṇa wrote.

‡ IX. 1—XI. 95. The description of the king's amusements, to which Bilhaṇa, treating them apparently *con amore*, allots nearly three whole *sargas*, may be considered a faithful picture of the life in the inner apartments of an Eastern king. Vikramâditya's son, Someśvara III., surnamed Bhûlokamalla, wrote a curious handbook of amusements for kings, entitled *Mânasollâsa* or *Abhilashitachintâmaṇi*. He enumerates twenty kinds of sports (*vinoda*) and twenty amusements (*krîḍâ*), the latter of which appear chiefly destined for the harem. They include those mentioned by Bilhaṇa. The exciting elements in them are mostly romping, equivoque, debauchery, and drinking. Drink has always been a favourite passion of the Rajputs. The abstaining classes among the Hindus—the Brâhmaṇs and the Jaina and Bauddha Vâniâs—have constantly struggled against this propensity. The first strongly condemn it in their works on *Dharma* and *Nîti* (see, *e. g.*, Manu, VII. 50, and Kâmandakî, XIV. 59), and both Jainas and Bauddhas whenever they gained over a Rajput king tell us that they made him renounce the use of spirituous liquors. Their efforts have not had any great success. For the Rajputs of our day, even those who are not debauchees, use various kinds of burnt waters, which in strength surpass anything ever manufactured in Europe. I must, however, confess that the use of spirituous liquors by Rajput females was unknown to me until I read of it in Bilhaṇa's and Someśvara's works.

He again gave himself up to the pastime of the *jalakrîḍâ*.§ During the remainder of the hot season and the ensuing rainy season Vikrama stopped in the capital, entirely devoting himself to pleasure. He composed also a poem, describing the breaking of the monsoon, which he addressed to Chandaladevi.||

But when the end of the rainy season came he received news which rudely aroused him from his luxurious repose. A confidential adviser informed him that his brother J a y a s i ṁ h a, whom he had made viceroy of Vanavâsa after the victory over Someśvara and Râjiga, was meditating treason. In proof of this assertion the informer stated that Jayasiṁha amassed treasures by oppressing his subjects, that he increased his army, that he had subjected to himself the forest tribes, that he was seeking the friendship of the Drâvida king, and that, worst of all, he tried to seduce Vikrama's soldiers from their allegiance. In conclusion he added that the prince would shortly advance with hostile intentions to the Kṛishṇaveṇi.

Vikrama was greatly distressed by this news, which opened the prospect of another fratricidal war. Unwilling to act without fuller information, he sent out spies to inquire into the truth of the accusations against Jayasiṁha. The report which they brought back confirmed it. Even then the king was averse to harsh measures. He addressed friendly exhortations to his brother, representing to him that, as he possessed already regal power in the provinces assigned to him, a rebellion would profit him but little. But all was in vain.

In the mean time autumn came. The beauty of this season (of which a lengthy description is given) did not allay Vikrama's anxiety and distress. He again made repeated attempts to be reconciled to Jayasiṁha. But the latter would no longer receive his messages. He advanced to the Kṛishṇâ, where many Mâṇḍalikas joined his camp. Filled with the hope of victory, and proud of his army, he allowed his soldiers to commit all possible excesses. Villages were plundered and burnt, and their inhabitants dragged into captivity. He also sent insulting messages to the king, his brother. Vikrama patiently bore these outrages for some time, but finally was compelled to take the field in self-defence. Collecting a large army, he also advanced to the Kṛishṇâ. On arriving there he once more tried negotiations. When these failed, a battle was fought, in which Jayasiṁha at first gained some advantages by means of his elephants. But Vikramâditya's personal bravery restored the fortune of the day. Jayasiṁha's army was routed, and its leader was captured on his flight, in the jungles. Though Vikrama would have had reason enough to deal hardly with the captive, he spoke kindly to him and consoled him.¶

After this victory Vikrama returned to Kalyâna, and enjoyed the pleasures of the cold season, which in the mean while had come on. These consisted in hunting-parties, at which he slew lions and other large game, hunted boars with hounds, and shot deer with arrows.*

After Vikrama had subdued all his enemies, his dominions enjoyed peace and prosperity. The elements even showed themselves propitious; neither famine nor pestilence visited his kingdom. In course of time sons were born to him, who resembled him and gladdened his heart. His liberality to the poor of all countries was unbounded. He erected also buildings for pious purposes, to commemorate his name. He built a temple of Vishṇu-Kamalâvilâsî: in front of it he dug a splendid tank. Near it he built a city with splendid temples and palaces.†

Once more, however, after a long period of peace, he had to draw his sword. The C h o l a again became proud and insolent. But Vikrama's army marched on Kânchî; a battle was fought, in which the Chola fled as usual. Kânchî was taken. Vikrama amused himself there for some time, and finally returned to his capital.‡

§ XII. 1 78. The description of the passionate behaviour of the women at the entry of the king is merely conventional. It is repeated on several occasions. Bathrooms (*dhârâgṛiha*) of the kind mentioned by Bilhaṇa are now in existence and in use. They are sometimes attached to sites (*vâpî*) or wells, and underground.

|| XIII. 1-90. I will not decide if we have really to recognize in Vikramâditya a royal author, or if Bilhaṇa merely puts the poem into his mouth in his anxiety to give a complete description of the seasons.

¶ XVI. 1-53.

* XIV. 1, XV. 87. Vikrama's war with Jayasiṁha is not mentioned in the inscriptions made known by Sir W. Elliot. The reason is, no doubt, that Vikrama did not care to proclaim the fact that he had fought with both his brothers. According to Bilhaṇa's account the battle falls at the end of the year 1077, and the statement of the Kâdamba inscriptions that Tailapa Kâdamba became governor of Vanavâsa in Śaka 999, or A. D. 1077-78, agrees with it. The latter event probably took place after the deposition of Jayasiṁha.

† XVII. 1-42. The building of the city, which was called Vikramapura, is mentioned in the inscriptions (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 15), and Sir W. Elliot adds that "an enormous tank and other works attest its former splendour."

‡ XVII. 43-68. This expedition must have been the last important event which occurred before Bilhaṇa wrote. Perhaps it is the war against the Pâla (read Pallava) king mentioned in the inscriptions as having taken place in 1081 (*loc. cit.* p. 15). For a branch of the Kerala Pallavas was established in the Chola country, and ruled it for some time in the seventh century. During Vikrama's time the Cholas fell very low indeed, and it is just possible that the Pallavas regained some of their old influence in the east of the peninsula (compare Burnell, *Elem. S. Ind. Palæog.* p. 29). But this point, as indeed all Sir W. Elliot's inscriptions, requires re-examination.

## BOOK NOTICES

THE VIKRAMANKADEVACHARITA: a Life of King Vikramâditya Tribhuvana Malla of Kalyâna, composed by his Vidyâpati Bilhana, edited with an Introduction by Georg Bühler. (Bombay Government Book Depôt, 1875.)

Sanskrit scholars are frequently reproached with spending their lives in the study of fiction. We are told that there is no history in Sanskrit except the somewhat unhistorical *Râjataranginî*; nothing but idle legends and cloudy metaphysics. It is supposed that Sanskrit scholars never touch the solid ground of fact until they abandon their favourite language for the study of Comparative Grammar, and even this study is, we fear, looked upon by some as little less delusive than the literature which originally gave rise to it. *Abeunt studia in mores*, and, if our memory does not deceive us, a distinguished German novelist makes one of his characters, who is represented as a great reader of Tacitus, taunt another with having so thoroughly imbibed the subjective spirit of Indian literature as to be incapable of distinguishing between fact and fiction in the most ordinary relations of life.

But of late years this reproach has been to a certain extent wiped away. Sanskrit need no longer be considered synonymous with unhistorical. The numerous inscriptions discovered throughout India in that language contain, as the readers of the *Indian Antiquary* are well aware, the clearest references to historical facts. And there is every reason to believe in the existence of numerous biographies of Indian princes, written by pandits who subsisted on their favour, though as yet only two of any importance have been unearthed,—the life of Śriharsha by Bâna, and the work which Dr. Bühler lately discovered in Josalmir, the history of the exploits of a king of the Châlukya dynasty named Vikramâditya, who reigned in Kalyâna from 1076 to 1127, by the poet Bilhana, known already to students of Sanskrit literature as the author of the *Panchâśikâ*.*

An account of the discovery of the *Vikramânka Charita* was read by Dr. Bühler before the Asiatic Society of Bengal early in 1874. It was found in a Jaina library, carefully concealed in an inner chamber, the entrance to which was closed by a revolving stone. After a tedious negotiation, Dr. Bühler and his friend were admitted into this inner shrine of Sarasvatî, and proceeded to examine its contents. In the course of their research they came on the palm-leaf manuscript on which alone is based the present edition of the poem. "As soon as I recognized the great importance of the MS.," says Dr. Bühler, "I resolved to copy it. My time at Josalmir was limited. But with the help of my friend Dr. H. Jacobi, of Bonn, who kindly lent me his assistance during the whole of my tour in Râjputana, the task was accomplished in about seven days." It is impossible not to admire the enthusiasm of these two German scholars, who managed in so short a time to copy a work consisting of eighteen cantos, the shortest of which contains 53, and the largest 151 *ślokas*, written in ancient Jaina Devanâgarî.

Dr. Bühler's summary of the historical residuum of the poem, given in his Introduction, is very carefully and judiciously done, and few who have the patience to read the work itself will feel inclined to add to it or diminish aught from it. The main theme of this laudatory poem is royal wars and royal marriages. The poet begins with a short account of the Châlukya race and the kings of the restored dynasty which begins with Tailapa; he dwells at some length upon the exploits of Vikramâditya's father, and describes, with all the customary amplifications, the conquests of Vikramâditya before his accession to the throne, his dethronement of his elder brother Soméśvara II., his defeat and capture of his younger brother, and his numerous wars with the faithless Cholas. Dr. Bühler compares this account with the data furnished by inscriptions, and his conclusions must be of great interest to all engaged in the study of mediæval India. Like most Sanskrit poets, Bilhana deals not only with the public life of his hero, but also with his private recreations and amusements. There is considerable sameness in the domestic life of kings and heroes in Sanskrit literature. Possibly the love of rhetorical commonplaces, which leads Bilhana to insert tedious descriptions of the seasons in his history, may occasionally induce him to ascribe to his hero follies which seem to us Western people alien from the character of a great statesman and warrior. But it is undeniable that there is much truth in Dr. Bühler's remarks:—

"The description of the king's amusements, to which Bilhana, treating them apparently *con amore*, allots nearly three whole Sargas, may be considered as a faithful picture of the life in the inner apartments of an Eastern king. Vikramâditya's son, Someśvara III., surnamed Bhûlokamalla, wrote a handbook of amusements for kings, entitled *Mânasollâsa* or *Abhilashitachintâmani*. He enumerates twenty kinds of sports (*vinoda*) and twenty amusements (*krîdâ*), the latter of which appear chiefly destined for the harem. They include those mentioned by Bilhana. The exciting

* For a short notice of the discovery of this work, vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 89.—ED.

## BOOK NOTICES.

THE VIKRAMANKADEVACHARITA: a Life of King Vikramâditya Tribhuvana Malla of Kalyâna, composed by his Vidyâpati Bilhana, edited with an Introduction by Georg Bühler. (Bombay Government Book Depôt, 1875.)

Sanskrit scholars are frequently reproached with spending their lives in the study of fiction. We are told that there is no history in Sanskrit except the somewhat unhistorical *Râjataranginî;* nothing but idle legends and cloudy metaphysics. It is supposed that Sanskrit scholars never touch the solid ground of fact until they abandon their favourite language for the study of Comparative Grammar, and even this study is, we fear, looked upon by some as little less delusive than the literature which originally gave rise to it. *Abeunt studia in mores,* and, if our memory does not deceive us, a distinguished German novelist makes one of his characters, who is represented as a great reader of Tacitus, taunt another with having so thoroughly imbibed the subjective spirit of Indian literature as to be incapable of distinguishing between fact and fiction in the most ordinary relations of life.

But of late years this reproach has been to a certain extent wiped away. Sanskrit need no longer be considered synonymous with unhistorical. The numerous inscriptions discovered throughout India in that language contain, as the readers of the *Indian Antiquary* are well aware, the clearest references to historical facts. And there is every reason to believe in the existence of numerous biographies of Indian princes, written by pandits who subsisted on their favour, though as yet only two of any importance have been unearthed,—the life of Śrîharsha by Bâna, and the work which Dr. Bühler lately discovered in Jesalmîr, the history of the exploits of a king of the Châlukya dynasty named Vikramâditya, who reigned in Kalyâna from 1076 to 1127, by the poet Bilhana, known already to students of Sanskrit literature as the author of the *Panchâśikâ*.*

An account of the discovery of the *Vikramânka Charita* was read by Dr. Bühler before the Asiatic Society of Bengal early in 1874. It was found in a Jaina library, carefully concealed in an inner chamber, the entrance to which was closed by a revolving stone. After a tedious negotiation, Dr. Bühler and his friend were admitted into this inner shrine of Sarasvatî, and proceeded to examine its contents. In the course of their research they came on the palm-leaf manuscript on which alone is based the present edition of the poem. "As soon as I recognized the great importance of the MS.," says Dr. Bühler, "I resolved to copy it. My time at Jesalmir was limited. But with the help of my friend Dr. H. Jacobi, of Bonn, who kindly lent me his assistance during the whole of my tour in Râjputana, the task was accomplished in about seven days." It is impossible not to admire the enthusiasm of these two German scholars, who managed in so short a time to copy a work consisting of eighteen cantos, the shortest of which contains 53, and the largest 151 *ślokas*, written in ancient Jaina Devanâgarî.

Dr. Bühler's summary of the historical residuum of the poem, given in his Introduction, is very carefully and judiciously done, and few who have the patience to read the work itself will feel inclined to add to it or diminish aught from it. The main theme of this laudatory poem is royal wars and royal marriages. The poet begins with a short account of the Châlukya race, and the kings of the restored dynasty which begins with Tailapa; he dwells at some length upon the exploits of Vikramâditya's father, and describes, with all the customary amplifications, the conquests of Vikramâditya before his accession to the throne, his dethronement of his elder brother Somésvara II., his defeat and capture of his younger brother, and his numerous wars with the faithless Cholas. Dr. Bühler compares this account with the data furnished by inscriptions, and his conclusions must be of great interest to all engaged in the study of mediæval India. Like most Sanskrit poets, Bilhaṇa deals not only with the public life of his hero, but also with his private recreations and amusements. There is considerable sameness in the domestic life of kings and heroes in Sanskrit literature. Possibly the love of rhetorical commonplaces, which leads Bilhana to insert tedious descriptions of the seasons in his history, may occasionally induce him to ascribe to his hero follies which seem to us Western people alien from the character of a great statesman and warrior. But it is undeniable that there is much truth in Dr. Bühler's remarks:—

"The description of the king's amusements, to which Bilhana, treating them apparently *con amore*, allots nearly three whole Sargas, may be considered as a faithful picture of the life in the inner apartments of an Eastern king. Vikramâditya's son, Someśvara III., surnamed Bhûlokamalla, wrote a handbook of amusements for kings, entitled *Mânasollâsa* or *Abhilashitachintâmani*. He enumerates twenty kinds of sports (*vinoda*) and twenty amusements (*krîdâ*), the latter of which appear chiefly destined for the harem. They include those mentioned by Bilhaṇa. The exciting

* For a short notice of the discovery of this work, vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 89.—ED.

elements in them are mostly romping, equivoque, and drinking." (Note, p. 41, and *ante*, p. 322.)

In the public life of Bilhana's hero we meet with much obvious distortion of the truth. The royal historiographer had to represent his patron as uniformly successful. Accordingly we find that the Châlukya monarch extirpated his principal enemies the Cholas pretty nearly as frequently as the Roman levies annihilated the nation of the Volsci. The absurdity of this is clearly brought out by Dr. Bühler. Moreover there is reason to believe that the jealousy between near relations, so characteristic of Eastern royal families, was found even in "the virtuous Châlukya race, that never deviated from the good old custom." Even Bilhaṇa admits that Vikrama was unlucky enough to have differences with his two brothers, one older and one younger than himself. Dr. Bühler seems to be of opinion that he ousted his less talented elder brother Someśvara II. from the throne. But the Hindu poet knows better. He tells us that the title of heir-apparent was offered to Vikrama, but refused by him out of regard for the honour of the family. But after the death of Vikrama's father, Someśvara I., called Âhavamalla by Bilhaṇa, the elder brother intrigued against the younger. He repeatedly sent armies to attack him, which Vikrama easily repulsed. He even allied himself with the Cholas, the hereditary enemies of the Châlukyas, which Bilhaṇa—forgetting, as Dr. Bühler remarks, that his hero had married a Chola princess—stigmatizes as a most shameless action. At last, at the express command of Śiva, Vikramâditya consented to meet his brother in the field, and vanquished him after an obstinate struggle. Śiva again appeared, and forbade him to restore his brother to liberty and the throne, as he had intended. Whether Someśvara II. perished by the scissors, or the "*post*," so much in favour in the days of Bernier, is not stated. Bilhaṇa makes no further mention of him. The circumstance that Śiva found it necessary to appear twice is, as Dr. Bühler remarks, somewhat suspicious. The fact of the battle having taken place in 1076 is proved by inscriptions; but there is no doubt that Bilhaṇa does his utmost "to whitewash his hero's character, and to blacken that of all his enemies," and we need not look upon Vikrama as more blameless than Aurangzib, who many hundred years afterwards was compelled, by the force of circumstances and the imperious call of duty, to supplant his three brothers.

The second fratricidal war ended in the complete defeat of Vikrama's younger brother, Jayasiṅha, who, if Bilhaṇa is to be believed, was treated before and after the conquest with great kindness by his conqueror. Dr. Bühler shows that the main facts of Vikrama's life are historical, and there is no doubt that he was a powerful and able monarch, engaged in frequent wars with the Cholas, and other dynasties of the Dekhan. We cannot help expressing our regret that Dr. Bühler's remarks should only have been published in a Sanskrit Series, where they are not likely to meet the eyes of any but those interested in that language. They are deserving of wider circulation.*

Perhaps the most interesting part of the poem is Bilhaṇa's account of himself. He was born in Kashmîr, and went on a tour through India, till at last he settled down as the court poet of the Châlukya sovereign. Dr. Bühler tells us that even now itinerant poets and paṇḍits are to be met with all over India. They wander from one native court to another, holding disputations, and composing poetry extempore for the delectation of princes "who care about the ancient lore and language of their country, till ousted by native paṇḍits, who guard their preserves most jealously against all outsiders."

The style of Bilhaṇa is, as Dr. Bühler remarks, not free from "coarseness and conventionalism." His Oriental hyperboles, if literally translated, would move the laughter of modern Englishmen, though they would have seemed less absurd to the men of the Elizabethan age, when the greatest of English poets thus described a thunder storm:

"The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch,
But that the sea, mounting to the welkin's cheek,
Dashes the fire out."

Again, he is an inveterate punster, and the most euphuistic of writers could scarcely hope to equal his vagaries when the demon of alliteration takes possession of him. He loves long compounds, like most Sanskṛit mediæval poets, and takes pleasure in constructing fanciful enigmas, the unravelling of which is the joy of the true lover of "poetic nectar." "But," as Dr. Bühler points out, "he possesses a "spark of genuine poetic fire. Really beautiful passages occur in every canto." We have attempted a translation of a passage in the 4th canto, giving an account of the death of Âhavamalla, the father of Vikrama, which Dr. Bühler considers one of the most touching in the poem.

The prince Vikrâma having defeated the Cholas and the king of Ceylon, slain the lord of Kerala, plundered Kânchî, and conquered Gangâkuṇḍa, Vengi, and Chakrakoṭa, is returning home. He has reached the Kṛishṇâ, when he is disquieted by the appearance of alarming omens. Coming events cast their shadows

* See Dr. Bühler's analysis of the historical portion of the poem, *ante*, p. 317.

before, or, as Bilhana puts it, "Fortunate or unfortunate events, advancing to meet mortals, are previously reflected in their souls." Soon he sees the chief messenger of his father coming with "faded cheek, announcing, so to speak, calamity with his profound sighs." The affectionate Vikrama immediately asks the messenger about his father's health.

"Slowly by his side he seats him, then in falt'ring accents speaks,
One by one the teardrops rolling chase each other down his cheeks.
Arm thy breast, my prince, with patience, let thy constancy appear,
Black the cloud of evil tidings which must burst upon thy ear;
Joyed the king to hear thy conquest, which made Chola's monarch quake,
Pâṇḍyas pale with coward trembling, and Ceylon with terror shake.
Then came Fate, relentless hangman, and with fever smote his frame;
Well thou knowest, bliss unshaken can no earthly sovereign claim.
When he found e'en sandal unguents failed to cool his burning breast,
Oft he longed for thy embraces, in thy arms to sink to rest.
Wistfully he looked around him, as if straining half-closed eyes,
Towards the messengers of Indra, sent to call him to the skies.
Thinking then his might departing, flaming forth in fever heat,
He bespake his faithful nobles, gathered weeping at his feet :—
'Never can my glory perish, for 'tis written with my sword
On the crowns of vanquished monarchs that have owned me for their lord;
Heaven's vault still shows the breaches where my flaming arrows came,
Like a cage in which imprisoned dwells the phœnix of my fame;
To the realms my sceptre governs wealth flows in from every side,
In my virtuous subjects' mansions Fortune dwells a princely bride;
I can boast a son like Râma, mighty with the sword and bow,
Vikramâṅka famed for conquest o'er himself and o'er the foe,
Who has freely to his brother yielded up Kalyâṇa's throne,
Now Someśvar bears the burden which my feeble hands disown.
Thus my labours here are finished, and I gladly hail their end;
Having fixed my faith on Śiva, to his heaven I ascend.
Oft, alas ! deluded monarchs think the warders at their gate,
Bold to hustle trembling subjects, can arrest the hand of Fate.
Born by Heaven's special favour in Châlukya's royal line,
I have heard some words of wisdom, nor is that delusion mine.
All my hopes are placed on Śiva, life is changeful, as we know,
Like the ear of some great war-beast, ever swaying to and fro;
Thinking on the Lord of Umâ, in the Tuṅgabhadrâ's stream,
I desire to leave my body and break off Life's painful dream;
Since by great Śrîkaṇṭha's blessing it has proved a means of grace,
Thankless should I be to leave it in some undistinguished place.'
'Well resolved,' exclaim the nobles, and their loud applauses raise;
Pious souls to pious actions never grudge the meed of praise.
By a few short easy stages thy loved father reached the strand
Of the holy Tuṅgabhadrâ, Ganges of the southern land;
There the river's dancing billows, like white hands reared up on high,
Seemed to point to Indra's heaven, and uplift him to the sky.
And the lines of pious offerings, piled amid the creaming foam,
Showed like swans of Brahmâ's chariot sent to bear him to his home.
Glitt'ring o'er with liquid diamonds flung in spray showers from afar,
Shone thy sire like full-orbed Luna round begirt with many a star.
Firm of purpose then the hero, bathing in the raging flood,
Fixed in pious meditation on the lord of Chaṇḍî stood.
Vast the heap of gold he lavished ere he drew his latest breath;
Liberal souls, intent on giving, find the passion strong in death.
Whelmed at last beneath the wave, the billows booming in his ear
Seemed great Śiva's drums of welcome as his soul to heaven drew near.'"

It only remains for us to say that Dr. Bühler's edition of the *Vikramâṅkadeva Charita*, though made from a single manuscript copied by himself

and his friend in seven days, is wonderfully free from unintelligible readings. There may be, perhaps, one or two passages where the addition of a *visarga*, or the change of a letter, would improve the sense; but we could mention one or more Sanskṛit texts, carefully edited from a comparison of various MSS., which present many more stumbling-blocks to the reader. We believe that Dr. Bühler's confidence in the correctness of his text is certain, if future MSS. should be discovered, to be amply justified.

---

ALLÉGORIES, RÉCITS POÉTIQUES, ET CHANTS POPULAIRES, traduits de l'Arabe, du Persan, de l'Hindoustani et du Turc, par M. Garcin de Tassy, Membre de l'Institut, &c. Paris, 1876.

The above work of a distinguished Orientalist who has lately been elected President of the Société Asiatique, and also Corresponding Member of the Society of Berlin, is the latest product of his literary activity. The publication is to be welcomed as a collection of pieces formerly scattered, gradually falling out of print and becoming inaccessible, but now again made available to the lovers of Oriental literature. These pieces fill a volume of 640 pages, and are as follows:—

Translations from the Arabic:—"The Allegories of Mokadesi," published under the titles of "Les Oiseaux et les Fleurs;"—"The Animals in discussion with Man," extracted from the *Ikhwán-uçafá*.

Translations from the Persian:—Two tales from the *Anwár-i Suhaili*; a Persian version of the *Fables of Pidpai*; the *Pendnameh* of Sa'di.

Translations from the Hindustani:—"The Adventures of Kamrup;" "The Rose of Bakawali;" *Gul o Sanauber*, or "the Rose and the Cypress;" "Hír and Ranjhan," a legend of the Panjâb; *Śakuntalá* according to the Hindi version of the *Mahábhárata*; "The Popular Songs of India."

Translations from the Turkish:—"The Taking of Abydos;" "The battle of Varna;" "The Taking of Constantinople;" "The Description of Constansinople;" "The Adventures of Prince Jem."

This collection is clothed in beautiful language, and may serve as a model for elegant translation from one idiom into another without doing violence to either, which is a task not very easy to accomplish in translations from any, but particularly difficult in Oriental languages, dealing largely in figures of speech strange to Occidental ones. The great talents, long experience, and world-wide reputation of the distinguished author are sufficient guarantees of how he has accomplished his task at various periods of his long career. E. R.

---

ŚAKUNTALÂ IN HINDI, edited by F. PINCOTT. London: Allen & Co., 1876.

Mr. Pincott has been fortunate in getting hold of a capital modern version of this famous old tale, done into Hindi by a native Deputy Collector, Kunwar Lachhman Singh. This gentleman writes his mother-tongue with elegance and good taste. Seldom has it been my lot, in all my weary plodding through modern vernacular literature, to come across anything so fresh and sparkling. There is just enough sprinkling of learned *tatsamas* to gratify the taste of those who must have a spice of Sanskṛit in everything, but the work is chiefly remarkable for a peculiarity hitherto almost confined to Bengál. The bold Deputy, with a reckless disregard of the opinions of paṇḍits, has dared to write as he and his countrymen speak, and the result, to Europeans at least, is an extremely valuable book. The student who has mastered this work with Mr. Pincott's notes will have only himself to blame if he does not find himself better able to understand the natives around him than he would have been after many years' study of the *Prem Ságar* or similar unrealities.

So true to the actual speech of the people is this work, that even the idiomatic phrases, which grammarians strive in vain to reconcile with their rules, are freely used, and the careful notes fully explain, but wisely do not often attempt to account for them. The notes also give evidence of careful study of the original, and a fine perception of the shades of meaning of which this most delicate and flexible of languages is capable.

I cannot too highly praise this most admirable work, and hope that it may be widely known and used. There is no text-book of Hindi now in existence which can be for an instant compared with it.

*Cuttack, 26th June* 1876. JOHN BEAMES.

---

THE INDIAN SONG OF SONGS, from the Sanskṛit of the *Gíta Govinda* of Jayadeva: with other Oriental Poems. By Edwin Arnold, M.A., F.R.G.S., formerly Principal of the Poona College, &c. London: Trübner & Co., 1875.

The *Gíta Govinda* of Jayadeva, a native of Kinduvilva, in Bengal, who flourished, Lassen supposes, about the middle of the twelfth century. early attracted the attention of Sir W. Jones, who rendered it into English,* whence it was translated into German by Dr. F. Majer and published at Weimar in 1802, and in the same year by F. H. von Dalberg at Erfurt. In 1818, Riemschneider published a metrical German version, and in 1836 Lassen issued his careful edition of the original text with scholia, notes, and a Latin version. Hippolite Fauche also, in 1850, issued a French translation of the whole of the *Gíta* along with the *Ritu Sanhara*. Mr. E. Arnold now follows these labourers with a versified rendering into English, "although," as he allows, "much has had to be

* *Works* (ed. 1799), vol. I. pp. 463-484.

modified, and the last Sarga omitted, in order to comply with the canons of Western propriety."

The *Gîta Govinda* sings the loves of Kṛishṇa and Râdhâ, and is very popular in India, "but more so, doubtless," to use Mr. Arnold's own words, "because of its melodious versification and its ardent love-pictures, than the profound and earnest meanings" which Western scholars have supposed to lie under its glowing sensuous pictures, and "for the sake of which this attempt has been hazarded." With Jones, Lassen regards Kṛishṇa as "the divinely-given soul manifested in humanity. . . The recollection of this celestial origin abides deep in the mind, and even when it seems to slumber—drugged as it were by the fair shows of the world, the pleasures of visible things, and the intoxication of the senses—it now and again awakes, . . . full of yearning to recover the sweet serenity of its pristine condition. Then the soul begins to discriminate and perceive that the love, which was its inmost principle, has been lavished on empty and futile objects; it grows a-wearied of things sensual, false, and unenduring; it longs to fix its affections on that which shall be stable, and the source of true and eternal delight. Krishṇa—to use the imagery of this poem—thrones Râdhâ in his heart, as the sole and only one who can really satisfy his aspirations." But for this recondite significance, even Lassen allows that "the imagery is but too luxuriant. The Indian poet seems, indeed, to have spent rather more labour in depicting the phases of earthly passion, than of that intellectual yearning by which the mind is lifted to the contemplation of divine things." And it is just these glowing pictures of earthly passion that has made it such a favourite among Hindus. That the European reader, then, may understand it as the Hindu does, and realize the grounds of his appreciation of it, he must know what it is in its entirety, unmodified to suit tastes purified by Christian influences; and as perforce from such a poem much must be modified or altogether omitted, such an effort as Mr. Arnold's must not be taken as a full representation of the original,—it is only an imitation or a partial paraphrase in easy flowing verse of the better portions of the poem, by a man of refined tastes, made not so much directly from the Sanskṛit as from the scholarly Latin version of the late Professor Lassen, but omitting what in its native soil are favourite passages, and otherwise, "not without occasional difficulty," following the esoteric interpretation of Lassen. To indicate this interpretation too, he calls it the Indian "Song of Songs," a title that Hindus will scarcely understand, and that is otherwise unwarranted and not in the best taste. The author has indicated the variety of measure in the original by the varying metres of his paraphrase, "without meanwhile attempting to imitate the many very fanciful alliterations, assonances, and recurring choruses." His versification is generally smooth and well sustained.

The smaller poems are four:—'The Rajput Wife,' 'King Saladin' (founded on a story of Boccaccio), 'The Râja's Ride,' and 'The Caliph's Draught,'—all well-written and stirring little pieces.

---

HINDU TALES, or the Adventures of Ten Princes, freely translated from the Sanskṛit of the Daśakumâracharitam. By P. W. Jacob. London: Strahan & Co.

Of the Sanskṛit text and character of Daṇḍin's *Daśakumâracharita** a somewhat full critical notice has already been given (*ante*, vol. IV. pp. 157-160), so that we need scarcely again revert to it. Mr. Jacob says of his translation that as a close translation of such parts of the work as are written in a turgid style "would be quite unsuitable to the English reader, such passages have therefore been much condensed; others, which are hardly decent—or, as in the speech of the parasite in the last story, tedious and uninteresting, have been omitted; but in general the original has been pretty closely adhered to, and nothing has been added to it." In an appendix the author has given a very close literal translation of a longer and two short extracts, occupying in all about 13 pages, to enable the reader "to form some idea of the nature and style of the original, and to see how far it has been departed from" in his free version. The tales in their English dress are well told, and, as the able translator remarks, "give a lively picture of Hindu manners and morals. Unscrupulous deception, ready invention, extreme credulity and superstition, and disregard of human life are strongly illustrated." This character, we believe, will prevent such a book, however well written, from becoming popular in England or repaying the publication, but it suggests a regret that one so well qualified as Mr. P. W. Jacob should not devote a portion of his leisure in retirement to translating, at least in outline, some of the many interesting works in Sanskṛit that are as yet inaccessible except to Sanskṛit scholars. Recent search has brought to light *Charitas*, *Mâhâtmyas*, *Sûtras*, *Purâṇas*, &c., in scores, and outlines of them on the plan of Weber's *Çatrunjaya Mâhâtmyam* are greatly desiderated, and can only be supplied by scholars with some leisure at their command.

---

* The Sanskṛit text of the *Daśakumâracharita* was published by the late Prof. H. H. Wilson in 1846, and a French version by H. Fauche in his *Tetrade*, tom. II., Paris, 1861-63.

# NOTES TO ARRIAN'S INDICA.*

BY J. W. McCRINDLE, M.A., PÂṬNÂ COLLEGE.

ARRIAN, distinguished as a philosopher, a statesman, a soldier, and an historian, was born in Nicomedia, in Bithynia, towards the end of the first century. He was a pupil of the philosopher Epictetus, whose lectures he published. His talents recommended him to the favour of Antoninus Pius, by whom he was raised to the consulship (A.D. 146). In his later years he retired to his native town, where he applied his leisure to the composition of works on history. He died at an advanced age, in the reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. The work by which he is best known is his account of the Asiatic expedition of Alexander the Great, which is remarkable alike for accuracy, and the Xenophontic ease and clearness of its style. His work on India (Ἰνδική or τὰ Ἰνδικα) may be regarded as a continuation of his *Anabasis*. It is not written, however, like the *Anabasis*, in the Attic dialect, but in the Ionic. The reason may have been that he wished his work to supersede the old and less accurate account of India written in Ionic by Ktesias of Knidos.

The *Indica* consists of three parts :—the first gives a general description of India based chiefly on the accounts of the country given by Megasthenes and Eratosthenes (chaps. i.—xvii.); the second gives an account of the voyage made by Nearchus the Cretan from the Indus to the Pasitigris, based entirely on the narrative of the voyage written by Nearchus himself (chaps. xviii.—xlii.) ; the third contains a collections of proofs to show that the southern parts of the world are uninhabitable on account of the great heat (chap. xlii. to the end).

CHAP. I. The river Kophen.—Another form of the name, used by Strabo, Pliny, &c., is Kophes, -etis. It is now the Kâbul river. In chap. iv. Arrian gives the names of its tributaries as the Malantos (Malamantos), Soastos, and Garroias. In the 6th book of the *Mahâbhârata* three rivers are named which probably correspond to them—the Suvâstu, Gaurî, and Kampana. The Soastos is no doubt the Suvâstu, and the Garæa the Gaurî. Curtius and Strabo call the Suastus the Choaspes. According to Mannert the Suastus and the Garæa or Guræus were identical. Lassen† would, however, identify the Suastus with the modern Suwad or Svât, and the Garæus with its tributary the Panjkora; and this is the view adopted by General Cunningham. The Malamantos some would identify with the Choes (mentioned by Arrian, *Anabasis* IV. 25), which is probably represented by the modern Kameh or Khonar, the largest of the tributaries of the Kâbul; others, however, with the Panjkora. General Cunningham, on the other hand, takes it to be the Bâra, a tributary which joins the Kâbul from the south. With regard to the name Kophes he remarks:—"The name of Kophes is as old as the time of the *Vedas* in which the Kubhâ river is mentioned‡ as an affluent of the Indus; and, as it is not an Âryan word, I infer that the name must have been applied to the Kâbul river before the Âryan occupation, or at least as early as B.C. 2500. In the classical writers we find the Choēs, Kophes, and Choaspes rivers to the west of the Indus; and at the present day we have the Kunar, the Kuram, and the Gomal rivers to the west, and the Kunihar river to the east of the Indus,—all of which are derived from the Scythian *ku*, 'water.' It is the guttural form of the Assyrian *hu* in 'Euphrates,' and 'Eulæus,' and of the Turki *su* and the Tibetan *chu*, all of which mean 'water' or 'river.'" Ptolemy the Geographer mentions a city called Kabura situated on the banks of the Kophen, and a people called Kabolitæ.

Astakenoi and Assakēnoi.—It is doubtful whether these were the same or different tribes. It has been conjectured, from some slight resemblance in the name, that they may have been the ancestors of the Afghâns. Their territory lay between the Indus and the Kophen, extending from their junction as far westward as the valley of the Guraios or Panj-

* See translation of the *Indica* in the *Indian Antiquary, ante*, pp. 85-108. The main object of the Notes is to show how the localities, &c. mentioned in the text have been identified. In drawing them up I have derived great assistance from C. Müller's *Geographi Græci Minores*,—a work which contains the text of the *Indica* with notes,—Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Geography*, and General Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*.

† *Ind. Alterthums.* (2nd ed.) II. 678ff.

‡ Roth first pointed this out;—conf. Lassen, *ut sup.*—ED.

kora. Other tribes in these parts were the Masiani, Nysæi, and Hippasii.

Nysa, being the birth-place of Bacchus, was, as is well known, bestowed as a name on various places noted for the cultivation of the vine. General Cunningham refers its site to a point on the Kophes above its junction with the Choës. The city may, however, have existed only in fable.§

Massaka (other forms are Massaga, Masaga, and Mazaga.)—The Sanskrit Maśakâ, near the Gauri, already mentioned. Curtius states that it was defended by a rapid river on its eastern side. When attacked by Alexander, it held out for four days against all his assaults.

Peukelaïtis (other forms—Peukelaötis, Peukolitæ, Peukelaötis).—"The Greek name," says General Cunningham, "of Peukelaotis or Peukolaitis was immediately derived from Pukkalaoti, which is the Pâli or spoken form of the Sanskrit Pushkalavati. It is also called Peukelas by Arrian, and the people are named Peukalei by Dionysius Periegetes, which are both close transcripts of the Pâli Pukkala. The form of Prokloïs, which is found in Arrian's *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* and also in Ptolemy's *Geography*, is perhaps only an attempt to give the Hindi name of Pokhar, instead of the Sanskrit Pushkara." The same authority fixes its position at "the two large towns Parang and Chârsada, which form part of the well-known Hashtnagar, or 'eight cities,' that are seated close together on the eastern bank of the lower Swât river." The position indicated is nearly seventeen miles to the north-east of Peshâwar. Pushkala, according to Prof. Wilson, is still represented by the modern Pekhely or Pakholi, in the neighbourhood of Peshâwar. The distance of Peukelaitis from Taxila (now represented by the vast ruins of Mânikyâla) is given by Pliny at sixty miles.

CHAP. II.—Parapamisos (other forms—Paropamisos, Paropamissos, Paropanisos). This denotes the great mountain range now called Hindû Kush, supposed to be a corrupted form of "Indicus Caucasus," the name given to the range by the Macedonians, either to flatter Alexander, or because they regarded it as a continuation of Caucasus. Arrian, however, and others held it to be a continuation of Taurus. The mountains belonging to the range which lie to the north of the Kâbul river are called Nishadha, a Sanskrit word which appears perhaps in the form Paropanisus, which is that given by Ptolemy. According to Pliny, the Scythians called Mount Caucasus Graucasis, a word which represents the Indian name of Paropamisos, Gravakshas, which Ritter translates "*splendentes rupium montes.*" According to General Cunningham, the Mount Paresh or Aparasin of the *Zendavesta* corresponds with the Paropamisos of the Greeks. In modern maps Hindû Kush generally designates the eastern part of the range, and Paropamisos the western. According to Sir Alexander Burnes, the name Hindû Kush is unknown to the Afghâns, but there is a particular peak and also a pass bearing that name between Afghanistân and Turkestân.

Emodos (other forms—Emoda, Emodon, Hemodes).—The name generally designated that part of the Himâlayan range which extended along Nepâl and Bhûtan and onward towards the ocean. Lassen derives the word from the Sanskrit *haimavata*, in Prâkrit *haimota*, 'snowy.' If this be so, 'Hemodos" is the more correct form. Another derivation refers the word to "*hêmâdri*" (*hema*, gold, and *adri*, mountain), 'the golden mountains,'—so called either because they were thought to contain gold mines, or because of the aspect they presented when their snowy peaks reflected the golden effulgence of sunset.

Imaus.—Related to the Sanskrit *himavata*, 'snowy.' The name was applied at first by the Greeks to the Hindû Kush and the Himâlayas, but was in course of time transferred to the Bolor range. This chain, which runs north and south, was regarded by the ancients as dividing Northern Asia into "Scythia intra Imaum" and "Scythia extra Imaum," and it has formed for ages the boundary between China and Turkestân. Pliny calls Imaus a '*promontorium*' of the *Montes Emodi*, stating at the same time that in the language of the inhabitants the name means 'snowy.'

Pattala.—The name of the Delta was properly Pâṭalene, and Pâṭala was its capital. This was situated at the head of the Delta, where the western stream of the Indus bifurcated. Ṭhaṭha has generally been regarded

§ Lassen, *u. s.* 141, 681.

as its modern representative, but General Cunningham would "almost certainly" identify it with Nirankol or Haidarâbâd, of which Pâṭalpur and Pâṭaśila ('flat rock') were old appellations. With regard to the name Pâṭala he suggests that "it may have been derived from *Pâṭala*, the trumpet flower" (*Bignonia suaveolens*), in allusion to the trumpet shape of the province included between the eastern and western branches of the mouth of the Indus, as the two branches as they approach the sea curve outward like the mouth of a trumpet." Ritter, however, says:—"Pâṭâla is the designation bestowed by the Brâhmaṇs on all the provinces in the west towards sunset, in antithesis to Prasiaka (the eastern realm) in Ganges-land: for *Pâṭâla* is the mythological name in Sanskṛit of the under-world, and consequently of the land of the west." Arrian's estimate of the magnitude of the Delta is somewhat excessive. The length of its base, from the Pitti to the Kori mouth, was less than 1000 stadia, while that of the Egyptian Delta was 1300.

CHAP. III. 1300 *stadia*.—The Olympic stadium, which was in general use throughout Greece, contained 600 Greek feet = 625 Roman feet, or 606¾ English feet. The Roman mile contained eight stadia, being about half a stadium less than an English mile. Not a few of the measurements given by Arrian are excessive, and it has therefore been conjectured that he may have used some standard different from the Olympic,—which, however, is hardly probable. With regard to the dimensions of India as stated in this chapter, General Cunningham observes that their close agreement with the actual size of the country is very remarkable, and shows that the Indians, even at that early date in their history, had a very accurate knowledge of the form and extent of their native land.

*Schœni.*—The schœnus was = 2 Persian parasangs = 60 stadia, but was generally taken at half that length.

CHAP. IV. *Tributaries of the Ganges.*—Seventeen are here enumerated, the Jamnâ being omitted, which, however, is afterwards mentioned (chap. viii.) as the Jobares. Pliny calls it the Jomanes, and Ptolemy the Diamounas. In Sanskṛit it is the Jamunâ (sister of Yama).

Kaïnas.—Some would identify this with the Kan or Kane, a tributary of the Jamnâ. *Kan* is, however, in Sanskṛit *Śena*, and of this *Kaïnas* cannot be the Greek representative.

Erannoboas.—As Arrian informs us (chap. x.) that Palimbothra (Pâṭaliputra, Pâṭnâ) was situated at the confluence of this river with the Ganges, it must be identified with the river Sôn, which formerly joined the Ganges a little above Pâṭnâ, where traces of its old channel are still discernible. The word no doubt represents the Sanskṛit Hiranyavâha ('carrying gold') or Hiranyabâhu ('having golden arms'), which are both poetical names of the Sôn. It is said to be still called Hiranyavâha by the people on its banks. Megasthenes, however, and Arrian, both make the Erannoboas and the Sôn to be distinct rivers, and hence some would identify the former with the Gandak (Sanskṛit Gandaki), which, according to Lassen, was called by the Buddhists Hiranyavati, or 'the golden.' It is, however, too small a stream to suit the description of the Erannoboas, that it was the largest river in India after the Ganges and Indus. The Sôn may perhaps in the time of Megasthenes have joined the Ganges by two channels, which he may have mistaken for separate rivers.

Kosoanos.—Cosoagus is the form of the name in Pliny, and hence it has been taken to be the representative of the Sanskṛit Kaushiki, the river now called the Kosi. Schwanbeck, however, thinks it represents the Sanskṛit *Kośâvaha* (= 'treasure-bearing'), and that it is therefore an epithet of the Sôn, like Hiranyavâha, which has the same meaning. It seems somewhat to favour this view that Arrian in his enumeration places the Kosoanos between the Erannoboas and the Sôn.

Sonos.—The Sôn, which now joins the Ganges ten miles above Dinâpur. The word is considered to be a contraction of the Sanskṛit Suvarṇa (Suvanna), 'golden,' and may have been given as a name to the river either because its sands were yellow, or because they contained gold dust.

Sittokatis and Solomatis.—It has not been ascertained what rivers were denoted by these names. General Cunningham in one of his maps gives the Solomatis as a name of the Saranju or Sarju, a tributary of the Ghagrâ, while Benfey would identify it with the famous Sarasvatî or Sarsuti, which, ac-

cording to the legends, after disappearing underground, joined the Ganges at Allahâbâd.

Kondochates.—Now the Gandak,—in Sanskrit, Gandaki or Gandakavati (ῥινοκερόεις),—because of its abounding in a kind of alligator having a horn-like projection on its nose.

Sambos.—Probably the Sarabos of Ptolemy. It may be the Sambal, a tributary of the Jamnâ.

Magon.—According to Mannert the Râmgaṅgâ.

Agoranis.—According to Rennel the Ghagrâ—a word derived from the Sanskrit Gharghara ('of gurgling sound').

Omalis has not been identified, but Schwanbeck remarks that the word closely agrees with the Sanskrit Vimala ('stainless'), a common epithet of rivers.

Kommenases.—Rennel and Lassen identify this with the Karmanâsâ (*bonorum operum destructrix*), a small river which joins the Ganges above Baxâr. According to a Hindu legend, whoever touches the water of this river loses all the merit of his good works, this being transferred to the nymph of the stream.

Kakouthis.—Mannert takes this to be the Gumtî.

Andomatis.—Thought by Lassen to be connected with the Sanskrit Andhamati (*tenebricosus*) which he would identify, therefore, with the Tâmasâ, the two names being identical in meaning.

Madyandini may represent, Lassen thinks, the Sanskrit Madhyandina (*meridionalis*).

Amystis has not been identified, nor Katadupa, the city which it passes. The latter part of this word, *dupa*, may stand, Schwanbeck suggests, for the Sanskrit *dvipa*, 'an island.'

Oxymagis.—The Pazalæ or Passalæ, called in Sanskrit Pankala, inhabited the Doâb,—through which, or the region adjacent to it, flowed the Ikshumati ('abounding in sugar-cane'). Oxymagis very probably represented this name.

Errenysis closely corresponds to Vârânasi, the name of Bânâras in Sanskrit,—so called from the rivers Varana and Asi, which join the Ganges in its neighbourhood. The Mathæ may be the people of Magadha. V. de Saint-Martin would fix their position in the country between the lower part of the Gumti and the Ganges, adding that "the *Journal* of Hiouen Thsang places their capital, Mâtipura, at a little distance to the east of the upper Ganges near Gaṅgâdvâra, now Hardwâr."

*Tributaries of the Indus*:—Hydraotes.—Other forms are Rhouadis and Hyarotis. It is now called the Ravi, the name being a contraction of the Sanskrit Irâvati, which means 'abounding in water,' or 'the daughter of Irâvat,' the elephant of Indra, who is said to have generated the river by striking his tusk against the rock whence it issues. His name has reference to his 'ocean' origin.

The name of the Kambistholæ does not occur elsewhere. Schwanbeck conjectures that it may represent the Sanskrit Kapisthola, 'ape-land,' the letter *m* being inserted, as in 'Palimbothra.' Arrian errs in making the Hyphasis a tributary of the Hydraotes, for it falls into the Akesines below its junction with that river.

Hyphasis (other forms are Bibasis, Hypasis, and Hypanis.)—In Sanskrit the Vipâśa, and now the Byasa or Bias. It lost its name on being joined by the Śatadru, 'the hundred-channelled,' the Zaradros of Ptolemy, now the Satlej. The Astrobæ are not mentioned by any writer except Arrian.

Saranges.—According to Schwanbeck, this word represents the Sanskrit Saranga, 'six-limbed.' It is not known what river it designated. The Kekians, through whose country it flowed, were called in Sanskrit, according to Lassen, Sekaya.

Neudros is not known. The Attakeni are likewise unknown, unless their name is another form of *Assakeni*.

Hydaspes.—Bidaspes is the form in Ptolemy. In Sanskrit Vitasta, now the Behut or Jhelam; called also by the inhabitants on its banks the Bedusta, 'widely spread.' It is the "fabulosus Hydaspes" of Horace, and the "Medus Hydaspes" of Virgil. It formed the western boundary of the dominions of Porus.

Oxydrakai.—This name represents, according to Lassen, the Sanskrit Kshudraka. It is variously written,—Sydrakæ, Syrakusæ (probably a corrupt reading for Sudrakæ), Sabagræ, and Sygambri. According to some accounts, this was the people among whom Alexander was

severely wounded when his life was saved by Ptolemy, who in consequence received the name of *Soter*. Arrian, however, refers this incident to the country of the Malli.

Akesines.—Now the Chenâb: in Sanskrit Asikni, 'dark-coloured,'—called afterwards Chandrabhâga. "This would have been hellenized into Sandrophagos,—a word so like to Androphagos or Alexandrophagos that the followers of Alexander changed the name to avoid the evil omen,—the more so, perhaps, on account of the disaster which befell the Macedonian fleet at the turbulent junction of the river with the Hydaspes."—*Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

Malli.—They occupied the country between the Akesines and the Hydraotes or Irâvati. The name represents the Sanskrit Malava, Multân being its modern representative.

Toutapos.—Probably the lower part of the Śatadru or Satlej.

Parenos.—Probably the modern Burindu.

Saparnos.—Probably the Abbasin.

Soanus represents the Sanskrit Suvana, 'the sun,' or 'fire'—now the Svan.

The Abissareans.—The name may represent the Sanskrit Abisara.|| A king called Abisares is mentioned by Arrian in his *Anabasis* (iv. 7). It may be here remarked that the names of the Indian kings, as given by the Greek writers, were in general the names slightly modified of the people over whom they ruled.

Taurunum.—The modern Semlin.

CHAP. V. Megasthenes.—The date of his mission to India is uncertain. Clinton assigns it to the year 303 B.C., since about that time an alliance was formed between Seleucus and Sandrakottus (Chandragupta). It is also a disputed point whether he was sent on more than one embassy, as the words of Arrian (*Anab.* V. 6.), πολλάκις δε λέγει 'αφικέσθαι παρὰ Σανδράκοττον τὸν 'Ινδῶν βασιλέα, may mean either that he went on several missions to Sandrakottus, or merely that he had frequent interviews with him. From Arrian we further learn regarding Megasthenes that he lived with Tyburtius the satrap of Arachosia, who obtained the satrapies of Arachosia and Gedrosia 323 B.C. Sandrakottus died about B.C. 288.

Sesostris has been identified with Rames, the third king of the nineteenth dynasty as given in the History of Manetho.

Idanthyrsos.—Strabo mentions an irruption of Skythians into Asia under a leader of this name, and Herodotos mentions an invasion which was led by Madyas. As Idanthyrsos may have been a common appellative of all the Skythian kings, it may be one and the same invasion to which both writers refer. It was made when Kyaxares reigned in Media and Psammitichus in Egypt.

Mount Meros.—Mount Meru, the Olympus of Indian mythology. As a geographical term it designated the highland of Tartary north of the Himâlaya. Śiva was the Indian deity whom the Greeks identified with Bacchus, as they identified Krishṇa with Hercules.

The rock Aornos.—The much-vexed question of the position of this celebrated rock has been settled by General Cunningham, who has identified it with the ruined fortress of Râṇigat, situated immediately above the small village of Nogrâm, which lies about sixteen miles north by west from Ohind, which he takes to be the Embolima of the ancients. "Râṇîgat," he says, "or the Queen's rock, is a large upright block on the north edge of the fort, on which Râja Vara's *râṇî* is said to have seated herself daily. The fort itself is attributed to Râja Vara, and some ruins at the foot of the hill are called Râja Vara's stables . . . I think, therefore, that the hill-fort of Aornos most probably derived its name from Râja Vara, and that the ruined fortress of Râṇîgat has a better claim to be identified with the Aornos of Alexander than either the Mahâban hill of General Abbott, or the castle of Râja Hodi proposed by General Court and Mr. Loewenthal."

The Cave of Prometheus.—Probably one of the vast caves in the neighbourhood of Bamian.

Sibæ.—A fierce mountain tribe called Siapul or Siapush still exists, inhabiting the Hindû Kush, who use to this day the club, and wear the skins of goats for clothing. According to Curtius, however, the Sivæ, whom he calls Sobii, occupied the country between the Hydaspes and Akesines. They may have derived their name from the god Śiva. In the neighbourhood of Hardwâr there is a district called Siba.

CHAP. VI. The Silas.—Other forms are

|| Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. 163.

Sillas and Silias. Demokritos and Aristotle doubted the story told of this river, but Lassen states that mention is made in Indian writings of a river in the northern part of India whose waters have the power of turning everything cast into them into *stone*, the Sanskrit word for which is *śila*.

Tala.—The fan-palm, the *Borassus flabelliformis* of botany.

CHAP. VIII.—Spatembas and his successors were the kings of Magadha, which in these early times was the most powerful kingdom in India: Palibothra was its capital.

Boudyas.—This is, no doubt, the name of Buddha hellenized.

Souraseni.—This name represents the Sanskrit Sûrasena, which designated the country about Methora, now Mathurâ, famous as the birthplace and scene of the adventures of Krishṇa, whom the Greeks identified with Hercules. Methora is mentioned by Pliny, who says, "Amnis Jomanes in Gangem per Palibothros decurrit inter oppida Methora et Charisobora." Chrysobora and Kyrisobora are various readings for Charisobora, which is doubtless another form of Arrian's Kleisobora. This word may represent, perhaps, the Sanskrit Kṛishṇâputra. Jobares is the Jamunâ. The Palibothri, in the passage quoted, must be taken to denote the subjects of the realm of which Palibothra was the capital, and not merely the inhabitants of that city, as some have supposed.

Pandæa.—Pliny mentions a tribe called Pandæ, who alone of the Indians were in the habit of having female sovereigns. The name undoubtedly points to the famous dynasty of the Pâṇḍavas, which extended so widely over India. In the south there was a district called *Pandavi regio*, while another of the same name is placed by Ptolemy in the Panjâb on the Bidaspes (Bias).

Margarita.—This word cannot be traced to Sanskrit. Murvarid is said to be a name in Persian for the pearl.

Palimbothra.—The Sanskrit Pâṭaliputra, now Pâṭnâ, sometimes still called Pâṭaliputra. The name means 'the son of the Pâṭali, or trumpet flower (*Bignonia suaveolens*).' Its earliest name was Kauśambi, so called as having been founded by Kuśa, the father of the celebrated sage Viśvamitra. It was subsequently called also Pushpapura or Kusumapura, 'the city of flowers.' Megasthenes and Eratosthenes give its distance from the mouth of the Ganges at 6000 stadia.

The Prasians.—"Strabo and Pliny," says General Cunningham, "agree with Arrian in calling the people of Palibothra by the name of Prasii, which modern writers have unanimously referred to the Sanskrit Prâchya or 'eastern.' But it seems to me that Prasii is only the Greek form of Palâsa or Parâsa, which is an actual and well-known name of Magadha, of which Palibothra was the capital. It obtained this name from the *Palâsa*, or *Butea frondosa*, which still grows as luxuriantly in the province as in the time of Hiwen Thsang. The common form of the name is Parâs, or when quickly pronounced Prâs, which I take to be the true original of the Greek Prasii. This derivation is supported by the spelling of the name given by Curtius, who calls the people Pharrasii, which is an almost exact transcript of the Indian name Parâsiya. The Praxiakos of Ælian is only the derivative from Palâsaka.

CHAP. XXI.—According to Vincent, the expedition started on the 23rd of October 327 B.C.; the text indicates the year 326, but the correct date is 325. The lacuna marked by the asterisks has been supplied by inserting the name of the Macedonian month Dius. The Ephesians adopted the names of the months used by the Macedonians, and so began their year with the month Dius, the first day of which corresponds to the 24th of September. The harbour from which the expedition sailed was distant from the sea 150 stadia. It was probably in the island called by Arrian, in the *Anabasis* (vi. 19) Killuta, in the western arm of the Indus,—that now called the Pitti mouth.

Kaumara may perhaps be represented by the modern Khâu, the name of one of the mouths of the Indus in the part through which the expedition passed.

Koreëstis.—This name does not occur elsewhere. Regarding the sunken reef encountered by the fleet after leaving this place, Sir Alexander Burnes says: "Near the mouth of the river we passed a rock stretching across the stream, which is particularly mentioned by Nearchus, who calls it *a dangerous rock*, and is the more remarkable since there is not even a stone below Tatta in any other part of the Indus." The rock, he adds, is at a distance of

six miles up the Pitti. "It is vain," says Captain Wood in the narrative of his *Journey to the Source of the Oxus*, "in the delta of such a river (as the Indus), to identify existing localities with descriptions handed down to us by the historians of Alexander the Great. . . . . (but) Burnes has, I think, shown that the mouth by which the Grecian fleet left the Indus was the modern Piti. The 'dangerous rock' of Nearchus completely identifies the spot, and as it is still in existence, without any other within a circle of many miles, we can wish for no stronger evidence." With regard to the canal dug through this rock, Burnes remarks: "The Greek admiral only availed himself of the experience of the people, for it is yet customary among the natives of Sind to dig shallow canals and leave the tides or river to deepen them; and a distance of five stadia, or half a mile, would call for not great labour. It is not to be supposed that sandbanks will continue unaltered for centuries, but I may observe that there was a large bank contiguous to the island, between it and which a passage like that of Nearchus might have been dug with the greatest advantage." The same author thus describes the mouth of the Piti:—"Beginning from the westward we have the Pitti mouth, an embouchure of the Buggaur, that falls into what may be called the Bay of Karâchi. It has no bar, but a large sandbank together with an island outside prevent a direct passage into it from the sea, and narrow the channel to about half a mile at its mouth."

Krokala.—"Karâchi," says General Cunningham, "must have been on the eastern frontier of the Arabitæ,—a deduction which is admitted by the common consent of all inquirers, who have agreed in identifying the Kolaka of Ptolemy, and the sandy island of Krokola where Nearchus tarried with his fleet for one day, with a small island in the bay of Karâchi. Krokala is further described as lying off the mainland of the Arabii. It was 150 stadia, or 17¼ miles, from the western mouth of the Indus,—which agrees exactly with the relative positions of Karâchi and the mouth of the Ghâra river, if, as we may fairly assume, the present coast-line has advanced five or six miles during the twenty-one centuries that have elapsed since the death of Alexander. The identification is confirmed by the fact that the district in which Karâchi is situated is called Karkalla to this day. On leaving Krokala, Nearchus had Mount Eiros (Manora) on his right hand, and a low flat island on his left,—which is a very accurate description of the entrance to Karâchi harbour."

Arabii.—The name is variously written,—Arabitæ, Arbii, Arabies, Arbies, Aribes, Arbiti. The name of their river has also several forms,—Arabis, Arabius, Artabis, Artabius. It is now called the Purâli, the river which flows through the present district of Las into the bay of Sonmiyâni.

Oritæ.—The name in Curtius is Horitæ. General Cunningham identifies them with the people on the Aghor river, whom he says the Greeks would have named Agoritæ or Aoritæ, by the suppression of the guttural, of which a trace still remains in the initial aspirate of 'Horitæ.' Some would connect the name with Haur, a town which lay on the route to Firabaz, in Mekrân.

Bibakta.—The form of the name is Bibaga in Pliny, who gives its distance from Krokala at twelve miles. Vincent would refer it to the island now called Chilney,—which, however, is too distant.

Sangada.—This name D'Anville thought survived in that of a race of noted pirates who infested the shores of the gulf of Kachh, called the Sangadians or Sangarians.

CHAP. XXII.—The coast from Karâchi to the Purâli has undergone considerable changes, so that the position of the places mentioned in this chapter cannot be precisely determined. "From Cape Monze to Sonmiyani," says Blair, "the coast bears evident marks of having suffered considerable alterations from the encroachments of the sea. We found trees which had been washed down, and which afforded us a supply of fuel. In some parts I saw imperfect creeks in a parallel direction with the coast. These might probably be the vestiges of that narrow channel through which the Greek galleys passed."

Domæ.—This island is not known, but it probably lay near the rocky headland of Irus, now called Manorâ, which protects the port of Karâchi from the sea and bad weather.

Morontobari.—"The name of Morontobara," says General Cunningham, "I would identify with Muâri, which is now applied to the headland of Râs Muâri or Cape Monze, the last

point of the Pab range of mountains. *Bâra*, or *Bâri*, means a roadstead or haven; and Moranta is evidently connected with the Persian *Mard*, a man, of which the feminine is still preserved in Kâśmîrî, as *Mahrin*, a woman. From the distances given by Arrian, I am inclined to fix it at the mouth of the Bahar rivulet, a small stream which falls into the sea about midway between Cape Monze and Sonmiyâni." *Women's Haven* is mentioned by Ptolemy and Ammianus Marcellinus. There is in the neighbourhood a mountain now called Mor, which may be a remnant of the name Morontobari. The channel through which the fleet passed after leaving this place no longer exists, and the island has of course disappeared.

Haven at the mouth of the Arabis.—The Purâli discharges its waters into the bay of Sonmiyâni, as has been already mentioned. "Sonmiyâni," says Kempthorne, "is a small town or fishing village situated at the mouth of a creek which runs up some distance inland. It is governed by a sheikh, and the inhabitants appear to be very poor, chiefly subsisting on dried fish and rice. A very extensive bar or sandbank runs across the mouth of this inlet, and none but vessels of small burden can get over it even at high water, but inside the water is deep." The inhabitants of the present day are as badly off for water as their predecessors of old. "Everything," says one who visited the place, "is scarce, even water, which is procured by digging a hole five or six feet deep, and as many in diameter, in a place which was formerly a swamp; and if the water oozes, which sometimes it does not, it serves them that day, and perhaps the next, when it turns quite brackish, owing to the nitrous quality of the earth."

Chap. XXIII. Pagali.—Another form is Pegadæ, met with in Philostratus, who wrote a work on India.

Kabana.—To judge from the distances given, this place should be near the stream now called Agbor, on which is situated Harkânâ. It is probably the Kæamba of Ptolemy.

Kokala must have been situated near the headland now called Ras Katchari.

Chap. XXIV. Tomeros.—From the distances given, this must be identified with the Maklow or Hingal river; some would, however, make it the Bhusâl. The form of the name in Pliny is, Tomberus, and in Mela—Tubero. These authors mention another river in connection with the Tomerus,—the Arosapes or Arusaces.

XXV. Malana.—Its modern representative is doubtless Râs Malin or Malen.

*The Length of the Voyage*, 1600 *stadia.*—In reality the length is only between 1000 and 1100 stadia, even when allowance is made for the winding of the coast. Probably the difficulty of the navigation made the distances appear much greater than the reality.

Chap. XXVI. The Gedrosians.—Their country, which corresponds generally to Mekrân, was called Gedrosia, Kedrosia, Gadrosia, or Gadrusia. The people were an Âriânian race akin to the Arachosii, Arii, and Drangiani.

Bagisara.—"This place," says Kempthorne, "is now known by the name of Arabah or Hormarah Bay, and is deep and commodious with good anchorage, sheltered from all winds but those from the southward and eastward. The point which forms this bay is very high and precipitous, and runs out some distance into the sea . . . . . Rather a large fishing village is situated on a low sandy isthmus about one mile across, which divides the bay from another. . . . . The only articles of provision we could obtain from the inhabitants were a few fowls, some dried fish, and goats. They grow no kind of vegetable or corn, a few water-melons being the only thing these desolate regions bring forth. Sandy deserts extend into the interior as far as the eye can reach, and at the back of these rise high mountains."

The Rhapua of Ptolemy corresponds to the Bagisara or Pasira of Arrian, and evidently survives in the present name of the bay and the headland of Araba.

Kolta.—A place unknown. It was situated on the other side of the isthmus which connects Râs Araba with the mainland.

Kalybi.—A different form is Kalami or Kalamæ. Situated on the river now called Kalami, or Kumra, or Kurmut.

Karnine (other forms—Karbine, Karmina). The coast was probably called Karmin, if Karmis is represented in Kurmat. The island lying twelve miles off the mouth of the Kalami is now called Astola or Sanga-dip, which Kempthorne thus describes:—"Ashtola is a small desolate island about four or five miles in circumference, situated twelve miles from the coast

of Mekrân. Its cliffs rise rather abruptly from the sea to the height of about 300 feet, and it is inaccessible except in one place, which is a sandy beach about one mile in extent on the northern side. Great quantities of turtle frequent this island for the purpose of depositing their eggs. Nearchus anchored off it and called it Karnine. He says also that he received hospitable entertainment from its inhabitants, their presents being cattle and fish; but not a vestige of any habitation now remains. The Arabs come to this island and kill immense numbers of these turtles,—not for the purpose of food, but they traffic with the shell to China, where it is made into a kind of paste and then into combs, ornaments, &c., in imitation of tortoise-shell. The carcasses caused a stench almost unbearable. The only land animals we could see on the island were rats, and they were swarming. They feed chiefly on the dead turtle. The island was once famous as the rendezvous of the Jowassimee pirates." Vincent quotes Blair to this effect regarding the island:—"We were warned by the natives at Passara that it would be dangerous to approach the island of Asthola, as it was enchanted, and that a ship had been turned into a rock. The superstitious story did not deter us; we visited the island, found plenty of excellent turtle, and saw the rock alluded to, which at a distance had the appearance of a ship under sail. The story was probably told to prevent our disturbing the turtle. It has, however, some affinity to the tale of Nearchus's transport." As the enchanted island mentioned afterwards (chap. xxxi.), under the name of Nosala, was 100 stadia distant from the coast, it was probably the same as Karnine.

Kissa.—Another form is Kysa.

Mosarna.—The place according to Ptolemy is 900 stadia distant from the Kalami river, but according to Marcianus 1300 stadia. It must have been situated in the neighbourhood of Cape Passence. The distances here are so greatly exaggerated that the text is suspected to be corrupt or disturbed. From Mosarna to Kophas the distance is represented as 1750 stadia, and yet the distance from Cape Passence to Râs Koppa (the Kophas of the text) is barely 500 stadia.

**CHAP. XXVII. Balomon.—The name does not occur elsewhere.**

Barna.—This place is called in Ptolemy and Marcianus Badera or Bodera, and may have been situated near the cape now called Chemaul Bunder.

Dendrobosa.—In Ptolemy a place is mentioned called Derenoibila, which may be the same as this. The old name perhaps survives in the modern Daram or Duram, the name of a highland on part of the coast between Cape Passence and Guadel.

Kyiza.—According to Ptolemy and Marcianus this place lay 400 stadia to the west of the promontory of Alambator (now Râs Guadel). Some trace of the word may be recognized in Râs Ghunse, which now designates a point of land situated about those parts.

*The little town attacked by Nearchus.*—The promontory in its neighbourhood called Bagia is mentioned by Ptolemy and Marcianus, the latter of whom gives its distance from Kyiza at 250 stadia, which is but half the distance as given by Arrian. To the west of this was the river Kaudryaces or Hydriaces, the modern Baghwar Dasti or Muhani river, which falls into the Bay of Gwattar.

CHAP. XXIX. Talmena.—A name not found elsewhere. To judge by the distance assigned, it must be placed on what is now called Chaubar Bay, on the shores of which are three towns, one being called Tiz,—perhaps the modern representative of Tisa, a place in those parts mentioned by Ptolemy, and which may have been the Talmena of Arrian.

Kanasis.—The name is not found elsewhere. It must have been situated on a bay enclosed within the two headlands Râs Fuggem and Râs Godem.

Kanate probably stood on the site of the modern Kungoun, which is near Râs Kalat, and not far from the river Bunth.

Troes.—Erratum for Troi; another form is Tai.

Dagasira.—The place in Ptolemy is called Agris polis,—in Marcianus,—Agrisa. The modern name is Girishk.

10,000 *stadia.*—The length of the coast line of the Ichthyophagi is given by Strabo at 7300 stadia only. "This description of the natives, with that of their mode of living and the country they inhabit, is strictly correct even to the present day." (Kempthorne.)

**CHAP. XXX.—In illustration of the state-**

ments in the text regarding whales may be compared Strabo, XV. ii. 12, 13.

CHAP. XXXII. — Karmania extended from Cape Jask to Râs Nabend, and comprehended the districts now called Moghostân, Kirman, and Lâristan. Its metropolis, according to Ptolemy, was Karmana, now Kirman, which gives its name to the whole province. The first port in Karmania reached by the expedition was in the neighbourhood of Cape Jask, where the coast is described as being very rocky, and dangerous to mariners on account of shoals and rocks under water. Kempthorne says: "The cliffs along this part of the coast are very high, and in many places almost perpendicular. Some have a singular appearance, one near Jask being exactly of the shape of a quoin or wedge; and another is a very remarkable peak, being formed by three stones, as if placed by human hands, one on the top of the other. It is very high, and has the resemblance of a chimney."

Bados.—Erratum for Badis. It is near Jask, beyond which was the promontory now called Râj Keragi or Cape Bombarak, which marks the entrance to the Straits of Ormus.

Maketa.—Now Râs Mussendum, in Omân—about fifty miles, according to Pliny, from the opposite coast of Karmania. It figures in *Lalla Rookh* as "Selama's sainted cape."

CHAP. XXXIII. Neoptana.—This place is not mentioned elsewhere, but must have been situated somewhere in the neighbourhood of the village of Karun.

The Anamis (other forms—Ananis, Andanis, Andamis).—It is now called the Nûrab.

Harmozia (other forms—Hormazia, Armizia regio).—The name was transferred from the mainland to the island now called Ormus when the inhabitants fled thither to escape from the Moghals. It is called by Arrian Organa (chap. xxxvii.). The Arabians called it Djerun, a name which it continued to bear up to the 12th century. Pliny mentions an island called Oguris, of which perhaps Djerun is a corruption. He ascribes to it the honour of having been the birthplace of Erythres. The description, however, which he gives of it is more applicable to the island called by Arrian (chap. xxxvii.) Oärakta (now Kishm) than to Ormus. Arrian's description of Harmozia is still applicable to the region adjacent to the Mînâb. "It is termed," says Kempthorne, "the Paradise of Persia. It is certainly most beautifully fertile, and abounds in orange groves, orchards containing apples, pears, peaches, and apricots, with vineyards producing a delicious grape, from which was made at one time a wine called Amber rosolia, generally considered the white wine of Kishma; but no wine is made here now." The old name of Kishma—Oärakta—is preserved in one of its modern names, Vrokt or Brokt.

CHAP. XXXVII. *The island sacred to* Poseidon.—The island now called Angar, or Hanjam, to the south of Kishm. It is described as being nearly destitute of vegetation and uninhabited. Its hills, of volcanic origin, rise to a height of 300 feet. The other island, distant from the mainland about 300 stadia, is now called the Great Tombo, near which is a smaller island called Little Tombo. They are low, flat, and uninhabited. They are 25 miles distant from the western extremity of Kishm.

Pylora.—Now Polior.

Sisidone (other forms—Prosidodone, pro-Sidodone, pros Sidone, pros Dodone). Kempthorne thought this was the small fishing village now called Mogos, situated in a bay of the same name. The name may perhaps be preserved in the name of a village in the same neighbourhood, called Dnan Tarsia—now Râs-el-Djard—described as high and rugged, and of a reddish colour.

Kataka.—Now the island called Kaes or Kenn. Its character has altered, as it is now covered with dwarf trees, and grows wheat and tobacco. It supplies ships with refreshment, chiefly goats and sheep and a few vegetables.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—The boundary between Karmania and Persis was formed by a range of mountains opposite the island of Kataka. Ptolemy, however, makes Karmania extend much further, to the river Bagradas, now called the Naban or Nabend.

Kækander (other forms—Kekander, Kikander, Kaskandrus, Karkundrus, Karskandrus, Sasækander). This island, which is now called Inderabia or Andaravia, is about four or five miles from the mainland, having a small town on the north side, where is a safe and commodious harbour. The other island mentioned immediately after is probably that now called Busheab. It is, according to Kempthorne, a low, flat island about eleven miles

from the mainland, containing a small town principally inhabited by Arabs, who live on fish and dates. The harbour has good anchorage even for large vessels.

Apostana.—Near a place now called Schevar. It is thought that the name may be traced in Dahr Asban, an adjacent mountain ridge of which Ochus was probably the southern extremity.

*The bay with numerous villages on its shores* is that on which Naban or Nabend is now situated. It is not far from the river called by Ptolemy the Bagradas. The place abounds with palm-trees, as of old.

Gogana.—Now Konkan or Konaun. The bay lacks depth of water, still a stream falls into it—the Areon of the text. To the northwest of this place in the interior lay Pasargada, the ancient capital of Persia and the burial-place of Cyrus.

Sitakus.—The Sitiogagus of Pliny, who states that from its mouth an ascent could be made to Pasargada in seven days; but this is manifestly an error. It is now represented by a stream called Sita-Khegian.

CHAP. XXXIX. Hieratis.—The changes which have taken place along the coast have been so considerable that it is difficult to explain this part of the narrative consistently with the now existing state of things.

Mesambria.—The peninsula lies so low that at times of high tide it is all but submerged. The modern Abu-Shahr or Bushir is situated on it.

Taoke, on the river Granis.—Nearchus, it is probable, put into the mouth of the river now called the Kisht. A town exists in the neighbourhood called Gra or Gran, which may have received its name from the Granis. The royal city (or rather palace) 200 stadia distant from this river is mentioned by Strabo, XV. 3, 3, as being situate on the coast.

Rogonis.—It is written Rhogomanis by Ammianus Marcellinus, who mentions it as one of the four largest rivers in Persia, the other three being the Vatrachitis, Brisoana, and Bagrada.

Brizana.—Its position cannot be fixed with certainty.

Oroätis.—Another form is Arosis. It answers to the Zarotis of Pliny, who states that the navigation at its mouth was difficult, except to those well acquainted with it. It formed the boundary between Persis and Susiana. The form Oroätis corresponds to the Zend word *aurwat*, 'swift.' It is now called the Tab.

CHAP. XL. Uxii.—They are mentioned by the author in the *Anabasis*, bk. vii. 15, 3.

Persis *has three different climates.*—On this point compare Strabo, bk. xv. 3, 1.

*Ambassadors from the Euxine Sea.*—It has been conjectured that the text here is imperfect; Schmieder opines that the story about the ambassadors is a fiction.

CHAP. XLI. Kataderbis.—This is the bay which receives the streams of the Mensureh and Dorak; at its entrance lie two islands, Bunah and Deri, one of which is the Margastana of Arrian.

Diridotis.—This is called by other writers Teredon, and is said to have been founded by Nabuchodonosor. Mannert places it on the island now called Bubian; Colonel Chesney, however, fixes its position at Jebel Sanâm, a gigantic mound near the Pallacopas branch of the Euphrates, considerably to the north of the embouchure of the present Euphrates. Nearchus had evidently passed unawares the main stream formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris (called by some the Pasitigris), and sailed too far westward. Hence he had to retrace his course, as mentioned in the next chapter.

CHAP. XLII. Pasitigris.—The Eulæus, now called the Karûn, one arm of which united with the Tigris, while the other fell into the sea by an independent mouth. It is the Ulai of the prophet Daniel. *Pas* is said to be an old Persian word meaning small. By some writers the name Pasitigris was applied to the united stream of the Tigris and Euphrates, now called the Shat-el-Arab.

*The distance from where they entered the lake to where they entered the river was* 600 *stadia.*—A reconsideration of this passage has led me to adopt the view of those who place Aginis on the Tigris, and not on the Pasitigris. I would therefore now translate thus:—"*The ascent from the southern (end of the) lake to where the river Tigris falls into it is* 600 *stadia.*" The fleet, therefore, could not have visited Aginis. The courses of the rivers and the conformation of the country have all undergone great changes, and hence the identification of localities is a matter of dif-

ficulty and uncertainty. The distance from Aginis to Susa appears to me to be much under-estimated.

The following extract from Strabo will illustrate this part of the narrative :—

"Polycletus says that the Choaspes, and the Eulæus, and the Tigris also enter a lake, and thence discharge themselves into the sea; that on the side of the lake is a mart, as the rivers do not receive the merchandize from the sea, nor convey it down to the sea, on account of dams in the river, purposely constructed; and that the goods are transported by land, a distance of 800 stadia, to Susis: according to others, the rivers which flow through Susis discharge themselves by the intermediate canals of the Euphrates into the single stream of the Tigris, which on this account has at its mouth the name of Pasitigris. According to Nearchus, the sea-coast of Susis is swampy and terminates at the river Euphrates; at its mouth is a village which receives the merchandize from Arabia, for the coast of Arabia approaches close to the mouths of the Euphrates and the Pasitigris; the whole intermediate space is occupied by a lake which receives the Tigris. On sailing up the Pasitigris 150 stadia is a bridge of rafts leading to Susa from Persis, and is distant from Susa 60 (600?) stadia; the Pasitigris is distant from the Oroätis about 2000 stadia; the ascent through the lake to the mouth of the Tigris is 600 stadia; near the mouth stands the Susian village Aginis, distant from Susa 500 stadia; the journey by water from the mouth of the Euphrates up to Babylon, through a well-inhabited tract of country, is a distance of more than 3000 stadia."—Book xv. 3, Bohn's translation.

The Bridge.—This, according to Ritter and Rawlinson, was formed at a point near the modern village of Ahwaz. Arrowsmith places Aginis at Ahwaz.

CHAP. XLIII.—The 3rd part of the *Indica*, the purport of which is to prove that the southern parts of the world are uninhabitable, begins with this chapter.

*The troops sent by Ptolemy.*—It is not known when or wherefore Ptolemy sent troops on this expedition.

---

## MAXIMS AND SENTIMENTS FROM THE MAHÂBHÂRATA.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D., EDINBURGH.

(*Continued from p. 313.*)

40. *Beneficence a duty.* Mahâbhârata iii. 13745.

A man should do with all his might
The good his heart has once designed.
Ne'er let him wrong with wrong requite,
But be to others ever kind.

41. *The humble are wise.* v. 1010.

Those men who far 'bove others rise
In learning, wealth, or royal state,
And yet with pride are ne'er elate,
By all are justly reckoned wise.

42. *Selfishness.* v. 1011.

Who more inhuman lives than he,
Of dainty food who eats the best,
In rich attire is always drest,
And stints his helpless family?

43. *Marks of a virtuous man.* v. 1088.

No ill the thoughtful man disturbs,
His hungry appetite who curbs,
In comfort all his household keeps,
Who toils immensely, little sleeps,
Who, not content to help his friends,
When asked, his help to foes extends.

44. *Mutability of human things.* xi. 48.

In scatterings end collections all;
High towering piles at last must fall;
In parting every meeting ends;
To death all life of creatures tends.

45. *All sins known to the gods.* xii. 7058.

Poor uninstructed mortals try
Their wilful sins from view to screen;
But though by human eyes unseen,
The gods their guilty deeds descry.

46. *Evils of wealth; praise of contentment.* iii. 84.

As fire consumes the wood from which it springs,
So inborn greed to mortals ruin brings.
The rich in constant dread of rulers live,
Of water, fire, thieves, kinsmen crying "Give."

Ev'n wealth itself to some men proves a bane;
Who dotes on it, no lasting bliss can gain.
As flesh by denizens of earth, sea, air,—
Beasts, fishes, birds,—is seized as dainty fare,
So, too, the rich are preyed on everywhere.
Increasing wealth to greed and folly leads,
And meanness, pride, and fear and sorrow breeds.
In getting, keeping, losing wealth, what pain
Do men endure! They others kill for gain.
The vain desires of mortals never rest;
Contentment only makes them truly blest.
Life, beauty, youth, gold, power, we cannot keep;
The loss of those we love we soon must weep;
On such-like things, from which he soon must part,
The thoughtful man will never set his heart.
In hoarding gold no more thy days expend;
Or else endure the ills that wealth attend.
Ev'n men who wealth for pious uses win
Would better act if none they sought to gain:
'Tis wiser not with mud to soil the skin
Than first to soil, and then wash off the stain.

47. *Fools mistake evil for good.* v. 1155.

Esteeming real loss as gain,
And real gain as evil, fools,
Whom lawless passion ever rules,
For bliss mistake their greatest bane.

48. *Men risk their lives for money.* iii. 15398.

On seas, in forests wild, the bold
Will risk their precious lives for gold.

49. *Consequences of rejecting honest advice.* x. 234.

Whene'er a man wise counsel scorns
Which friends impress, but he dislikes,
And such a man misfortune strikes,
He then, too late, his folly mourns.

50. *Boldness necessary for success.* i. 5613.

No man gains good who is not bold,
And ready danger to confront:
But if he dares, and bears its brunt,
And lives, he then shall good behold.

51. *Action at the right time.* xi. 36.

While yet the hours for action last,
A man should strive his ends to gain;
That so he may not mourn in vain,
The chance away for ever past.

52. *No perfect happiness in the world.* xii. 6712.*

Some men by circumstance of birth
Are happier, others more distrest;
But any man completely blest
I nowhere yet have seen on earth.

53. *Good advice not to be wasted on fools.* v. 3290.

When good advice is not more prized than ill,
What man of sense has any words to spare
For thoughtless fools? Does any minstrel care
On deaf men's ears to waste his tuneful skill?

54. *The wise corrected by advice; the bad only checked by punishment.* v. 1252.

Their teachers' words correct the wise,
And rulers stern the bad chastise:
The Judge who dwells 'mid Hades' gloom
Awards the secret sinner's doom.

55. *Bad men pleased to hear ill, not good, of others.* v. 1382.

Of others' ill to hear makes bad men glad;
To hear of others' virtues makes them sad.

56. *The bad like, the good dislike, to censure others.* i. 3079.

In censuring others wicked men delight:
With all good men 'tis just the opposite.

57. *Censoriousness and self-deception.* viii. 2116.

All men are very quick to spy
Their neighbours' faults, but very slow
To note their own: when these they know,
With self-deluding art they eye.

58. *Men of merit only can appreciate merit.* viii. 1817.

No man can others' merits know
If he himself has none to show.

59. *A man's aims vary with his time of life.* x. 115.

In youth a man is led away
By other thoughts, ideas, aims,
Than those his middle life which sway;
In age yet other schemes he frames.

60. *Virtue lies in the thought, not in the act.* xii. 7063.

The real seat of virtue 's in the mind,
And not in outward act; so say the wise:
Let therefore every man in thought devise,
In act promote, the weal of all mankind.

* This verse in the original immediately precedes No. 21, p. 154.

61. *None can share another's virtue.* xii. 7064.

In virtue's practice men must act alone;
No friends can e'er their moral efforts share:
Wise guides may well the rule of life declare,
But not the wills of other men command.†

62. *Weak foes not to be despised.* i. 5553. (Compare i. 5627.)

Let none a feeble foe despise:
If but a little fire should seize
One out of many forest trees,
Soon low the wood in ashes lies.

## SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 177.)

### No. XIX.

The accompanying inscription is from Plate 39 of Major Dixon's Collection. The original, in the Old Canarese characters and language, is on a stone-tablet, 5′ 4″ high by 2′ 5½″ broad, at Baḷagâmve. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a *liṅga;* on its right, a seated man, bearded and turbaned, with the sun above him and a boar beyond him; and on its left, a curved sword, with the moon above it and a cow and calf beyond it. A facsimile of the photograph accompanies.*

The inscription is full of curious technical expressions, some of which I am not in a position to explain. It records grants made by certain persons and guilds of Baḷḷigrâme to Sômêśvarapaṇḍitadêva, the priest of the god Nakharêśvaradêva of Tâvaregere, in the eighteenth year of the reign of the Châlukya king Vikramâditya the Great, *i.e.* in the Śaka year 1015 (A. D. 1093-4), being the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara.*

*Transcription.*

[1] ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೇ [।] ತ್ರೈಳೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭ-
[2] ಮೂಳಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಶಂಭವೇ [॥] ಜಯತ್ಯಾವಿಷ್ಕೃತಂ ವಿಷ್ಣೋರ್ವ್ವಾರಾ-
[3] ಹಂ ಕ್ಷೋಭಿತಾರ್ಣ್ಣವಂ ದಕ್ಷಿಣೋನ್ನತದಂಷ್ಟ್ರಾಗ್ರವಿಶ್ರಾನ್ತಭುವನಂ ವಪುಃ ॥
[4] ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾಸ್ರ(ಶ್ರ)ಯ ಶ್ರೀಪ್ರಿ(ಪೃ)ಥ್ವೀವಲ್ಲಭಂ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜಂ ಪ-
[5] ರಮೇಸ್ವ(ಶ್ವ)ರ ಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಂ ಸತ್ಯಾಸ್ರ(ಶ್ರ)ಯಕುಳತಿಳಕಂ ಚಳುಕ್ಯಾಭರಣಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ರಿ(ತ್ರಿ)ಭುವನಮಲ್ಲದೇವರ
[6] ವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯಮುತ್ತರೋತ್ತರಾಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಪ್ರವರ್ದ್ಧಮಾನಮಾಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕ್ಕತಾರಂ ಬರಂ ಸಲುತ್ತಮಿರೆ [।] ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮ-
[7] ಸ್ತಭುವನವಿಖ್ಯಾತಪಂಚಸ(ಶ)ತವೀರಸಾ(ಶಾ)ಸನಲಬ್ಧಾನೇಕಗಂ(ಗು)ಣಗಣಾಲಂಕ್ರಿ(ಕೃ)ತಸತ್ಯಸೌ(ಶೌ)ಚಾಚಾರಚಾ-
ರು-
[8] ಚಾರಿತ್ರನಯವಿನಯವೀರಬಳಂಜಧರ್ಮ್ಮಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳನವಿಶುಧ್ಧ(ದ್ಧ)ಗುಡ್ಡಧ್ವಜವಿರಾಜಿತಾನೂನಖಂಡಳಿ-
[9] ಮೂಳಭದ್ರೋದ್ಭವದ್ವಾತ್ರಿಂಸ(ಶ)ವೇ(ದ್ವೇ?)ಳಾಪುವ(ರ)ಮು(ಮು)ಮಷ್ಟಾದಸ(ಶ)ಪಟ್ಟಣಮುಂ ಚಾವಡಿಷ್ಟ್ವಿಯೋಗ-
ಒ(ವ)ರಮುಂ(ಮು)ಮಱು-
[10] ವತ್ತನಾಲ್ಕುಘಟಿಕ(ಕಾ)ಸ್ಥಾನಮುಮಯ್ಯಾವೊಳೆಪುರಪರಮೇಶ್ವರರು(ರುಂ) ಶರ-
[11] ಣಾಗತವಜ್ರಪಂಜರರುಂ ಪಿರಿದಿತ್ತು ಮಱೆವರುಂ ಮಱೆಗೆ(?ಗೇ)ವರೆ ಕಾವರುಂ ಪರನಾ-
[12] ರೀಸಹೋದರರುಂ(ರು)ಮಾಶ್ರ(ಶ್ರಿ)ತಜನಕಲ್ಪವೃಕ್ಷರುಂ ನಾಮಾದಿಸಮಸ್ತಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಿಸ-
[13] ಹಿತಂ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಪಟ್ಟಣಂ ರಾಜಧಾನಿ ಬಳ್ಳಿಗ್ರಾಮೆಯ ಪಟ್ಟಣಸ್ವಾಮಿ ಹ-
[14] ನುಮಂತಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯುಂ ಬರ್ಮ್ಮ(ರ್ಮ್ಮ)ಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯುಂ ಮಿ(?ಮೇ)ಬಿಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯುಂ ಸಾವಾಶಿಬಿದ್ದಿಮಯ್ಯನುಂ
[15] [ಗೌಂ †]ಡ ಸ್ವಾಮಿಶಂಕರಯ್ಯನು(ನುಂ) ಸೇನಬೋವ ಶಂಕರಯ್ಯನು(ನುಂ) ಬಲದಂಕರಾಮಂ ಮಣಿಗಾ-
[16] ಱ ನಾಗಿಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯುಮನ್ತು ಸಮಸ್ತನಗರಮುಮ್ಮುರಿದಣ್ಡಮುಂ ಧುಂಧಾರಬಲದೇವ-
[17] [ಸೆ]ಟ್ಟಿಯುಮೆ(?ಮೇ)ಹರಿಕಾಟಯು(ಯ್ಯ)ನುಂ ಬಿಟಿಯಂಣನು(ನುಂ) ಭತ್ತಕೇರಿಯ ಕಾಳಿಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯುಂ

† The original words of these last two lines translated literally run thus: "Having got the rule only, what can an ally do?" The sense is thus not very clear.

* By mistake this plate is titled "Stone Inscription of the Kalachuri dynasty" for page 46. It is of the Western Châlukya dynasty.—ED.

† The vowel, '*au*', and the *anusvâra* are distinct; the consonant only is illegible. As '*sênabôva*' follows, the word here must be '*gaunḍa*.'

[18] ಜಗತಿ(ತೀ)ಸಮೂಹಂ ಬೆರಸಿ ನಾಲ್ವತ್ತೋರ್ವ್ವಗಳುಮಱುವತ್ತು ಕೊತ್ತಳಿಯುಂ ನಗರದ ವ-
[19] ಶವರ್ತ್ತಿಗಳುಮಿಱ್ದು || ಧರೆಗೆಸೆವ ಶಕ್ತಿಪರಿಷೆ(ಷೆ)ಗೆ ಕರಮಗ್ರಣಿಯೆನಿಪ ಪರ್ವ್ವತಾವ-
[20] ಟಿ(ಧಿ)ಯೊಳ್ಮೂವರ ಕೋಣೆಯ ಸಂತತಿಗಾಭರಣಂ ಕೇದಾರಶಕ್ತಿಮುನಿಪತಿ ನೆಗಱ್ದ ||
[21] ಆ ಮುನಿಪನಗ್ರಶಿಷ್ಯರ್ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಶ್ರೀಕಂಠಪಂಡಿತರ್ವ್ವಸುಧೆಯೊಳಂನೇಮಾ-
[22] ... ‡ ಲಾಕುಳಿಶರ್ತ್ತ್ರಮೆನೆ ಸರ್ವ್ವಜ್ಞಕಲ್ಪರೆಸೆದರಳುಂಬ || ಆ ಮುನಿಪನ ಶಿಷ್ಯರ್
[23] ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಯಮನಿಯಮಸ್ವಾಧ್ಯಾಯಪ್ರಾಣಾಯಾಮಪ್ರತ್ಯಾಹಾರಧ್ಯಾನ-
[24] ಧಾರಣಾ(ಣಾ)ಮೋ(ಮೌ)ನಾನುಷ್ಠಾನಜಪಸಮಾಧಿಶೀಳಸಂಪಂನರ್ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತತರ್ಕವ್ಯಾಕರಣಕಾ-
[25] ವ್ಯನಾಟಕಭರತಾದ್ಯ(ದ್ಯ)ನೇಕಸಾಹಿತ್ಯವಿದ್ಯಾಪ್ರವೀಣರುಮಪ್ಪ .ದಕ್ಷಿಣಾದಿಶಾಭಾ-
[26] ಗದ ತಾವರೆಗೆಱೆಯ ನಖರೇಶ್ವರದೇವರಾಚಾರ್ಯ್ಯರ್ ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರಪಣ್ಡಿತ-
[27] ದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯವಿಕ್ರಮವರ್ಷದ(ದ) ೧೬ನೆಯ ಶ್ರೀಮುಖಸಂವ-
[28] ತ್ಸರದ ಪಾ(ಫಾ)ಲ್ಗುಣದಮ(ಮಾ)ವಾಸ್ಯೆ ಆದಿವಾರ ಸೂರ್ಯ್ಯಗ್ರಹಣದಂದು ದೇವರಂ-
[29] ಗಭೋಗಕ್ಕಂ ಖಂಡಸ್ಫುಟಿತಕ್ಕಮಲ್ಲಿಯ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ತ್ಥಿತಪೋಧನರಾಹಾರದಾನ-
[30] ಕ್ಕಮೆನ್ದು ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಉತ್ತಮದ ಬಳಕ್ಕೆ ತಿಱುವಂಗ-
[31] ಡಿ ೧ ಮತ್ತಮಂಗಡಿಗಳೊಳ್ಪಣ ೧ ತಂಬುಲಿಗರೊಳ್ಪಣ ೧ ತೆಲ್ಲಿಗರೊಳ್ಪಣ ೧
[32] ಜಗತಿಯ ಬೋವುಗಳೊಳ್ಪಣ ೧ ಅವರೊಕ್ಕಲೊದ್ವೀ(ಳ್ವೀ)ಸ ೧೦ ಅಱುವತ್ತು ಕೊತ್ತ-
[33] ಳಿಯೊಳ್ವೀಸ ೧೦ ನಗರದ ವಶವರ್ತ್ತಿಗಳಪ್ಪ ಬಿ(?ಬೀ)ನುಂಗನೊದ್ವೀ(ಳ್ವೀ)ಸವಂ ೧೦ ಮಾನ್ಯ-
[34] ಸಾಮ್ಯದೊಳ್ಪಣ ೧ ಮುಮ್ಮುರಿಥ(ಧ)ಣ್ಡದ ಪಸುಂಬೆಯೊಳ್ಪ[ಣ §] ೧ [||] ಮೆ(ಮೇ)ಹಾರಿಗಳ್ಕುಬ್ಯಮಾಗಿ-
[35] ಯಪ್ಪುತ್ತೊಕ್ಕಲುಮಿಱ್ದು ದೇವರ ನಂದಾದಿವಿಗೆಗಂ ಮಠದ ಸೊಡರಿಂಗಂ ಗಾಣಂಗಳೊಳೆಣ್ಣೆ
[36] ಸೊಂಟಿಗೆ ೧ [||] ಇನಿ(ನ್ನಿ)ನಿತುಮನಶೇಷನಗರಂ ನೆರೆದಿದ್ದು ಕೊಟ್ಟರ್ || ಈ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಕ್ಕೆ ಚಾವು(?ಮುಂ)ಡ-
[37] ಬೋವಲನ ಕುಳ ಸಹಾಯ || ಇವನೀಯನ್ನದೊಳಿಯ್ದು ರಕ್ಷಿಸಿದವಂಗಿಷ್ಟಾರ್ತ್ಥಸಂಸಿದ್ಧಿ ಸಂಭ-
[38] ವಿಕುಂ ಪೂರ್ಣ್ಣಾಳಿದಂಗೆ ಗಂಗೆ ಗಯೆ ಕೇದಾರಂ ಕುರುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವೆಂಬಿವಹೊ-
[39] ಳ್ಪೇಸದೆ ಪೇರ್ವ್ವರಂ ಕವಿಲೆಯ(ಯಂ) ಸ್ತ್ರೀಬಾಳರಂ ಲಿಂಗಿಯೆ(ಯ)ಪ್ಪ[ವ ¶]ರಂ ಕೊನ್ದವಂ ಸ್ವಗೋತ್ರಸ-
[40] ಹಿತಂ ಬೀಳ್ಗುಂ ಮಹಾಘೋರದೊಳ್ || ನಕ * ||

*Translation.*

Reverence to Śambhu†, who is made beautiful by a *chauri* which is the moon that rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! Victorious is the body, which was that of a Boar, that was manifested of Vishṇu‡, which agitated the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right tusk!

Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalladêva§,—the asylum of the universe; the favourite of the world; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the most venerable; the glory of the family of Satyâśraya; the ornament of the Chaḷukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

Hail! The entire guild of the *Nagaramummuri*||,—which was possessed of all the glory of the names commencing with "That which . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .¶ and has for its pure origin the perfect (lineage

‡ The consonant is illegible; the vowel is doubtful,—'*â*' '*ô*', or '*au*.'

§ This letter,—'*ṇa*',—is omitted altogether in the original.

¶ This letter, —'*va*',—is omitted altogether in the original.

* The meaning of these two letters is not apparent.

† Śiva, who carries a digit of the moon on his tiara.

‡ When, in one of his incarnations, he assumed this form, and, plunging into the ocean, raised on the tip of his right-hand tusk, and thus rescued, the earth, which had been carried away by the demon Hiraṇyâksha.

§ Vikramâditya the Great; Śaka 998 to 1049,—Sir W. Elliot.

|| In other inscriptions the expression is '*samastana-kharaṁmummuridaṇḍaṅgaḷ*', which, being in the plural, seems to mean 'the entire guilds ('*taṇḍa*') called the *Nakara-taṇḍa* and the *Mummuri-taṇḍa*' (see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. X. No. xxix. p. 283, note 40). But here the expression is in the singular, and denotes, apparently, only one guild, called *Nagaramummuri-taṇḍa*. The present is the only instance in which I have found the first component of the name spelt '*nagara*'; elsewhere it is always '*nakhara*.' I cannot explain to what guild or guilds reference is made.

¶ '*Dvâtriṁśadvêḷâmaramuṁ*',—meaning unknown. The same expression occurs in line 5 of an Old Canarese inscription of the Śilâhâra family on a stone-tablet let into the wall of the north gateway of the fort at Miraj, in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country.

of) Khaṇḍaḷi*, which is adorned with the pure banner (bearing the device) of a hill (acquired) by preserving the Vîrabaḷañja† laws, which embrace truth and pure conduct and brilliant achievements and morality and modesty, and are adorned with innumerable good qualities acquired by five hundred strict edicts celebrated throughout the whole world; that which has eighteen cities‡; that which has the boon of the sixty-four *yôgas*§; that which is the locality of the sixty-four *ghaṭikâs* ||; the supreme lords of the city of Ayyâvoḷe¶; those who are a very cage of thunderbolts to (protect) those who take refuge with them; those who bestow largely and afford a shelter; those who give shelter**, and protect; those who behave like brothers to the wives of other men, those who are like the tree of paradise to (grant all the desires of) people who apply to them"; and which consisted of Hanumantaseṭṭi, the *Paṭṭaṇasvâmi*†† of the prosperous great city, the capital, Baḷḷigrâme, and Barmiseṭṭi, and Mĕbiseṭṭi, and Sauvârebiddimayya, and Svâmiśaṁkarayya, the *Gaunḍa*‡‡, and Śaṁkarayya, the *Sênabôva*§§, and the jeweller Nâgiseṭṭi, who was like Râma in the fierce contest,—(this guild), together with Dhundhârabaladôvaseṭṭi, and Ĕharikâṭayya, and Biṭiyaṇṇa, and Kâḷiseṭṭi of Bhattakôri, forming themselves into an assembly of the whole world||||, and the four palanquin-bearers¶¶, and the sixty *Koṭṭaḷis** and the *Vaśavartis*† of the city, being (present);—

Glorious was Kêdâraśakti, who was the chief of saints, the ornament of the offspring of . . . . . . . ‡, within the limits of the mountains, which was resplendent on the earth, and who was esteemed decidedly the foremost at the inquiry into the *Śaktis*.§ How much more glorious on the earth was Śrîkaṇṭhapaṇḍita, the chief disciple of that saint, a very thunderbolt to . . . . . . . .||, the performer of the rites that confer omniscience (?)! The disciple of that saint was,—Hail!,—Sômêśvarapaṇḍitadêva, the priest of the god Nakharêśvaradêva of Tâvaregere of the south, who was endowed with the characteristics of (the performance of) the greater and minor religious observances, private study, holding the breath, withdrawal of the senses from external objects, meditation, immovable abstraction of the mind, the observance of silence, the muttering of prayers, and profound contemplation, and who was well versed in the demonstration of arguments and logic and grammar and poetry and the drama and the science of the many writings on rhetoric of Bharata and others; to whom,—

Hail! On the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on Sunday, the day of the new-moon of (the month) Phâlguṇa of the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara* which was the 18th of the years of the glorious Châlukya Vikrama, after his feet had been laved, there was given with libations of water, for the *aṅgabhôga* of the god, and for the purpose of (repairing) any thing that might have become broken or torn, and to provide food for the students and ascetics of that place, one sacred shop¶ . . . . . . . . .**

* In lines 4-5 of the Miraj inscription, the reading is '*vâsudêva[kha]ṇḍaḷimûlabhadravaṁśodbhavaruṁ*.'

† '*Baḷañja*' is another form of '*baṇañju*' or '*baṇañja*', the modern '*baṇañjiga*', '*baṇajiga*', or '*baṇijiga*', which must be the original of, or a corruption of, the Sanskṛit '*bâṇija, bâṇijika*', *merchant, trader*. '*Baṇajiga*' is a division of the Lingâyats; and '*Vîrabaṇajiga*', or in Old Canarese '*Vîravaṇiya*', means *a strict Baṇajiga*.

‡ '*Ashṭâdaśapaṭṭaṇamuṁ*';—*i.e.*, probably, 'that which has its head-quarters in eighteen cities.' The expression occurs again in line 5 of the Miraj inscription.

§ The meaning of this is not apparent.

|| The meaning of this is not apparent; '*ghaṭikâ*' is a period of time = 24 minutes. The expression occurs again in lines 5-6 of the Miraj inscription.

¶ Probably the modern Aihoḷe. Occurs again in lines 9-10 of the Miraj inscription.

** '*Maṟeyĕvare*';—the last part of the word is probably connected with '*geyyu, gêyu*', *make, do*.

†† Apparently analogous to '*Paṭṭanaseṭṭi*', the title given to *the chief merchant of a city*.

‡‡ '*Gaunḍa*', from the Sanskṛit '*grâmâḍhya*', *a village head-man*,—the Marâṭhi 'Pâṭîl.'

§§ '*Sênabôva*', or in modern Canarese '*Sênabhôga, Syânabhôga*', *the village accountant*,—the Marâṭhi 'Kulkarṇî.'

|||| '*Jagatisaṁdhaṁ berasi*',—the meaning implied is not apparent.

¶¶ '*Vôva*' in the text is by euphony for '*bôvu*', which we have again in line 32, and which seems to be the same as '*bhôyi, bôyi*', *fisherman, palanquin-bearer*.

* '*Koṭṭaḷi*',—meaning not apparent. I have met with the word in the same way in other inscriptions.

† The technical meaning to be given here to '*Vaśavarti*,' which means ordinarily *subordinate to control, in subjection*, is not apparent.

‡ '*Mûvara koṇeya*',—meaning not apparent. '*Mûvara*' means *of three persons*, and '*kôṇeya*' is the genitive singular of '*kône*', *private room, corner*, or, perhaps, for '*kôṇi*', from '*kshôṇi*', *the earth*.

§ '*Śakti*', the *energy* or *active power* of a deity, personified and worshipped as his wife.

|| See note ‡ to line 22 of the text.

¶ '*Tiṟuvangaḍi*';—the first part of the word seems to be from '*tira, tiri, tiru*', *sacred, belonging to a religious use*.

** '*Uttamada baḷakke*',—meaning not apparent. '*Baḷa*' is an old form of the Canarese '*baṇa*', *a faction, a branch of a family of hereditary officials*, and, in inscriptions, the *portion of the hereditary service lands allotted to such a branch or to any member of it*; but this meaning does not seem to suit the context here.

and one *paṇa** on (all) the shops, and one *paṇa* on the sellers of betel-leaves and areca-nuts, and one *paṇa* on the dealers in oil, and one *paṇa* on the palanquin-bearers of the world†, and ten *vîsas*‡ on their tenants, and ten *vîsas* on the sixty *Koṭṭaḷis*, and ten *vîsas* on the *Bĭnuṅgu*§ who were the *Vaśavartis* of the city, and one *paṇa* on all the rent-free lands, and one *paṇa* on the shop of the guild of the *Mummuri*. And fifty cultivators, headed by the *Mĕhâris*||, gave one ladleful of oil on the oil-mills, for the perpetual lamp of the god and the lamp of the *Maṭha*. This much did the whole city, assembling together, bestow. The family of Châvuṇḍa-chôvala shall assist¶ this act of religion. To him who excellently preserves it in the same manner in which it has been given there shall befal the attainment of his desires; but (as) to him who destroys it, he shall sink into the hell called Mahâghôra, with all his lineage, being (as guilty as) one who negligently slays Brâhmaṇs, or tawny-coloured cows, or women, or children, or those who wear the *liṅga*, at Gaṅge or Gaye or Kêdâra or Kurukshêtra.

* '*Paṇa*',—a particular coin, measure, or weight.

† '*Jagatiya bôvugaḷo*?'—the technical meaning is not apparent.

‡ '*Vîsa*',—explained to me as = '*duddu*', *the fourth part of an anna.* In Sanderson's Dictionary we have '*vîsa*', *a share, portion, one-sixteenth,* and '*vîse*', *five seers.*

§ '*Bĭnuṅgu*',—meaning not known.

|| '*Mĕhâri*',—meaning not known; but possibly it is connected with '*mêyu*', *to graze*, '*mêvu, mêhu*', *pasturage*.

¶ *i.e.*, 'shall ensure the preservation of.'

## ÂCHÂRYA, THE FRIEND OF THE STUDENT, AND THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE THREE ÂCHÂRYAS.

BY PROF. R. G. BHÂNḌÂRKAR, ELPHINSTONE COLLEGE.

When I closed my controversy with Prof. Weber on some points connected with the *Mahâbhâshya*, I said I reserved one question for discussion on a future occasion, and stated my belief that the *Vâkyapadîya* and the *Râjataranginî* did not afford evidence of the *Mahâbhâshya* having been tampered with by Chandrâchârya and others.* I am very glad to see that Prof. Kielhorn has taken up this question, and discussed it in a very able and thorough manner, in the last number of this journal. I agree with all that he has said, though I should translate the passage in the *Vâkyapadîya* somewhat differently, but as the differences are unimportant, and have no bearing on the main point, it is not necessary to state them.

There are, however, some points alluded to by Prof. Kielhorn on which I have been thinking for some time. He has shown that the word *âchârya* occurring in the first 240 pages of the Banâras edition of the *Mahâbhâshya*, when it is used to denote a specific individual, refers to Pâṇini or Kâtyâyana, but never to Patanjali, except in one instance pointed out by Nâgojibhaṭṭa. Prof. Kielhorn expresses his doubts as regards the correctness of Nâgoji's remark, and I also think Nâgojibhaṭṭa is wrong. In a case of this kind, the great grammarian, who flourished only about a hundred and fifty years ago, can be no great authority if we can adduce cogent reasons for differing from him. And I believe there are such reasons in the present case. The passage in which the word occurs is this :—

1. Chap. I. p. 10*a*, Banâras lith. ed. :—तेभ्य एवं विप्रतिपन्नबुद्धिभ्योऽध्येतृभ्यः सुहृद्भूत्वाचार्य इदं शास्त्रमन्वाचष्टे । इमानि प्रयोजनान्यध्येयं व्याकरणमिति । The expression आचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे occurs in several places in the *Mahâbhâshya*, in all of which we have to understand Kâtyâyana by the term आचार्य. For instance :—

2. I. 4, p. 271, Banâras lith. ed. :—तद्वेष्यं विजानीयात्सर्वमेतद्विकल्पत इति । तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे न्हस्वौ चेयुव्स्थानौ च प्रवृत्तौ च प्राक्चप्रवृत्तेः स्त्रीवचनाविवेति ।

3. II. 1, p. 316*a* :—तद्वेष्यं &c, as above तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे चादिभियोगे यथान्यासमेव भवतीति ।

4. II. 4. p. 401 :—तद्वेष्यं विजानीयादिदमा कथितमिदमैवानुकथ्यते इति । तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टेन्वादेशश्च कथितानुकथितमात्रमिति ।

5. III. 3, p. 93 :—तद्वेष्यं विजानीयादभिधेययोरिति । तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे कर्तृकर्मग्रहणं चोपपदसंज्ञार्थमिति ।

6. III. 3, p. 97*a* :—वोताप्योरितिह्युच्यमाने संदेहः स्यात्प्राग्वोतापिभ्यां सहवेति । तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे विभाषा गर्हाप्रभृतौ प्रगुतापिभ्यामिति ।

7. IV. 3, p. 76 :—तद्वेष्यं (as in 2 and 3) तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे दिक्पूर्वपदादर्धाद्यथान्यासमेव भवतीति ।

8. IV. 3, p. 86 :—तद्वेष्यं विजानीयाद्योगयोर्वा प्रत्ययर्वेति । तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्ट एतयोरित्यर्थनिर्देश इति ।

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 240.

9. V.1, p.12:—तद्व्द्यं विजानीयादविशेषेणेत उत्तरं द्वित्रिभ्योमिति तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे द्वित्रिभ्यां द्वैयोग्यमिति।

10. V.1, p.19:—द्व्यं विजानीयाद्वयमप्यनुवर्तत इति तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे वयसि ठंश्चेत्यनन्तरस्यानुकर्ष इति।

11. V.3, p.55a:—द्व्यं विजानीयात्तयोर्योगयोर्वा प्रत्ययोर्वेति। तदाचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे तयोरिति प्रातिपदिकनिर्देश इति।

Now we see that in all these instances the sentence indicated by इति, which stands in the place of an object to the verb अन्वाचष्टे, is a *vârtika*, for it is explained just before by Patanjali, as all *vârtikas* are.† Hence the expression आचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वान्वाचष्टे refers unquestionably to Kâtyâyana. Are we then to understand that in the first only out of these eleven passages it refers to Patanjali? Surely the evidence afforded by the other ten, occurring as they do in different parts of the *Mahâbhâshya*, is sufficient to warrant us in declaring that in No. 1 also the expression refers to Kâtyâyana. The reason why Nâgojibhaṭṭa understands Patanjali by the term *âchârya* here is this:—The author of the *Mahâbhâshya* tells us in his comments on the *vârtika* '*siddhe śabdârtha*' &c. that the word *siddha* has been used at the beginning for the sake of *mangala*, *i.e.* because it is an auspicious term, and such a term used at the beginning of a *śâstra* conduces to the success of that *śâstra*. The beginning, then, of the *śâstra* composed by Kâtyâyana, *i.e.* the first of his *vârtikas*, is *siddhe śabdârtha* &c. If so, all that precedes this *vârtika*, including the aphorisms in which the uses of grammar are given, is not the work of Kâtyâyana. These aphorisms, therefore, are to be ascribed to Patanjali himself, and hence the Âchârya who sets forth the uses of grammar is the author of the *Mahâbhâshya*. To this it may be replied that these aphorisms are simply introductory, while the regular *śâstra* begins with *siddhe śabdârtha* &c. The provision for *mangala* is therefore made in this, and not in the preceding ones, just as Pâṇini secures *mangala* in the first of his regular *sûtras*, viz. *vriddhirâdaich*, and not in the *pratyâhâra sûtras*. There is, therefore, no impropriety in ascribing these introductory aphorisms to Kâtyâyana. And the whole manner in which they are stated and explained by Patanjali, and the evidence of the ten passages containing the expression आचार्यः सुहृद्भूत्वा &c., require that we should so ascribe them to him.

If, then, Kâtyâyana is the Âchârya alluded to in passage No. 1, this passage and the few lines that precede it enable us to determine the character, nature, and object of Kâtyâyana's work. Patanjali tells us that in the times preceding his own, after a Brâhman boy's *upanayana* ceremony was performed, grammar was the first thing taught to him, and the study of the Veda followed. In his (or rather Kâtyâyana's) time, however, Veda was first taught, and after that was gone over, they said "the Vedic words we have learnt from the Vedas, and the words current in popular usage we know from that usage. Grammar, therefore, is useless." "For these students," we are told, "whose feeling is thus opposed, the Âchârya (Kâtyâyana) *expounds* the *śâstra*,‡ (saying) 'These are the uses, grammar should be studied.'" In the comment on *siddhe śabdârtha*, &c. we are also told, as remarked above, that Kâtyâyana uses the word *siddha* at the beginning, that it may augur well for the "great stream of the *śâstra*." We thus see that what Kâtyâyana proposes to himself is the composition or edition of a *śâstra*, and to attract students to it he explains its uses. And it appears to me that the opening words of the *Mahâbhâshya* अथ शब्दानुशासनम् are Kâtyâyana's words, and form a *vârtika*, notwithstanding what Kaiyaṭa says about them. For they are explained by Patanjali, just as all *vârtikas* are; and to suppose that

† There is a mistake in the Banâras ed. in the last passage. The *vârtika* is not given separately from the *bhâshya* on it. It is, however, so given in an old MS. in my possession. In passage No. 3, Pat. gives the substance of the *vârtika* and does not quote it. It is not necessary to discuss at length the question how a *vârtika* is to be distinguished. It is sufficient to state that one unfailing criterion is its being paraphrased or explained by Patanjali. Because, (1) the very fact that it is so paraphrased shows that it must be the work of another person than the one who paraphrases it; (2) Patanjali himself incidentally mentions Kâtyâyana as the author of some of these aphorisms, and calls him the *Vârtikakâra* (see I. 101*a*, III. 64*a*, III. 76*a*, &c.), while he speaks of the author generally as Âchârya, in connection with a great many others, without naming him; (3) Pâṇini's *sûtras* are never so paraphrased, though they may form the subject of a long discussion; and (4) most of the aphorisms so paraphrased by Patanjali are expressly called *vârtikas* by Kaiyaṭa and other grammarians. Very rarely the dicta of other Âchâryas are also paraphrased, but they are introduced by such an expression as अपर आह indicative of the authorship; while no such expression is used in introducing a *vârtika*. Prof. Goldstücker does not seem to have called this criterion in question.

‡ Nâgojibhaṭṭa understands by the term *śâstra* here "the explanation of the uses of grammar." But there is no reason to restrict the term thus. Besides, "the explanation of the uses of grammar" can with no propriety be called a *śâstra*. Before and after, Patanjali uses the term in the sense of the whole science of grammar. *Śâstra* also properly signifies "a rule." It is, however, immaterial to the argument in the text in what sense we take it.

this alone of similar aphorisms was composed by him, and commented on with all the formality of a scholiast, is, I think, unreasonable. There appears no reason why in this particular case Patanjali should have resorted to this plan. If he wanted to say that he now began the *Śabdânuśâsanaśâstra*, he might have done so more directly than by composing an aphorism and commenting on it.§

From the passages quoted above, it seems that the verb *anvâchashte* is used by Patanjali as characteristic of the work of Kâtyâyana, as describing specifically what he did. His own work Patanjali calls *vyâkhyâna*, and frequently uses the verb *vyâkhyâsyâmah.*|| There is another word that is used in controversial writing, and occurs in the *Mahâbhâshya* also, which is derived from the same root, viz. *pratyâkhyâna*. The difference in the senses of these words must be due to the prepositions or *upasargas* that are used in each case. *Pratyâkhyâna* is speaking *against* or refuting a thing; *vyâkhyâna* is speaking *about* a thing, or *away*, *in varied ways*, *in detail*, of a thing, *i.e.* writing a commentary on it, and *anvâkhyâna* must mean speaking in *accordance with*, *agreeably to*, or *to the same purpose as* a thing. The word is used with reference to Kâtyâyana in other forms in two other places, where it is contrasted with teaching something new.¶ If, then, it properly denotes what Kâtyâyana did mostly, if not altogether, with reference to Pâṇini's *sûtras*, his work must be *in accordance*, *in keeping*, *in harmony with* Pâṇini's, *i.e.* explain, develop, or support the latter. That the word *anvâkhyâna* is peculiarly applicable to Kâtyâyana's work is also confirmed by the fact that this is called *anutantra* in the *Vâkyapadîya*.* For these reasons it is clear that Kâtyâyana's object in composing his work was to *teach* grammar, first, by developing and explaining Pâṇini, and then supplementing him, and not "to find fault with him," as the late Prof. Goldstücker thought. The *vyâkhyâna* of the work of this author directly, and that of Pâṇini indirectly, was what Patanjali proposed to himself. He himself explains what the duties of one who undertakes this task are. "Not only," says he, "does the division of a *sûtra* into the individual words which compose it constitute *vyâkhyâna*, but example, counter-example, and the words to be understood or supplied, all these taken together make up *vyâkhyâna*."† To explain the *vârtikas* thus in detail, to discuss the *sûtras*, and occasionally to give supplementary rules (*ishṭis*) where necessary, was Patanjali's main object, and not to refute Kâtyâyana.

Now, if we look into the *Mahâbhâshya*, we shall find this view of the relations of the three *Munis* amply confirmed. In fact, the instances in which there is no refutation of one by another, but simply an explanation of the words, or the bearing of the words, of the earlier sage by the later one, are so many that it is difficult to see how any other view can be maintained. Not to go very far for the present, none of the eleven passages quoted above contains or is followed by a refutation, while they all give some explanation. No. 1 explains why Kâtyâyana gives the uses of grammar; in No. 2 Kâtyâyana is spoken of as making a rule calculated to restrict the operation of another laid down by himself. In the *vârtika* in No. 3, Kâtyâyana tells us that another *vârtika* of his, which is likely to supersede Pâṇ. VIII. 1. 24, ought not to do so; in the one in No. 4 he explains the word *anvâdeśa* used in Pâṇ. II. 4. 32; in that in No. 5 he tells us in what relation the words *kartṛi* and *karman* occurring in Pâṇ. III. 3. 127 are to be taken; in the one in No. 6 he explains Pâṇ. III. 3. 141, and clears a doubt that naturally arises; in that in No. 7 he says that a *vârtika* of his should not supersede Pâṇ. IV. 3. 6; in the one in No. 8 he explains the word *etayoh* occurring in Pâṇ. IV. 3. 143; in that in No. 9 he tells us that the words *dvi* and *tri* occurring in Pâṇ. V. 1. 30 are to be taken on to the next *sûtra* only, *i.e.* they apply to

§ It is only modern authors that say that the *vârtikas* begin with *siddhe śabdârtha*, &c.

|| *Mahâbhâshya*, I. p. 13*a*, I. p. 42, I. p. 49, III. 67*a*, and many other places.

¶ I. p. 22*a* & *b*.,—प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायते। आहोस्वित्संज्ञोपदेशः क्रियते। III. p. 58*a*, एवं तर्ह्यन्वाचष्टेनुपसर्ग इत्येवं वर्तत इति। नैतदन्वाख्येयमधिकारा अनुवर्तन्त इति। एष एव न्यायो यदुताधिकारा अनुवर्तेरन्निति।

* Prof. Kielhorn's article, *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 247, notes.

† न केवलानि चर्चापदानि व्याख्यानं वृद्धिः आत् ऐजिति। किं तर्हि। उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याध्याहार इत्येतत्समुदितं व्याख्यानं भवति। I. p. 18*a*. By the way, this passage justifies those who ascribe the examples contained in the *Mahâbhâshya* to Patanjali, and draw historical inferences from them with regard to his age and other matters. For we are here told that it is the business of the author of *vyâkhyâna* to give examples. There is little reason, then, to suppose that the examples were handed down from the time of Pâṇini or Kâtyâyana.

these two *sûtras* alone; in that in No. 10, that the termination given in the last *sûtra* is to be brought on to this, and not the one in the previous *sûtra;* and in No. 11 the *vârtika* explains to what the pronoun *etayoḥ* occurring in V. 3. 20 refers.

But let us examine the *Bhâshya* more closely. In the *vârtikas* on I. 2. 1 Kâtyâyana explains that what Pâṇini means by saying that certain terminations are ङित् and कित् is, that before those terminations, those rules are to be applied to the preceding roots that are laid down with reference to such terminations as have actually got an indicatory ङ् or क् in them,—*i.e.* Pâṇini attributes the properties ङित्त्व or कित्त्व to those terminations, though they have not got ङ् or क् in them. Before coming to this conclusion, however, the author of the *vârtikas* refutes three other ways of taking this and the following *sûtras* that may be suggested. Kâtyâyana then gives reasons why कित्त्व is attributed to some terminations, and ङित्त्व to others, and why one same property कित्त्व or ङित्त्व is not mentioned with regard to all. In all this Patanjali confines himself to a detailed explanation of the *vârtikas*, and there is no refutation of any one of them.

On I. 4. 14 there is only one *vârtika* in which Kâtyâyana explains why the word *anta* is used in the *sûtra*, and infers that in other *sûtras* in which technical terms are defined, those terms signify only the terminations that may have been mentioned, and not the words ending with those terminations,—*i.e.* for instance, *gha* signifies only the terminations *tara* and *tama*, and not *gaurîtara* or *gaurîtama*. Patanjali does not make any adverse remark, but explains the *vârtika*. On III. 1. 134, Kâtyâyana remarks that the last termination *ach* must be stated generally as applicable to all roots, because there are such forms as *bhava* and *sava*. Why, then, does Pâṇini lay down the *gaṇa Pach and others*, and teach the addition of the termination to those roots? Kâtyâyana himself tells us, it is because in this way he may be able to add some indicatory letter or *anubandhas* to some of the roots, and to prevent the application of special rules to others. On the next *sûtra* the author of the *vârtikas* remarks that the termination *ka* should be taught as applicable to the roots indicated in the *sûtra*, only when they have a preposition prefixed; for when without a preposition, the roots have forms made up by the addition of another, which necessitates the change of the vowel to its *guṇa*. Then he himself answers this by saying, "No, it should not be so taught, because we have such forms as *budha* and others," *i.e.* forms made up by the addition of *ka*. On III. 2, 123, the first two *vârtikas* require that the use of the present tense (*bhavanti*) should be taught in cases which the *sûtra* is supposed not to include; in the last three, we are told that the *sûtra* does extend to these cases also, and reasons are given to show how it does. Patanjali has no adverse remark.

In all these instances, Kâtyâyana simply gives an *anvâkhyâna* or explanation of the *sûtras*, and Patanjali agrees with him; and such instances may be multiplied to any extent. Of course, it is not to be denied that often there are adverse criticisms on Pâṇini, and that Patanjali defends him and refutes Kâtyâyana, *i.e.* makes *pratyâkhyâna* as well as *vyâkhyâna* of the *vârtikas*. But Patanjali not seldom refutes Pâṇini also, *i.e.* makes *pratyâkhyâna* of the *sûtras*, the expression अयं योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम् occurring pretty often. On the other hand, he often says with regard to the *vârtikas*, तस्मान्नार्थ उच्यते, &c. To show the nature of the *Great Commentary* generally as regards this subject, I will here give a short analysis of a portion of the *Bhâshya* on the *angâdhikâra* in the order in which the *sûtras* occur there, not here selecting my instances.

1. अङ्गस्य VI. 4. 1. K. settles the meaning of the gen. अङ्गस्य; Pat. does not refute. K. gives the objects of the *angâdhikâra*, and says that they may be attained otherwise than by having such an *adhikâra*. Pat. agrees, while Kaiyaṭa re-establishes that *adhikâra*.

2. In हल. VI. 4. 2, K. raises an objection and answers it. Pat. accepts this explanation, but proposes also another.

3. In नामि VI. 4. 3, K. justifies the use of नामि for आमि; Pat. does not refute.

4. इन्हन्पूषा &c. VI. 4. 12. K. in the *vârtikas* explains this *sûtra* in a manner to avoid the lengthening of the penultimate vowel of वृत्रहन् necessitated by the *sûtra* अनुनासिक &c. VI. 4. 15.

5. अत्वसन्त &c. VI. 4. 14. K. finds fault; Pat. agrees.

6. अज्झन &c. VI. 4. 16. K. finds fault, not explicitly but tacitly. Pat. avoids the objection

by re-arranging the *sûtra*. A *vârtika* on another point is refuted by Pat.

7. च्छ्वोः शूड् &c. VI. 4. 19. K. shows that if क्विति comes down to this *sûtra*, ऊठ् must be inserted in the *sûtra* व्रश्चभ्रस्ज &c. VIII. 2. 36, and it must have तुक्, *i.e.* च्, prefixed to it. This is done in that *sûtra*. The *vârtikas* therefore explain that क्विति does come down. Pat. does not refute.

8. असिद्धवद् &c. VI. 4. 22. K. refers to his explanation of the objects of considering a grammatical operation to be असिद्ध given under VI. 1. 86, explains the sense of अत्र, and gives the objects of the आभादधिकार. These last, Pat. shows, may be attained in other ways, and thus makes प्रत्याख्यान of them. Then objections to this *adhikâra* are raised by K., and answered by Pat. explaining अत्र as equivalent to समानाश्रयत्व. Then follows a *vârtika* stating cases in which, when we take this *adhikâra* to extend to the beginning of *bhâdhikâra*, we arrive at incorrect forms; and another giving other cases when the same result ensues, if we take it to extend to the end of that *adhikâra*. Pat. refutes these *vârtikas* by showing that the correct forms are arrived at, whether we take the one or the other as the limit of the *adhikâra*.

9. श्नान्न &c. VI. 4. 23. No *vârtikas*.

10. अनिदितां &c. VI. 4. 24. There are five supplementary or corrective *vârtikas*, two of which are refuted by Pat.

11. शास इद् &c. VI. 4. 34. The *vârtika* is refuted by re-casting the *sûtra*.

12. अनुदात्तो &c. VI. 4. 37. VI.-4-38, as it is, would lead to wrong forms. K. therefore proposes to re-cast these two; Pat. does not object.

13. गमः क्वौ, VI. 4. 40. Two supplementary *vârtikas*; neither refuted by Pat.

14. जनसन &c. VI. 4. 42. Pat. discusses the connection of झल्, and in the end divides the *sûtra* into two, so as to render the use of झल् unnecessary. Then follows an explanatory *vârtika*, which is discussed and defended by Pat. at great length.

15. सनः क्तिचि, &c. VI. 4. 45. Pat. says the word अन्यतरस्यां might well have been omitted in this *sûtra*, as unnecessary. "Another" says that even the word लोप् might be omitted. There is no *vârtika*.

16. आर्धधातुके VI. 4. 46. A *kârikâ*, very likely by Pat. himself, gives the purposes of this *adhikâra;* and they are discussed in detail afterwards. No *vârtikas*.

17. भ्रस्जोरोप VI. 4. 47. Some explanation by Pat. Then follow three *vârtikas* on a certain point, which are refuted by Pat.

18. अतो लोपः VI. 4. 48. *Vârtika* refuted by taking पर as equivalent to इष्ट.

19. यस्य हल: VI. 4. 49. K. gives the undesirable effects of taking य as two letters *y* and *a*, and of taking it as *y* only. Pat. says one may take it either way; and the faults pointed out by K. are explained away.

20. णेरनिटि VI. 4. 51. Pat. decides that the word अनिटि in this *sûtra* is unnecessary, and explains the next *sûtra* in a manner to avoid the objections that may arise. He also recasts VI. 4. 55. There is no *vârtika*.

21. निष्ठायां सेटि VI. 4. 52. K. discusses, and explains the reason of using the word सेटि here. Pat. says this word, and even the whole *sûtra*, might be omitted, and recasts VII. 2. 26 in a manner to include the sense of this. A *vârtika* follows, which is refuted.

22. अयामन्ता &c. VI. 4. 55. There are three *vârtikas* showing what rules should be laid down if we should have इक्नु as an *uṇâdi* termination, and what if इत्नु. These last are actually laid down by Pâṇini, says Pat.

23. ल्यपि लघु &c. VI. 4. 56. K. brings objections to the reading लघुपूर्वस्य, and settles that it should be लघुपूर्वात्; Pat. does not object.

24. विभाषापः VI. 4. 57. आप् should have its indicatory sign ऌ here, observes K., to prevent the application of this rule to अध्यापि. Pat. applies the *paribhâshâ* लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्त &c. and refutes the *vârtika*.

25. स्यसिच् &c. VI. 4. 62. Pat. discusses at great length the relations of the words भावकर्मणोः, इट्, and चिण्वत्. Then, in a *kârikâ* which must be attributed to him, are set forth the purposes of attributing चिण्वद्भाव to these terminations after these roots. This is followed by *vârtikâs*, in the first of which the reason for the use of the word उपदेश is given, and in the second we are told that चिण्वद्भाव prevails over the *sûtra* which lays down वध् as a substitute for हन्, in the precative. The next two provide that the substitutes for हन्, इ *to go*, and इ *to study*, which are used before चिण् in the aorist, should not be used here. This, we are told, follows from the context of this *sûtra*. No adverse remarks from Pat.

We thus see (1) that Kâtyâyana explains and supports the *sûtras*, sometimes by raising questions about them and answering them, sometimes without resorting to this procedure; (2) that he amends them, and thus must be understood to criticize them, or find fault with them; and (3) that he supplements them. Patanjali (1) comments on the *vârtikas* in accordance with his own definition of *vyâkhyâna;* (2) agrees with Kâtyâyana; (3) refutes him; (4) recasts Pâṇini's *sûtras;* (5) affirms that they, or a word or words in them, are not wanted, even in cases when Kâtyâyana justifies them or defends Pâṇini; (6) discusses and explains *sûtras* or words in them, notwithstanding that there is no *vârtika*; and (7) gives supplementary rules called *ishṭis*, which, however, occur very rarely, very little being left for him to do in this respect, by his predecessors. It will thus appear that in writing the *vârtikas*, Kâtyâyana *did* "mean to justify and to defend the rules of Pâṇini" also, and that a *vârtika is* often "a commentary which explains;" and that the *Mahâbhâshya* contains such varied matter, arguments of such length, so consistent, so well connected, and so subtle, that it by no means deserves the title of "a skilful compilation of the views of Pâṇini's critics and of their refutation by Patanjali," or of a "mere refutation of Kâtyâyana," or of "a synopsis of arguments for and against the details of Pâṇini's system, or a controversial manual." The only tenable theory is that Kâtyâyana's work is an edition of Pâṇini with notes, explanatory, critical, and supplementary; and that Patanjali's is a commentary on this edition, explaining in detail the notes of Kâtyâyana, but discussing *at length* all points connected with the system of Pâṇini and with grammar generally, whether Kâtyâyana notices them or not, in a manner favourable or otherwise to his author. The object of both was the same, viz. to teach grammar by following and explaining the system of Pâṇini, endeavouring to perfect it, even though this sometimes required a remodelling of his *sûtras* or their entire refutation, and to complete it by supplying the omissions and bringing up the knowledge of Sanskrit grammar conveyed therein to their own times.

---

## HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PRINCIPAL CHÂVAḌÂ SETTLEMENTS IN GUJARÂT.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON.

After the accession of Mulrâj Solaṅki to the throne of Pâṭan, and the subsequent expulsion of the Châvaḍâs, in about A.D. 942, one of the queens of Sâmantsingh Châvaḍâ, by tribe a Bhâtiâni, fled to her father's house at Jesalmer with her infant son, then a child of a year old. This boy was named Ahipat, and when he grew to man's estate he became a formidable outlaw, and used to ravage the Pâṭan dominions. He conquered nine hundred villages in Kachh, and built Morgaḍh, which he made the seat of his government, and here, consolidating his rule, he reigned for many years. He was succeeded by his son Vikramsî, whose son was named Vibhurâja. Vibhurâja was succeeded by his son Tâkulji, whose son and successor was Śeshkaranji. Śeshkaranji was succeeded by his son Wâghji, who was succeeded by his son Akherâja, and Akherâja by his son Tejsi, Tejsi by Karamsingh, Karamsingh by Tâkhansingh, Tâkhansingh by Âskaranji, Askaranji by Mokamsingh, and Mokamsingh by Punjâji. Punjâji lived in the reign of Sultân 'Alâu'd-dîn Khilji (1295-1315), whose viceroy ruled at Pâṭan.

The Kolîs of the Visalnagar districts were at this time very troublesome to the Muhammadan viceroy, and were continually plundering the Pâṭan district. When the Jhâḍejâs extended their sway in Kachh they drove out Punjâji Châvaḍâ, who went to the village of Dhârpura, near Baroda, and there acquired a *chorâsi* or holding of eighty-four villages. But in Alagh Khân's conquest of Gujarât, in about A.D. 1306, Dhârpura was conquered and made part of the crown dominions; and Punjâji now attached himself to the viceroy at Pâṭan, and served him faithfully in the hope of obtaining a grant of land. The viceroy, a foreigner, was only too glad to avail himself of Punjâji's services and local knowledge, which were invaluable to him, and sent him against the Visalnagar Kolîs at the head of 16,000 men. Punjâji marched with this force to Âbâsan, where he consulted the local astrologers (*joshîs*) and other Brâhmaṇs as to the success of his enterprise. They advised him

unanimously to attack the Kolîs next day, and prophesied that he would infallibly be victorious, and deputed one of their number to accompany him. Punjâji promised to accept the Brâhmaṇ as his spiritual adviser and family priest (*gor*), and next morning, starting at daybreak, marched suddenly on Dâbrâ, where he surprised and slew the Kolî chief Visaldeva; from Dâbrâ he marched to Gojpâriu and there slew Gopâl: from thence he advanced to Lodrâ, where he killed Lâl; and from Lodrâ to Warsoḍâ, where he killed Wachrâj. By these successive defeats he entirely subdued the Kolîs, and reduced the district between Visalnagar and Kaḍi (then called Visalvâḍâ) to order.

On his return to Pâṭan the viceroy bestowed on him 248 villages under Visalnagar, and 52 other villages, in all 300 villages. Punjâji now established his *gâdi* at Âbâsan (or Âmbâsan)* and resided there. He granted the villages of Devrâsan and Subhâsan† to Chârans, and gave twelve villages to his half-brother Viramdeva. He gave also twelve villages to one of his followers called Râṇâ Bhim. These were situated in the Meu (?) district. On another follower, called Vijal Dâbhi, he bestowed fourteen villages, while to Jetsi Parmâr he gave the village of Gakhu-Delwâr. He gave also the village of Hilwu to his Solaṅki followers, and bestowed many fields on other men of less repute.

Râjâ Punjâji reigned for forty-six years at Âmbâsan; he had two sons, Mesâji and Vanvirji. Mesâji built the town of Mesânâ, and his mother Padmâvati constructed the large tank called the Padamsâgar at that place. Mesâji had no male issue, and was succeeded by his brother Vanvirji, who also had no son until he consulted a Brâhmaṇ whose surname was Râval. The Brâhmaṇ told him he was sonless through Mahâdeva's anger, whom he had offended, but that he would intercede for him on condition that if he obtained a son through his intercession he should call him Râval. Vanvirji agreed to this, and about a year afterwards a son was born to him, whom he named Narbadsingh Râval, and from that day the Châvaḍâ Râvals have continued the title.

Narbadsingh granted to Bhâts the two villages of Beru and Derru. He was succeeded by his son Jayasingh Râval, who had three sons,—Isardâs, Surajmalji, and Sâmantsingh,—who divided the paternal estate, and set up their *gâdis* at Ambod, Warsoḍâ, and Mânsâ respectively, and for a few years the two elder sons made Jotâ nâ and Lech their chief seats. Lech is a village of the Kaḍi parganâ, but the *gâdi* was soon moved to Warsoḍâ. The Châvaḍâ chiefs of Mânsâ and Warsoḍâ, however, to this day hold *wânṭâs* in Lech and Âmbâsan.

In the Âmbod house, Isardâs was succeeded by his son Varansi, who was succeeded by his son Singhoji. Singhoji had seven sons, who divided his *chorâsi* among them, each taking twelve villages. Thus Jayamalji, Kanji, and Adâji took Âmbod and thirty-six villages among them; Jesâji received twelve villages and took up his residence at Vasâji; Sujoji received twelve villages and resided at Bhotânâ; Hânsji received twelve villages and resided at Karâ; and Sângoji received twelve villages and resided at Kamânâ. The above are the principal divisions of the Châvaḍâs of Âmbod.

Surajmalji, of the Warsoḍâ branch, had a son named Punjâji, who dug the Râwaliu Talâo at Mesâṇâ. Punjâji had two sons, Sâvdâsji and Sisâji, of whom the latter succeeded him. Sisâji was succeeded by his son Sâdul Râval, whose son was Gangâji. Gangâji was a devotee of the goddess Umâ, who told him to ask for a boon, on which he asked for a son. The goddess replied that he would obtain a son if he moved his seat from Mesânâ to Warsoḍâ, and bathed daily in the Sâbarmati river for one month. Gangâji accordingly left Mesânâ and established his seat at Warsoḍâ, and there in Saṁvat 1565 (A. D. 1509) two sons were born to him, whom he named Askaranji and Jagtoji, of whom Askaranji succeeded him. Jagtoji's descendants are now in the village of Pothâ. Askaranji had four sons, viz. Râmdâs, Kaloji, Ratansingh, and Wachrâj. In Kaloji's branch one Khumânsingh, who settled at Mâṇikpur, was a famous man in his time. The descendants of Ratansingh are to be found at Wadu, and those of Wachrâj at Ahâjol. Râmdâs had three sons, viz. Mânsinghji, Purammath, and Keshavji. Two of these had no issue, and the estate fell to Keshavji, who adopted

* Âmbâsan is a village of Kaḍi under H. H. the Gâikwâḍ.

† Dewrâsan and Subhâsan are villages of the Kaḍi parganâ, and are still held by Chârans.

Bâlmukund Puri as his religious preceptor, and granted him the village of G u n m â, which his successors on the *gâdi* still hold.

Keshavji was succeeded by his son Dayâldâsji, who had eight sons, viz. Girdhardâsji, Haribhramji, and Ajabsingh by one mother, and Rupsingh, Nârandâs, Gumânsingh, Prathirâj, and Hamirji by another. The descendants of Haribhramji settled in R a n g p u r. Two of them, Hariji and Jagoji, were famous men in their time. Ajabsingh's descendants settled in G a l t h a l i. The descendants of Rupsingh are still in W a r s o ḍ â, though not on the *gâdi*, which fell to Girdhardâsji, the eldest son. The descendants of Nârandâs and Gumânsingh are to be found at L â k h â g a ḍ h. Prathirâj and Hamirji left no issue. Girdhardâsji had four sons, viz. Apâji, Jasoji, Kirtâji, and Amarsingh; of whom Apâji and Jasoji had no male issue, and Amarsingh succeeded his father. Amarsingh was succeeded by Bhimsingh, usually called Badsingh, and on his death, in Saṁvat 1836 (A.D. 1780) his wife Mâlpuri became a *satî*. He was succeeded by his son Ratansingh, and he by his son Motisingh, whose two sons, Kisor Singh and Lâlsingh, are the present chiefs of W a r s o ḍ â.

Of the M â ṇ s â branch the most celebrated chieftains were Indarsingh and Nârsinghji; the former was a contemporary of Dâmâji Gâikwâḍ, who on one occasion unsuccessfully besieged Mâṇsâ. The following couplet records Indarsingh's triumph:—

दांमा दांमण छोड, इंद्रसींह मारसे:
मांणसानो ख्याल मेल, केडेरा बालसे.

" Dâmâ, raise the siege, or Indarsingh will kill you;
Let Mâṇsâ alone, or he will burn your tents."

The following poetry commemorates the taking of L a b â d by Nârsinghji of Mâṇsâ:—

लेता पादसाहो तणा माल,
लाख लाखो तणालो छे;
अंकस न मांनता सुबावाला,
अंक रावणे छेडीयो.
राम लंकरो गमायो राज,
(एम) सींह बंको जगावीयो राजा नरसींह—
हेदळां पेदळां मेले दमंगळो,
हळो हळा चढयो एम वांकडो ऊनड;
अडावींर माणसीयो,
सत्रु यांकेसटे आयो.
लीधो तडीभडीं घडी एकमां लवाड,
धबावे गोळीयां नाळां तोपोरा अरब्ब;
धंडे झुपडे झुपडे दीधी,
अगनेरी झाळ;
तपधारी तेज थारे,
अभनवा परबतेस;
वगरे जगरे पडी,
भाग्या कोटवाल.
प्रजाळीयां खटे वास परासोत बांधपरां;
मेवासीयां तणां मांन मोडीयां मसुंद;
धोकेडा चहु चके सुणी वांद वळ्यो घेर,
जेम करे चोरासीको वींद॥

"He deprived millions of kings of their property, and did not obey the written orders passed by the Subâhs.
Râvaṇa lost the kingdom of Laṅkâ in consequence of his having incensed Râmâ.
In like manner the great lion Râja Nârsingh was roused;
He, the mountain lord, put himself at the head of an army of both cavalry and infantry.
Having come in front of his enemies' line he fought a battle, and in a moment took possession of Lavâḍ;
By firing muskets and guns he set fire to house after house.
O performer of austerities, and the descendant of Parbateśa!
It was by thy prowess that the Kotwâls fled away to jungles and mountains,
And that six villages, with their suburbs, were set on fire, and the pride of the Mehwâsîs was greatly humbled.
On hearing of this all were terrified, while he returned to his house like the king of the Chorâsi."

These petty chieftains of Mâṇsâ and Warsoḍâ are thus lineally descended from V a n r â j C h â v a ḍ â, who is said to have founded Pâṭan in A.D. 746, and their alliance is eagerly sought even at the present day; and these petty holdings represent almost the only trace of the royal line of the Châvaḍâs, once so famous. Yet their successors, the Châlukyas, though they held the throne for nearly four centuries, have left but few of their descendants in the province over which they once ruled. Indeed the chieftainships of L u n â v â ḍ â, S â n a n d, B h â d a r w â, and T h a r â d are the only ones of any note in Gujarât at the present day which boast the Solaṅki blood.

# CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

## THE RIGHT-HAND AND THE LEFT-HAND CASTES.

*To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.*

I venture to place at your disposal such information as I have been able to obtain respecting right-hand and left-hand castes.

In a village named Sathur Periil, in the zillâ of Chittûr (Madras Presidency) there reside a large number of the Panchâlar, or five classes of mechanics, styling themselves Viśva Brâhmaṇs, having the title 'Âchârya' affixed to their names, and they wear the thread. They not only set up these claims for themselves, but they assert them to be the natural rights of the five classes of mechanics throughout the south. Those commonly called Brâhmaṇs they regard as impure, and they style them foreigners. They further assert that originally there were *five* Vedas, but that Veda-Vyâsan and other Ṛishis made of them but *four*, and in a similar manner they corrupted, interpolated, or abridged other sacred writings.

It would appear that the community of Panchâlar at Sathur-Periil were in the habit of performing their own sacred rites, marriages, &c. &c., by one of their number who acted as *gurû*. The *purohita* Brâhmaṇ of the place, however, determined to put an end to this, and accordingly, when a marriage was about to take place, with a strong party, he pulled down the marriage *panḍâl* and entailed much loss upon the family of the Panchâlar, who insisted on his right as a Viśva Brâhmaṇ to solemnize the marriage. It was subsequently arranged to inquire into the respective rights of the contending parties before a panchâyat, which was accordingly done, and the panchâyat decided in favour of the Panchâlar. The Brâhmaṇs would not submit to this decision, whereon the other side appealed to the magistrate, who directed them to seek redress in the civil court at Chittûr, which they accordingly did, and a day was fixed for hearing the case. Both parties were required to deposit such documents as they intended to cite in support of their claim. The Panchâlar deposited some, but the Brâhmaṇs none. The court decided in favour of the Panchâlar, and granted them damages.

The Panchâlar at Madras decided on publishing the case from beginning to end, for the information of their people throughout the country. The book has gone through a second edition (in Tamiḻ), and from it I have extracted the foregoing. The book is in the shape of a dialogue between a champion of the Panchâlar and a champion of the Brâhmaṇs, and the discussion is carried on with the bitterest acrimony. Many subjects are discussed, and some with considerable ability. At length the Brâhmaṇ puts the following question:—"O Panchâlar (he mentions the name), how comes it that you range yourself on the side of the left-hand caste?" (I abridge the reply.) "In the time of the Soren Râja Parimalan, Veda-Vyâsan endeavoured to induce the king to allow his family to perform the sacred offices for the royal family; but the Râja declined, saying, 'The Panchâlar (Viśva Brâhmaṇs) perform them very well,' and he desired Vyâsan to take his leave.

"The Râja died shortly afterwards, and his brother succeeded him, whereupon Vyâsan made another attempt to have his family appointed, but the new king repelled him rudely. Vyâsan then went to the illegitimate son of the late Râja, and by false stories stirred him up against the Râja and the Panchâlar, and obtained from him a promise that he should be made priest of the royal family on condition of his deposing the Râja, and raising him to the throne. Accordingly the king was murdered while out hunting, and the illegitimate son was raised to the throne. Once established on the throne, he endeavoured to fulfil his promise to Veda-Vyâsan without offending the Panchâlar: so he tried a compromise by dividing the sacred offices between them,—an arrangement that the Panchâlar refused to submit to; whereon they were dismissed, and Veda-Vyâsan and his friends were duly installed in office. This led to unpleasant consequences, as the people refused to cultivate because the religious ceremonies were no longer performed by the Panchâlar. Vyâsan, therefore, to secure success to his plans, got the king to declare that all people who supported him should be designated *the right-hand caste*, and that those who sided with the Panchâlar should be called *the left-hand caste*.

"A neighbouring Râja, hearing of this, assembled his forces and marched against Kalingam Râja and captured him. The conqueror is described as executing the Râja, for dismissing the Panchâlar and appointing Vyâsan and his friends to perform sacred offices, and for dividing the people into right and left hand castes.

"Vyâsan and his party fled to Kâśî and consulted the Brâhmaṇ Ṛishis, who are represented as upbraiding him for his misconduct toward the Panchâlar, for his literary forgeries, and for his opposition to Vishṇu. Vyâsan denied this latter, apparently from fear, but on being pressed with the charge, he raised his right hand toward heaven and swore that Vishṇu was the only true god. The Ṛishi, disgusted with his duplicity, drew his scimetar and cut off the extended right

hand of Vyâsan, and from that day a right hand is the crest on the Rishis' banner." Such is the story of the origin of right and left hand castes as given in this book.

There is a book* in German, not so well known as it deserves to be, from which I translate a passage *àpropos* to this subject, viz.:—"The castes of the right and of the left hand in Śrîringapatam deserve notice. The left hand consists of the following nine castes: (1) The Panchâlar, which includes the five classes of mechanics or artificers; (2) the Chețțis or merchants, who say they belong to the Vaiśya caste: (3) Weavers; (4) Oil-millers who drive their mills with two bullocks; (5) the Gollûr caste,—people who are employed to carry money; (6) the Paliwanlu caste, (7) the Palavantu caste, both cultivators but not belonging to the Karnâțaka; (8) Hunters; (9) Tanners and Shoemakers. The Panchâlar command the entire body, but the Tanners are their warmest supporters in all difficulties, because in matters of dispute they are very adroit. The right-hand division consists of eighteen castes, viz:—(1) The Bamgaru caste. This embraces many occupations and many Hindu sects. They are mostly traders or shopkeepers. (2) The Wodigaru caste, Śudra cultivators; (3) Oil-millers who drive their mill with but one ox; (4) the Tailors; (5) the Sandara caste: these are Muhammadan artizans; (6) the Gujarâti caste, —merchants from that district; (7) the Kamâțigâru caste = people of the Vaiśya caste; (8) the joiner or Jaina; (9) Shepherds and Weavers, especially weavers of woollen blankets; (10) Potters; (11) Washermen; (12) Palankeen-bearers; (13) the Padma = Shalayavâḍû caste, a class of weavers; (14) the Barber caste; (15) the Tank-diggers; (16) Painters; (17) the Gullâru caste.—people who herd cows and buffaloes; (18) the Whalliâru caste,—these are the warriors of this division; they commonly speak of themselves (in the Tamil country) as Vallangais, but are the well-known Pariahs.

"The origin of the division of the Hindus into right and left hand is overlaid with fable. The oldest Hindu account attributes it to the goddess Kâlî at the founding of Kancheveram; and it is said that the pagoda there contains a copper plate having upon it an inscription that accounts for this division of castes. Both sides refer to this plate, but neither side has ever produced it, and therefore its existence may be doubted.

"The castes of which both sides are composed are in no way bound by any mutual obligation of religion or of relationship. The great idea that keeps them together appears to be to attain more dignity. The right-hand claim exclusive right to have a *panḍdl*, under which to perform their marriage ceremonies; and they maintain that the left-hand have no right, in their marriage processions, to ride a horse, or to carry a flag upon which there is an image of Hanuman. The left-hand assert a right to all these, and appeal to the copper plate already mentioned, and they further assert that to them belongs the higher rank, because the goddess placed them on her left side, which in India is the place of honour." Thus far I quote from our German author.

It is difficult to say what the origin of the division was, but it does appear to have been caused by some person or persons who were strangers to Southern India: and from the fact that Muhammadan artizans form a portion of the right-hand division, we may conclude that it cannot boast of very great antiquity. These Muhammadans were a necessity to the right-hand, because in time of fighting no Panchâlar would work for them.

JAMES F. KEARNS,
Missionary, S. P. G.

---

THE PHRASE 'PANCHA-MAHÂŚABDA.'
(See *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 251.)

It may be of some interest to Sir Walter Elliot to know that although *samadhigata-pancha-mahâśabda* is obsolete as a royal title, the term *pancha-śabda* is still in use, and is of frequent occurrence in the modern literature of Braj. Thus in the *Râmâyana* of Tulsi Dâs, Book I., immediately after the 324th *dohâ*, in the passage describing the festivities connected with Râma's wedding, occurs the line

*Panch-sabd-dhuni mangal gânâ,*

which is literally 'the noise of the five kinds of music and auspicious songs.' A very useful commentary on the poem, published under the auspices of the Mahârâja of Banâras, gives the following explanatory couplet:—

Tantri, tâl, sujhânjh, puni jâno nagâra châr;
Pancham phûnke so baje panch-sabd prakâr,

in which the five kinds of music are specified as the *tantri*, or *sitâra*, the *tâl*, the *jhânjh*, the *nakâra*, and fifthly the trumpet, fife, or other wind instrument. This enumeration, or one differing from it in no essential respect, is popularly known; and I do not think that any paṇdit in this part of India would hesitate about the meaning of the title *samadhigata-pancha-mahâśabda*, but would at once explain it as denoting that the king had a brilliant and auspicious court, in which all kinds of music were constantly being played. It may also be as well to observe that the Hindi text of Chand is by no means so explicit as to the custom of having a royal band play five times a day as would appear

* *Ostindien seine Geschichte, Cultur, und seine Bewohner*, von Philipp van Mokern.

from the English translation quoted by Sir Walter Elliot. That stands thus:—

"With many standards very splendid,
Song and music playing five times a day;
Mounting ten thousand horses
With golden hoofs and jewelled trappings."

But the text, as given by the translator himself, is as follows:—

Ghân nisân bahu sadd,
Nâd sur panch bajat din.
Das hazâr hay charhat
Hem nag jaṭit sâj tin.*

of which a literal rendering would be—

"Many instruments of various note,
A noise of the five kinds of music playing every day.
Mounting ten thousand horses,
Their trappings broidered with gold and jewels,"

which, it will be seen, is something very different.

Further I would observe that *naubat*, corresponding precisely to the Hindi *pahra*, certainly means originally 'a turn,' *i.e.* the time for changing guard, when the drums were beat; and it is only secondarily that it comes to mean the drum itself. As its primary signification has thus no connection with music of any kind, it is highly improbable that its final syllable should be the same with the *but* in *sackbut* and *barbut*. The latter is probably the Greek βάρβιτον; though Râjâ Śivâ Prasâd tells me that the frame of the instrument is shaped like a goose (*vaṭa*), and that this is the origin of the name.

F. S. Growse.

## THE BENDUR CEREMONIES IN SÂNGLI.

In a former Part of this journal (vol. II. p. 335) I made a note of a custom prevailing in the Dhârwâḍ districts, the most prominent features of which were certain observances connected with cattle on a particular date, and an attempt to divine the prospects of the coming crops by means of the animals. I have remarked a similar practice here (Sângli), but there are points of difference which seem sufficiently interesting to make the *Bendur* custom, as it is called in these parts, worthy of being noted.

The first point of difference is in the time. The *Kari* takes place on Jeshṭ Purnima, while the *Bendur* is celebrated on Ashâḍ Purnima,† just a month later. The practice here is as follows:— On the previous evening the legs of the cattle are washed with water, and they are given for the nonce the names of certain propitious stars, such as Pusha, Ashlesha, and so on. Their necks are then rubbed with oil, or butter, and turmeric, which operation is more important than would appear at first sight, as while it is going on the important question of the prospects of the crops is solved in the following way:—If the bullock, while its neck is being rubbed, passes dung, the crops are sure to be good; if it passes urine, they will be moderate; and if it does neither, only the most scanty crops can be expected.

On the morning of *purnima* the cattle are washed, their horns and often their bodies are coloured with *kâo* (a kind of red earth), and they are decked with bells, silver and brass chains, and garlands of flowers. They are then worshipped and fed with cakes, and '*ambil*,'—a kind of gruel mixed with turmeric, oil, and salt. The implements of husbandry are also besmeared with oil and *kâo*, and worshipped. It should also be noted that the cattle are taken in procession to the river and bathed.

In the evening two bullocks belonging to the chief *pâṭîl* are decked out in all sorts of ornaments, and taken round the old town to the spot near the temple of Mâruti, where a gate formerly stood. Over the road at this place a *toran* is erected made of plantain stems and mango and *pîpal* leaves. As the bullocks approach it they are urged on to full speed, and their driver as he passes under the *toran* breaks it with his whip or a rope, after which the bullocks are taken home.

The final ceremony resembles the "French and English" game of one's childhood. The *pâṭîl* procures from a Mhâng a leather rope some thirty or forty feet long, the ends of which are laid hold of by the assembled crowd, who divide themselves into two parties, and tug against one another till the rope breaks. It is then divided into numerous pieces, which are eagerly sought after: for happy is the man who is able to throw one of these pieces into his granary, as his store is sure not to fail.

E. W. West.

## A SORCERER'S PUNISHMENT.

Sir,—I send a note of a curious case which occurred lately in this (Kṛishṇâ) district.

A Mâla (or Paridh) weaver called Chinnadâsari settled in the village of Petlûrpâlem about a year ago. Soon after his arrival he began to be suspected of practising sorcery; and it was rumoured that he had the power of destroying men by causing devils to enter into them, and of bringing cholera and other diseases upon them. At length a woman died after a prolonged and painful delivery, and Chinnadâsari was believed to have been the cause of

* *Nisân* is from the root *svan*, 'to sound,' and is not the Persian *nishân*, 'a banner.' *Sadd* is for *śabda*, and not for *śuddha*, bright; *sur* is for *svara; din* for *din prati*, 'day by day' or 'every day;' and *nag* is not for *nakh* (which, by the way, means not 'a hoof,' but 'a nail' or 'claw'), but is a name for 'a precious stone.'

† I find Benduri Purnima often used as a synonym for Ashâḍ Purnima.

her death. Thereupon the villagers resolved to deprive him of his power of pronouncing incantations; and with that end in view he was taken one day to another village by one of the accused. On their way home they were met by five others, of whom one proposed to Chinnadâsari to go a-hunting, and another asked him for a bit of tobacco. While he stopped to get the tobacco out, he was suddenly seized by both arms and thrown on the ground. His hands were tied behind his back, and his legs bound fast with his waistcloth. One of the accused sat on his legs, another on his waist, while a third held his head down by the top-knot. His mouth was forced open with a large pincers, and a piece of stick was thrust between the teeth to prevent the mouth closing. One of the assailants got a stone as big as a man's fist, and with it struck Chinnadâsari's upper and lower teeth several times, till they were loosened, thereby causing acute suffering. Then nine teeth—four incisors and one canine from the lower jaw, and four incisors from the upper—were pulled out one by one with the pincers. A quantity of milk-hedge (*Euphorbia*) juice was poured on the bleeding gums, and the unfortunate man was left lying on his back, to free himself from his bonds as well as he could.

The prisoners bore no individual personal grudge to the complainant, and, I do not doubt, thought that they were acting from laudable motives of public spirit when they thus undertook to free their village from a scourge. The theory on which they acted was that after all his front teeth had been extracted it would be impossible for the sorcerer to pronounce his spells in an effectual way, and so his power for mischief would be gone. That such is the result of this treatment is currently believed in this part of the country; and it would be interesting to know if the same belief in the necessity of distinct articulation to make charms efficacious is found to prevail in other parts of India.

H. J. STOKES.

*Krishnâ District, 18th November* 1876.

## WAK-WAK.

In the story of Hasan of El-Basrah, given by Mr. Lane in his translation of the *Arabian Nights*, chap. xxv. (vol. iii. pp. 384-518), frequent mention is made of the islands of W a k or W a k-W a k, represented as lying in the remotest eastern regions. In his carefully digested note (No. 32, page 523), Mr. Lane gives it as his own opinion that the Arab geographers applied the name to all the islands with which they were acquainted on the east and south-east of Borneo; and this conclusion is more probable than that which supposes them to be either Japan or the Sunda Islands. In an extract from the works of Ibn El-Wardi, an explanation of the origin of the name W a k-W a k is given as follows:—"Here, too, is a tree that bears fruits like women, with bodies, eyes, limbs, &c., like those of women; they have beautiful faces, and are suspended by their hair. They come forth from integuments like large leathern bags, and when they feel the air and the sun they cry out *Wak! Wak!* until their hair is cut; and when it is cut they die. The people of these islands understand this cry, and augur ill from it." This account sufficiently shows the ignorance of this writer of the regions he was describing, and their products; but it indicates, at least, that the name *Wak-Wak* comes from trees. I think that it is an imitation of the abrupt caw of the common Bird of Paradise (*Paradisea apoda*), which is one of the productions of those remote islands. This sound is uttered in a short, snappish manner, very loud and distinct, as I have heard hundreds of times. The bird is found in the Aru Islands, Wigion, and other islands near New Guinea, where it is most common; and when dried their bodies now form a common article of trade throughout the Archipelago, as they have done for a long time. It is not improbable, moreover, that the live bird was often sold, and its peculiar note has given this name found in the Arab writers of a thousand years ago.—S. W. WILLIAMS, in *Trübner's Lit. Record.*

## EPIGRAM ON AN ATHEIST.

*By Behâ ed-dîn Zoheir.*

A foolish atheist, whom I lately found,
  Alleged Philosophy in his defence;
Says he, "The arguments I use are sound."
  "Just so," said I, "*all sound* and *little sense!*
"You talk of matters far beyond your reach,
  "You're knocking at a closed-up door," said I:
Said he, "You cannot understand my speech."
  "I'm not King Solomon*!" was my reply.

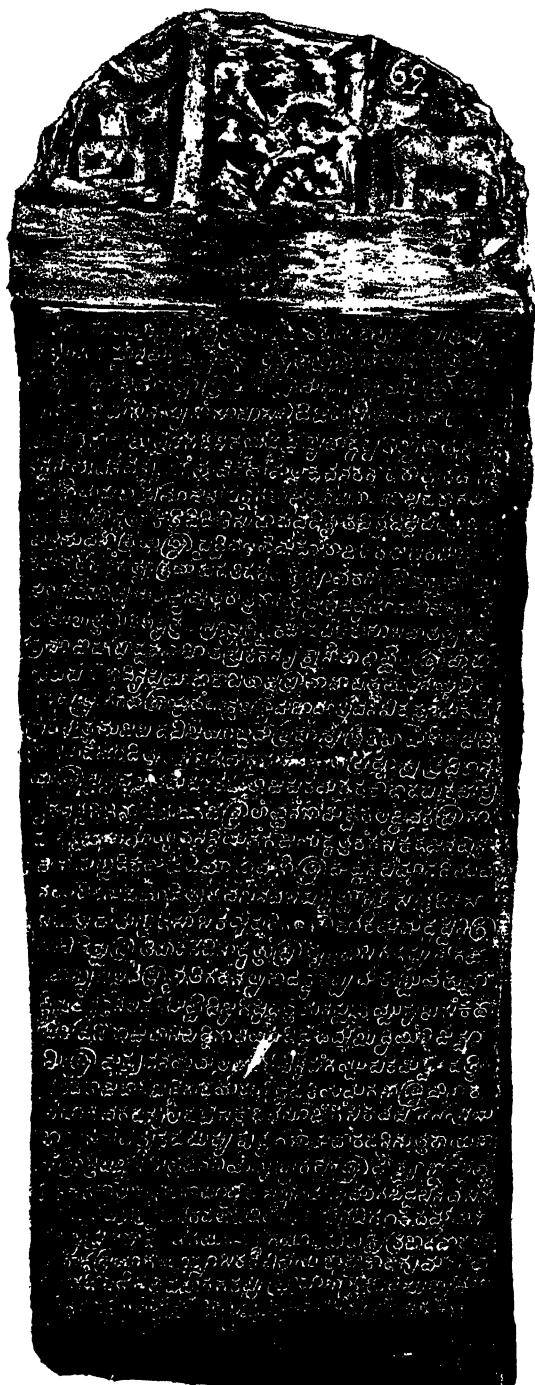
*Prof. E. H. Palmer's Transl.*

## INSCRIPTION OF THE KADAMBA FAMILY OF BALAGÂMVE.

The accompanying plate gives a facsimile, from Major Dixon's photograph, of No. II. of Mr. Fleet's series of Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions. A Canarese transcription of it, with translation and remarks, is given at vol. IV. p. 208. The characters and language are Old Canarese.

* Solomon is fabled to have understood the language of birds and *beasts*.

# STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KADAMBA FAMILY AT BALAGAMVE



W. Griggs photo-lith — *Major Dixon's Plate No. 69.*

# THE BHADRÂCHALLAM TÂLUKÂ, GODÁVARÎ DISTRICT, S. INDIA.

BY THE REV. JOHN CAIN, DUMMAGUDEM.

(*Continued from p. 303.*)

IN describing the people and castes of this tâlukâ, I propose to notice first the Kois, a tribe already partially described in Captain Glasford's *Reports*, and Colonel Haig's *Report* of his visit to Jagdalpur, and also in the *Census Report* for 1871 of the Madras Presidency. These people are to be found in the country extending from the banks of the Indrâvati, Bastar, down to the neighbourhood of Kammâmmet, in the Nizâm's country. All those in the plains have a tradition that about two hundred years ago they were driven down from the plateau in the Bastar country by famine and disputes, and this relationship is also acknowledged by the Gutta Kois, *i.e.* the hill Kois, who live in the highlands of Bastar. Up to the present time I have had but little intercourse with the Gutta Kois, and the manners and customs described in this paper will be those of the Kois dwelling in the Bhadrâchallam tâlukâ.

The Kois generally marry when of fair age, but infant marriages are not unknown. If the would-be bridegroom is comparatively wealthy, he can easily secure a bride by a peaceable arrangement with her parents; but if too poor to do this, he consults with his parents and friends, and, having fixed upon a suitable young girl, he sends his father and friends to take counsel with the head-man of the village where his future partner resides. A judicious and liberal bestowal of a few rupees and *arak* obtain the consent of the guardian of the village to the proposed marriage. This done, the party watch for a favourable opportunity to carry off the bride, which is sure to occur when she comes outside her village to fetch water or wood, or it may be when her parents and friends are away and she is left alone in her house. (The head-man is generally consulted, but not always, as only a few weeks ago a wealthy widow was forcibly carried off from the house of the chief Koi of a village near Dummagudem, and when the master of the house opposed the proceedings he was knocked down by the invading party.) The bridegroom generally anxiously awaits the return home of his friends with their captive, and the ceremony is proceeded with that evening, due notice having been sent to the bereaved parents. Some of the Kois are polygamists, and it not unfrequently happens that a widow is chosen and carried off, it may be, a day or two after the death of her husband, whilst she is still grieving on account of her loss. The bride and bridegroom are not always married in the same way. The more simple ceremony is that of causing the woman to bend her head down, and then having made the man lean over her, the friends pour water on his head, and when the water has run off his head to that of the woman they are regarded as man and wife. The water is generally poured out of a bottle-gourd.* But generally on this all-important occasion the two are brought together, and, having promised to be faithful to each other, drink some milk. Some rice is then placed before them, and, having again renewed their promises, they eat the rice. They then go outside the house, and march round a low heap of earth which has been thrown up under a small *paṇḍâl* erected for the occasion, singing a simple song as they proceed. Afterwards they pay their respects to the elders present, and beg for their blessing, which is generally bestowed in the form of "May you be happy! May you not fight and quarrel!" &c. &c. This over, all present fall to the task of devouring the quantity of provisions provided for the occasion, and, having well eaten and drunk, the ceremony is concluded. If the happy couple and their friends are comparatively wealthy, the festivities last several days.

Some do not object to run away with the wife of another man, and in former years a husband has been known to have been murdered for the sake of his wife. Even at present more disputes arise from bride-stealing than from any other cause, especially as up to the present time the Government officials have not been able to stop this practice.

*Funeral ceremonies.*—The bodies of children and young men and young women are buried. If a child dies within a month of its birth, it is usually buried close to the house, so that the rain dropping from the eaves may fall upon the grave, and thereby cause the parents to be blessed with another child in due course

* These gourds are used by the Kois as bottles, in which they carry drinking-water when on a journey. Very few Kois stir far from their homes without one of these filled with water.

of time. With the exception of the above-mentioned, corpses are usually burnt. A cow or a bullock is slain, and the tail cut off and put in the dead person's hand, after the cot on which the corpse is carried has been placed upon the funeral pile. If a *pujârî* or Koi priest is present, he not unfrequently claims a cloth or two belonging to the dead person. The cot is then removed and the body burnt. Mr. Vanstavern reports having seen part of the liver of the slain animal placed in the mouth of the corpse. The friends of the deceased then retire, and proceed to feast upon the animal slain for the occasion. Three days afterwards they generally return bringing contributions of *cholam*, and having slain one or more animals have a second feast. They are not very nice in their tastes, as they by no means object to the presence of blood in the flesh used at their feasts.

The general idea of the Kois is that the spirits of the dead wander about the forest in the form of *pishâchîs*.

They do not believe that any one dies what is commonly called a natural death, but always assert that the death of every one is caused by the machinations of a sorcerer, instigated thereto by an enemy of the deceased or of the deceased's friends. So, in former years, inquiry was always made as to the person likely to have been at such enmity with the deceased as to wish for his death; and having settled upon a suspicious individual, the friends of the deceased used to carry the corpse to the accused, and call upon him to clear himself by undergoing the ordeal of dipping his hands in boiling oil or water. Within the last two years I have known of people running away from their village because of their having been accused of having procured, by means of a wizard, the death of some one with whom they were at enmity about a plot of land.

Blood revenge has scarcely yet died out in British territory, and in the Bastar country it is said to be in full exercise.

Reputed wizards and witches are held in great abhorrence, and at times the British rule is complained of as unjust in not allowing these people to be put to death.†

*Birth ceremonies.*—The Koi women are very hardy and careless about themselves. After the birth of a child they do not indulge in the luxury of a cot, but, according to their usual custom, continue to lie upon the ground, bathe in cold water, and eat their accustomed food. Directly the child is born, it is placed upon a cot, and the mother resumes her ordinary work of fetching water, wood, leaves, &c., cooking for the family, &c. On the seventh day the child is well washed, and all the neighbours and near relations assemble together to name the child. Having placed the child on a cot, they put a leaf of the *mhowa* tree in the child's hand, and pronounce some name which they think suitable to the child. If the child cry, they take it as a sign that they must choose another name, and so they throw away the leaf and substitute another leaf and another name, until the child shows its approbation by ceasing to cry. Any public-spirited person in the village or neighbourhood who is honoured by having his name bestowed upon it, ever afterwards regards the child with some amount of interest. Most Kois now name their children without all the elaborate ceremonial mentioned above. A feast is always held at the end of the days of ceremonial uncleanness.

Formerly on a certain day in the year the Koi men of each village were driven into the jungle by the women to hunt, and were not allowed to return unless they brought home some game,—a small bird, or even a rat, being enough to give them the right to be welcomed back. This practice is still carried on by the Kois in the Bastar country, and also by many in the Nizâm's territory. Mr. Vanstavern, whilst boring for coal at Beddadanolu, was visited on that day by all the Koi women of the village, dressed up in their lords' clothes, and they told him that they had that morning driven their husbands to the forest to bring home game of some kind or other. Mr. Vanstavern also states that the Kois round Beddadanolu do not eat the goat annually offered for a prosperous harvest, but leave it to itself in the jungle tied up to a tree.

The Kois say that the following gods and goddesses were appointed to be worshipped by the Śûdras:—**Muttelamma**, **Maridimahâlakshmî**, **Poturazu**, and **Korrazulu**, and the following were to receive adoration from the Kois:—**Kommalamma**, **Kâtûradu**,

† Three months ago a Koi living in the Bejji tâlukâ, Bastar, not far from the border, was compelled by his neighbours to kill a near female relative, because they regarded her as an adept in the black art.

Adamarazu. The goddess Mâmili or Lêle must be propitiated early in the year, or else the crops will undoubtedly fail; and she is said to be very partial to human victims. There is strong reason to think that two men were murdered this year, near a village not far from Dummagudem, as offerings to this *devata*, and there is no reason to doubt that every year strangers are quietly put out of the way in the Bastar country to ensure the favour of this bloodthirsty goddess.

The Kois regard themselves as being divided into five classes or tribes, the Perumbôyudu *gotra*, the Madôgatta *gotra*, the Perêgatta *gotra*, the Mâtamuppayo *gotra*, and the Vidogatta *gotra*. The Dôlôllu, another class, are a kind of priests, and have charge of the *velpu*—the objects of worship amongst the Kois. They carry about a large banner which moves round a pole, and, having planted the pole in the ground, one of them seizes hold of the lower end of the banner, and runs or dances round the pole, whilst his companions are most busily engaged in beating small drums, about the size of the drums usually carried about by the jugglers of this country.

All the Kois seem to hold in great respect the Pâṇḍava brothers, especially Arjuna and Bhima. The wild dogs or *dhols* are regarded as the *dûtas* or messengers of these brothers, and the long black beetles which appear in large numbers at the beginning of the hot weather are called the Pâṇḍava flock of goats. Of course they would on no account attempt to kill a *dhol*, even though it should happen to attack their favourite calf, and they even regard it imprudent to interfere with these *dûtas* when they wish to feast upon their cattle.

At Gangôlu, a village about three miles from Dummagudem, live several families who call themselves Bâsava Gollavandlu, but on inquiry I found that they are really Kois whose grandfathers had a quarrel with some of their neighbours, and separated themselves from their old friends. Some of the present members of the families are anxious to be re-admitted to the society and privileges of the neighbouring Kois. The word *Bâsava* is commonly said to be derived from *bhâsha*, a language, and the Gollas of that class are said to have been so called in consequence of their speaking a different language from the rest of the Gollas.

The Kois are exceedingly restless and suspicious, but probably the juster rule of the British Government will allay their fears and tend to make them more settled in their habits. It has already done so in the villages in the part of the Lower Godâvarî district which lies to the east of the Eastern Ghâṭs. The misrule which formerly was so prevalent here (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 303) was not at all calculated to encourage industrious, saving habits on the part of any one who had the misfortune to live in this neighbourhood. Before the Godâvarî navigation works were set on foot, the Kois were not accustomed to see Europeans or many well-dressed natives, and have been known to take refuge in the jungle at the appearance of a Hindu wearing clean white clothes. Great difficulty was at first experienced in paying them for articles brought or for labour done, as they objected to take any coin but the old dabs, three of which went to the anna. A silver coin they had a great aversion to. One amusing tale has been told me more than once, and I see no reason to doubt its general truth. It is as follows:—About thirty years ago a Koi was sent with a basket of mangoes from Pâlavantsa to Bhadrâchallam. He was warned not to meddle with the fruit, as if he did his dishonesty would come to light, since a note in the basket would tell the people at Bhadrâchallam how many fruits were to be delivered. On the way the Koi and a companion were so tempted by the sight of the fruit as to determine to taste one, but how to overcome the danger of being seen by the note they could not at first conceive. However, a bright thought struck the messenger, and he exclaimed to his companion, "Oh, if we take the note out of the basket and bury it while we eat the fruit, it will not see anything, and so will not be likely to bear witness to our theft." Accordingly they buried the note until they had enjoyed the taste of some of the fruit, and then, having dug up the note again, and placed it in the basket, resumed their journey. When they were accused at Bhadrâchallam of having purloined some of the fruits, and the note was shown them as evidence, they were utterly at a loss to understand how the note could have known anything about the matter, seeing that it was in the ground out of sight when the theft occurred.‡

‡ A Brâhmaṇ in Masulipatam (Machilipatnam) to whom I once related the above tale replied that he had heard a similar story, and that it was often used as an illustration of the ignorance of the inhabitants of the forest.

# NOTES ON THE DRÂVIḌIAN OR SOUTH INDIAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

BY THE REV. G. U. POPE, D.D., M.R.A.S., Member of the Leipzig Oriental Society, Fellow of the Madras University.

(*Continued from p. 299.*)

## No. III.

I. Words which are undoubtedly identical in origin with Sanskṛit words are often so changed in the Drâviḍian languages, by the operation of well-ascertained phonetic laws, that they would assuredly fail to be recognized by any one not well acquainted with the tendencies of the Drâviḍian phonetic system.

Thus in Sanskṛit we have the stem SṚIP, which is from SṚI; and these are from SARP, and ultimately from √ SAR. (See Fick.)

The verbal roots *chari*, *char*, *charru** are found in all the Drâviḍian dialects, in both ancient and modern forms, with the same original notion of 'gliding' and 'slipping.'

But the equivalents of the Sanskṛit noun SARPA (Lat. *serpens*, Gr. ἑρπετόν) in Tamiḻ are curious. These are *charppam*, *charubam*, *aravam*, *aravu*, *arâ*, *ara*, and *ari*.

The following principles are here illustrated:—

1. Tamiḻ cannot tolerate, as a general rule, the sound of mute and liquid together. It rejects consonantal diphthongs: *rp* = must become *rup* or *rap*.

2. When *k*, *t*, or *p* (any tenuis) begins any syllable of a word except the first, it becomes, in order, *g*, *th* (as in 'this'), or *b* (is changed into its corresponding *media*): thus *charupam* becomes *charubam*.

3. The Tamiḻ has neither sibilant nor aspirate: thus *charupam* becomes *arubam;* and through the influence of *u* we have *v* for *b* (so Sanskṛit SABHÂ is in Tamiḻ *avai*).

(In Kanarese for 'serpent' we have *hâva;* this is in Telugu *pâmu*, in Tamiḻ *pâmbu*, and in Tuḍa *pâb.*)

4. Final *m* is constantly dropped in Tamiḻ, and the remaining vowel is written *u*, but is pronounced very faintly. This brings the former nearer to the Sanskṛit: thus *aravam* is now *aravu.*

5. By syncope and crasis *aravu* becomes *arâ*, and final *â* is often changed into *âi* or *a.* Thus *arai* is the Drâviḍian form of *sarppa.*

II. It may be of interest, in this place, to give a summary of the rules laid down by the great classical grammarian of the Tamiḻ language, P a v a n a n t h i, in the *Nannûl*, for the spelling of Sanskṛit words in Tamiḻ:—

(1) "To an Âryan word beginning with *r*, prefix *a*, *i*, or *u;* to one beginning with *l* prefix *i* or *u;* to one beginning with *y* prefix *i*." NO TAMIḺ WORD BEGINS WITH *r*, *l*, OR *y*.

(2) "In each of the five classes of gutturals, palatals, linguals, dentals, and labials, the first of the class (*k*, *ch*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p*) is to be written for the second, third, and fourth of the class:—

K for K, KH, G, and GH;
CH for CH, CHH, J, and JH;
Ṭ for Ṭ, ṬH, Ḍ, and ḌH;
T for T, TH, D, and DH;
P for P, PH, B, and BH."

(The Tamiḻ has no separate characters for aspirates and flat mutes.)

(3) "J is sometimes = Y."

(4) "Of the sibilants Ś is expressed in the beginning of the word by the palatal CH, and in the middle of a word by Y; SH is to be transliterated by CH or Ṭ; S is to be replaced by CH or T; H is to be written A or G; KSH is to be written KK."

(5) "Final Â is to be written AI, and final Î becomes short."†

It will thus be seen that multitudes of Drâviḍian words are by the native grammarians supposed to be derived from the Sanskṛit, according to recognized laws of euphonic change.

---

* The letter here transliterated by *ch* is a very soft palatal, confounded by many with *s*. Tamiḻ has no sibilants or aspirates.

† This table illustrates the comparison between the Sanskṛit and Tamiḻ alphabets:—

| | |
|---|---|
| क, ख, ग, घ, all = k; | ज, = y sometimes; |
| च, छ, ज, झ, all = ch; | श, = ch or y; |
| ट, ठ, ड, ढ, all = ṭ; | ष, = ch or ṭ; |
| त, थ, द, ध all = t; | स, = ch or t; |
| प, फ, ब, भ all = p; | ह, = a or k; |
| क्ष, = kk; | म, = m; |
| ङ, = ng; | य, = y; |
| ञ, = jn; | र, = r; |
| ण, = ṇ; | ल, = l; |
| ळ, = ḷ; | व, = v. |
| न, = n; | |

*N.B.*—Tamil has a strong palatal *r* (really = double *r*) and a lingual *ṛ not in* Sanskṛit.

It does not follow that in all cases they were so deduced. The Drâviḍian forms may well be older than the Sanskṛit.

These rules of the Jain grammarians assist us, however, in comparing the languages.

It may be added, as a most remarkable and suggestive fact, that, although the Telugu, Kanarese, and Malayâḷim languages have adopted the Sanskṛit alphabet almost entirely, and can thus transliterate any word they receive from Sanskṛit with perfect exactness, nevertheless words which represent the same Sanskṛit forms are found in these languages changed according to laws similar to those existing in Tamiḻ.

This, and what has gone before, may be illustrated by derivations in the Drâviḍian from Sanskṛit √ ṚIJ, RAJ, RÂJ, or ARJ, which last seems its primitive form.

The Sanskṛit noun *râjan* = '*rex*,' appears in Tamiḻ under the following forms :—(1) *irâchan*, (2) *irâchâ*, (3) *irâyan*, (4) *irrai*, (5) *irrai-van*, (6) *arachan*, (7) *arachu*, (8) *arayan*, (9) *arai*, (10) *araì-yan*.

In Telugu we have, side by side with *râja*, the forms *araçhu* and *râyu-ḍu*.

In Kanarese are found *aracha* and *ereya*.

In Malayâḷim also appears *aracha*.

If Fick is right in giving √ ARG as the primitive, the Drâviḍian forms are in this case nearer to the original pre-Sanskṛit mother of the Indo-Germanic languages than Sanskṛit is, and this affords some indication of an ancient and most intimate relation between the 'ur-sprache' of the Drâviḍian and that of the Sanskṛit.

III. It is an interesting question, I conceive, whether any radical connection exists between the Sanskṛit √ RI or √ AR, and *ar*, or *ir*, *ur*, which enter into the composition of so many Drâviḍian words, with the same ideas of 'strength,' 'excellence,' and 'goodness.'

I take it for granted (Bopp, Eng. ed. vol. I. p. 1) that *ṛi* is a more modern form, and that *ar*, *ir*, and *ur* are the older in Sanskṛit.

In Tamiḻ and in Telugu *ar* is in most extensive use as the first member of compounds. The abstract noun *aru-mâi* (*mâi* = 'ness') signifies 'rarity,' 'excellence;' as an adjective it takes the shapes of *aru*, *arum*, *ar-iya*, and *âr*.

In the same way we have *iru-mâi*, *iru*, *irum*, = 'strength,' *iru-m-bu* = 'iron,' 'the strong substance.'

What connexion there is between these forms and Sanskṛit *arya*, *arha*, *ârya*, or Gr. ἀρι, ἐρι, I leave others to inquire.

It is, however, noteworthy that the very stem which in the 'ur-sprache' must have meant 'noble,' 'excellent,' should exist in the Drâviḍian languages, and in such a way as to show that it is, if any, a genuine root of these languages, one of the oldest and most honoured.

## MISCELLANEA.

### THE DESPONDENCY OF ARJUNA.

*From the* 1*st Canto of the Bhagavad-gîtâ.*

When I behold my valiant kin all thirsting for the fight,
My knees are loosed, my mouth is dry, and tear-drops dim my sight;
My hair all upright stands from fear, slips from my hand the bow,*
My stalwart limbs with horror quake, my skin is all aglow.
Oh! Keśava, † I scarce can stand, for giddy whirls my brain,
And strange ill-boding sights I see, and monstrous shapes of pain;
No heavenly bliss can be my lot, the slayer of my kin;
How can I long for victory or empire, dashed with sin?
Those for whom kingly power we prize, and joys of wealth and life,
Leaving their wealth and happy lives, stand ranged for mortal strife.
Preceptors, fathers, grandsires, sons, though foes, I could not slay
To gain three worlds—much less for this, the empire of a day.
If we slay Dhṛitarâshṭra's sons, though dead to sense of right,
Shall we not lose those blissful worlds, and sink in endless night?
Though these, with minds obscured with lust of gold and kingly state,
Shrink not from slaughter of their tribe, fear not the awful fate
Of those whose hands are red with blood of kinsman and of friend,

* Gâṇḍîva is the miraculous bow given by Indra to Arjuna.—ED.

† The slayer of Keśin—the 'hairy one',—a Daitya in the form of a horse slain by Krishṇa.—ED.

Shall we not dread their fearful crime—their still more fearful end?
When falls the tribe, then long-revered primeval custom fails;
When law is broken and o'erthrown, the lawless will prevails;
When lawlessness infects a tribe, then women are made base;
When women sin, then springs to light a mixed unhallowed race.
Then sink to hell, alike defiled, the slayers and the slain,
Nor longer can departed sires their blessed world maintain,
Cut off from holy offerings they fall and curse their sons;
Thus upward, downward, through the race the foul infection runs.
Then awful is our sin, who, drunk with blind ambition's wine,
Can long to shed the sacred blood of our own royal line;
Ah! better far if standing here with undefended head,
Unshielded breast, unsworded hand, some foe should strike one dead.

C. TAWNEY.‡

## INDIAN ARROW-HEADS.

Mr. WALHOUSE has exhibited before the Anthropological Institute a collection of iron arrow-heads from Southern India, on which he made the following remarks :—

"A diagram of forms of arrow-heads used in Africa, exhibited by Lieut. Cameron at his lecture on African Ethnology, delivered before the Institute at the School of Mines, induced me to bring forward the selection of Indian arrow-heads now on the table for the purpose of comparison. Most of the larger and broader arrow-heads are used to-day by jungle tribes in the wilder forest tracts under the principal mountain ranges of Southern India, the Nîlagiri and Palani Hills, and the Western Ghâṭs. Four or five of the shapes closely resemble those used in Africa. The larger and heavier leaf-shaped heads, whether broad or narrow, are mostly used by the Indian jungle-hunters for killing deer. These men shoot very dexterously and with great force, but do not attempt long shots, for which, indeed, their large and heavy arrows are unsuited. Their arrows are formed from strong reeds, generally over a cloth-yard long, and to us would seem very top-heavy, from the size and weight of the head. Perhaps to remedy this the two feathers are large and clumsily tied on. Their bows are of bamboo, of much the same shape and quite as long as the bows of the famous English archers of old, to judge from one or two specimens of the latter preserved in the Tower. The cords are long strips of rattan. Scott says of an archer of the days of the Edwards—

Well could he hit a fallow-deer
Five hundred feet or more.

The jungle bowmen attempt no such flights, but shoot from behind trees, rocks, and bushes, lying in wait by narrow deer-paths, by water, and where they know the deer will pass close by—in fact, taking pot-shots as closely as they can. They do not draw their bowstrings to the ear, nor hardly to the breast, nor take long aims, but twang off the arrow with extraordinary force, holding the bow rather low. Though small and meagre men, the force with which the arrows strike would satisfy one of Robin Hood's men, the shafts going almost through the bodies of the animals. Deer are their principal quarry. I have heard of their killing tigers. I do not know of their using poison.

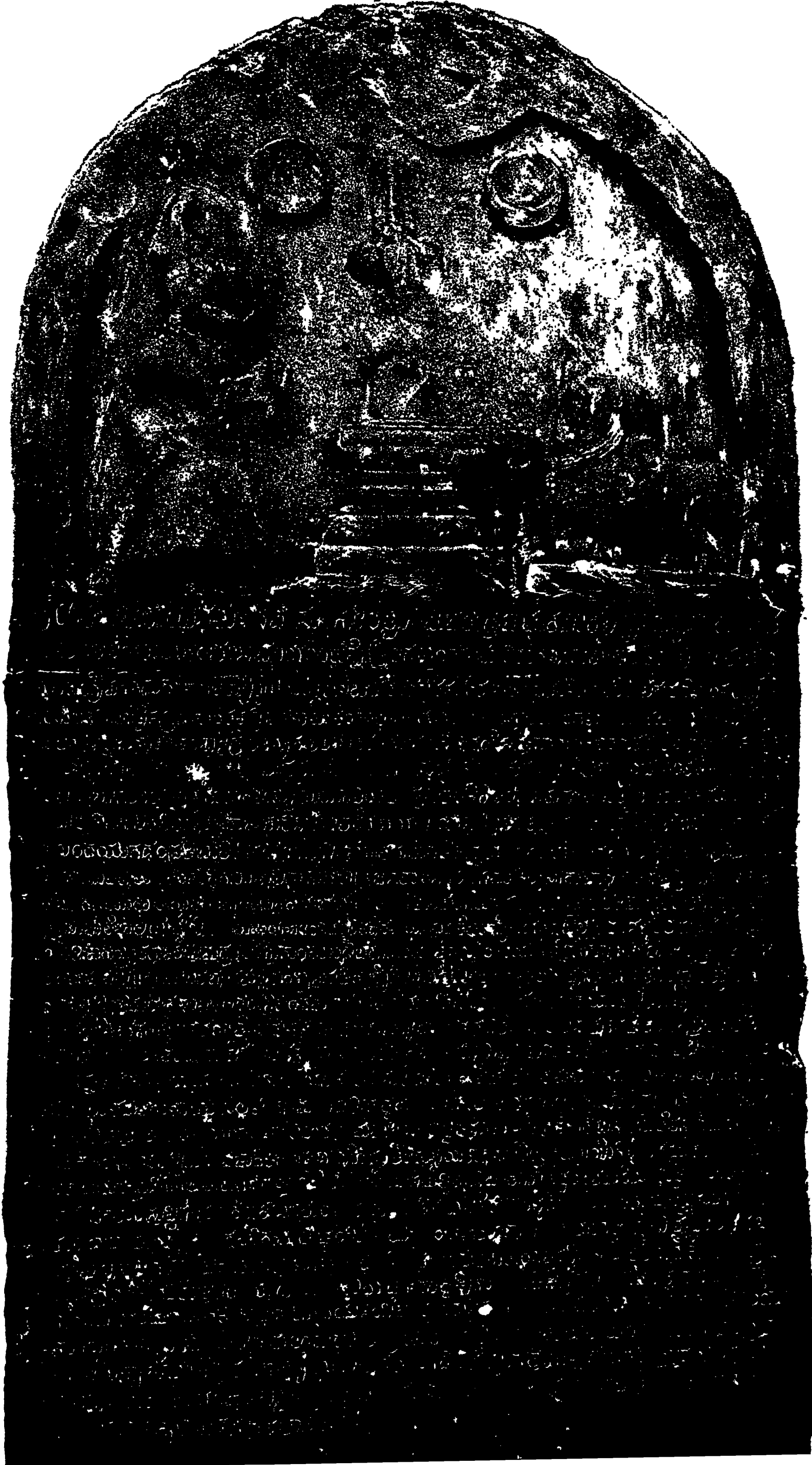
"The smaller arrow-heads exhibited are principally ancient forms, not now in use, but employed formerly in war. Those grooved along the sides, or roughened under the point, were charged with a viscous poison. There are many varieties of the form with open centres, which are said to have been peculiarly dangerous, the flesh closing into the head as badly as round a barb. The crescent shape is common both to India and Africa, and we hear of it in Roman times; the blunt, pointless heads are said to have been used for killing birds without drawing blood or injuring the plumage. In the days of the Râjas, when bows and arrows were in common use, the Hindus gave full play to their fancy in devising endless shapes of arrow-heads, some very elegant, and some fantastic, probably more formidable in appearance than execution."

## INSCRIPTION OF THE VIJAYANAGARA DYNASTY AT HARIHAR.

The accompanying plate gives a facsimile, from Major Dixon's photograph, of No. VII. of Mr. Fleet's series of Sanskṛit and Old Canarese Inscriptions. A transcription of it, with translation and remarks, is given at p. 330 of the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IV. The language is Sanskṛit. The characters are those of the Canarese alphabet, in its last stage before the full development of the modern forms.

‡ From the *Calcutta Review*.

STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE VIJAYANAGARA DYNASTY AT HARIH[A]



p. 239*b*, l. 14, *for* lie *read* lies.

" 241*b*, footnote, l. 6, *read* a universal wearing of wigs. In Old Egypt all classes seem *&c.*

p. 254*a*, l. 21, *for* 209 *read* 269.

" " l. 50 " χαίρεω " χαίρειν.

" 255*b*, l. 35, *for* near the mouth of the Euphrates *read* at Jerablûs, on the upper course of the Euphrates.

p. 259*b*, l. 22 *for* "Let us," he says, "in" &c. *read* "Let us in" &c.

" 267*a*, l. 41, *for* is *mahámátra*, Sansk. *mahámátra*; *read* is *mahámáta*, Sansk. *mahámátra*; and in footnote ¶ read—*dhammamahámáta*.

p. 272*b*, *at the top, insert* No. II. reads thus:—

" " l. 28, after *Translation* add *of No. II.*

" 294*a*, ll. 20, 21, *remove these two lines and the woodcut to end of note * at the bottom.*

" 306*a*, l. 27, *for* cuts *read* eats.

" 307*b*, l. 13, *for* force *read* farce.

" 308*a*, l. 29, *for* For *read* Few.

" " l. 30, *for* though *read* through.

" " l. 32, *insert a comma after* hell.

" 309*b*, l. 2, *read* But, be the mind devout, our homes *&c.*

" 311*a*, l. 7, for *Salya* read *Śalya*.

" " l. 33, for *jihmayodhî* read *jihmayodhî*.

" " l. 8 *from bottom, for* Brahmâ *read* Brahma.

" 311*b*, l. 6, *for* v. 4445 *read* v. 3445.

" " l. 29 " Dhritarâshtra *read* Dhṛitarâshṭra.

" 312*a*, ll. 3, 11, and 16, *for* Śudra *read* Śûdra.

p. 312*b*, ll. 1 *and* 9 *from bottom, for* Brahmâ *read* Brahma.

" 312*b*, l. 7 *from bottom, insert a comma after* life.

" 313*a*, l. 4, *for* Scriptures *read* scriptures.

" " l. 9, *for the period at the end of the line substitute a comma.*

" " l. 18, *for* see *read* mark.

" " l. 4 *from bottom, add a comma at the end.*

" 331*b*, l. 19, and 332*a*, l. 4, *for* Gandaki and Gandakavati *read* Gandhakî and Gandhakavatî.

" " l. 30, *for* Kaushiki *read* Kauśiki.

" " l. 32 " *Kośávaha read Koshaváha.*

" " l. 39 " Sôn *read* Śoṇa.

" 332*a*, l. 20 " Karmanâsâ *read* Karmanâśâ.

" " l. 42 " Pankala *read* Panchâla.

" 332*b*, l. 18 " Kapisthola *read* Kapisthala.

" 334*a*, l. 17 " Sûrasena *read* Śûrasêna.

" 342*b*, note †, for *auusvára* read *anusvára*.

Heading of the plate (in Part LIX. Oct.), *for* Kalachuri *read* Western Châlukya, *and for* p. 46 *read* p. 342.

p. 343*a*, note ||, ll. 3-4; for *Nakara-taṇḍa* read *Nakhara-taṇḍa*.

" 344*a* " *, for *vaṁśodbhavaruṁ* read *vaṁśôdbhavaruṁ*.

" " " † for *bánija* read *báṇija*.

" 344*b*, l. 7, *for* saint, *read* saint,

" 345*b*, note §, for *Bïnuṅgu* read *Bïnuṅgu*.